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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

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KAVIRĀJ ABHINANDANA GRANTHA

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प्रकाशक
अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्
लखनऊ

७ सितम्बर, १९६७

मूल्य : १००·००

मुद्रक
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सम्पादक-मण्डल

डॉ॰ बाबूराम सक्सेना
डॉ॰ एस॰ एम॰ कत्रे
डॉ॰ गौरीनाथ शास्त्री
डॉ॰ धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री
डॉ॰ वी॰ वी॰ मीराशी
डॉ॰ वी॰ राघवन, पद्मभूषण
प्रो॰ को॰ अ॰ सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर
श्री सुरतिनारायणमणि त्रिपाठी
डॉ॰ वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल
श्री क्षेत्रेशचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय
श्री जगन्नाथ उपाध्याय
डॉ॰ सत्यव्रत सिंह
डॉ॰ अतुलचन्द्र बनर्जी
डॉ॰ लालरमायदुपाल सिंह
डॉ॰ जगदम्बाप्रसाद सिनहा
श्री गोपालचन्द्र सिंह

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

वक्तव्य

•

अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ के कार्यक्षेत्र के अन्तर्गत एक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राचीन भारतीय विद्याओं के मनीषी विद्वानों का सम्मान करना भी है। इसका लक्ष्य नयी पीढ़ी को ऐसी प्रेरणा प्रदान करना है, जिससे उसके मन में भारत की सांस्कृतिक श्रेष्ठता के प्रति आस्था जागृत हो। इसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए प्रस्तुत अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित करने का निश्चय किया गया था। इस दिशा में हमारा यह प्रथम प्रयास है।

महामहोपाध्याय पद्मविभूषण साहित्य-वाचस्पति डॉक्टर गोपीनाथ कविराज भारतीय विद्या के बहुश्रुत विद्वान् तथा मनीषी हैं। आपके पाण्डित्य का सौरभ देश-विदेश की विद्वन्मण्डली में व्याप्त है और आप कई विस्मृतप्राय प्राचीन विद्याओं के अधिकारी विद्वान् माने जाते हैं। आपकी ज्ञानराशि में भारतीय विद्यानिधि के कितने ही दुर्लभ तथा अनमोल रत्न सुरक्षित हैं, जिनके प्रकाशन द्वारा भारतीय विद्या के गौरवमय अतीत पर अच्छा प्रकाश पड़ता आया है और पड़ता रहेगा। परिषद् को इस बात का गर्व है कि उसने ऐसी विभूति का, जो उसके सम्मान्य पारिषद भी हैं, सम्मान कर एक स्वस्थ और गौरवपूर्ण परम्परा का सूत्रपात किया है। साथ ही हम पूज्य कविराज जी के भी अत्यधिक कृतज्ञ हैं कि उन्होंने इसका अवसर देकर हमें कृतार्थ किया है।

अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ अर्पित करने का हमारा निश्चय जितना ही शुभ तथा दृढ़ रहा है उतनी ही हमारी सीमाएँ तथा साधन सीमित और अल्प रहे हैं। फिर भी अपनी संकल्पशक्ति और सहयोगियों के उन्मुक्त, सद्भावपूर्ण तथा सक्रिय सहयोग के बल पर हमने परिषद् के निश्चय का कार्यान्वियन किया है। इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में न जाने कितनी ज्ञात-अज्ञात शुभकामनाएँ न जाने कितने प्रकार से हमें बल प्रदान करती रही हैं। इस प्रयास में हमें जो-कुछ भी सफलता मिल सकी है, उसका बहुत बड़ा श्रेय हमारे शुभेच्छुओं और सहयोगियों को प्राप्त है और जो कुछ त्रुटियाँ रह गयी हैं वे हमारी सीमाओं और साधनों की अल्पता के कारण ही घटित हुई हैं।

यह अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ अपनी योजना के अनुसार बहुत पहले प्रकाशित हो जाना चाहिए था, किन्तु कई अपरिहार्य कारणों से विलम्ब होता आया और हम इसके पूर्व इसे प्रकाशित न कर सके। इसका हमें हार्दिक खेद है।

सर्वप्रथम हम श्री आनन्दमयी मां के कृतज्ञ हैं, जिन्होंने अपना निम्नलिखित आशीर्वाद प्रदान कर हमें प्रोत्साहित किया :

"ये शरीर का तो सदा ही सबके लिए ये ही बात है। हरिकथा ही कथा और सब वृथा व्यथा। जहाँ राम वहाँ ही आराम।"

हमारे स्वर्गीय प्रधानमंत्री श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री ने भी अपना शुभ सन्देश देकर हमें बल प्रदान किया था। इस ग्रन्थ के समर्पण-समारोह के अवसर पर उन्होंने स्वयं पधारने की इच्छा व्यक्त की थी। आज दुर्दैव से उनका पार्थिव शरीर हमारे बीच नहीं है, किन्तु उनका सन्देश उनका प्रतीक बन कर हमारे साथ है।

सुप्रसिद्ध भाषाविद् एवं संस्कृतज्ञ डॉक्टर बाबूराम सक्सेना ने सम्पादक-मण्डल का संयोजकत्व स्वीकार करके और अपने सहयोगी सम्पादकों सहित विशेषज्ञ लेखकों की रचनाओं का चयन तथा सम्पादन कर अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ के लिए उपयुक्त सामग्री जुटाने का सत्प्रयास जिस तत्परता और मनोयोग से किया है, उसका सुफल इस

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ग्रन्थ के रूप में विद्वज्जन के समक्ष उपस्थित है। परिषद् उनका तथा उनके समस्त सहयोगियों का हृदय से आभार मानती है।

इस ग्रन्थ की तैयारी में हमें परिषद् के संस्थापक पारिषदों डॉक्टर सम्पूर्णानन्द और प्रोफ़ेसर को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य अय्यर से समय-समय पर परामर्शादि के रूप में ऐसी सहायता मिलती रही है, जिसके बिना इस ग्रन्थ का प्रकाशन शायद सम्भव न होता। अतः हम इन महानुभावों के विशेष रूप से कृतज्ञ हैं।

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण 'सुधांशु' श्री हनुमानप्रसाद पोद्दार, श्री वियोगीहरि और श्री मौलिचन्द्र शर्मा के सक्रिय सहयोग ने हमारी बाधाओं को दूर करने में उल्लेखनीय सहायता पहुँचायी है। इसके लिए हम उनका जितना उपकार मानें, वह कम है।

अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ के मुद्रण तथा प्रकाशन में हमारे अध्यक्ष डॉक्टर सत्यव्रत सिंह, श्री रघुवर मिट्ठूलाल शास्त्री, डॉक्टर भगवतीप्रसाद सिंह, डॉक्टर चण्डिकाप्रसाद शुक्ल और डॉक्टर जगदम्बाप्रसाद सिनहा ने अपना बहुमूल्य समय और श्रम लगा कर सामग्री-संकलन, मुद्रण तथा प्रकाशन के कार्य को अग्रसर करने में हमारा हाथ बटाया है। श्री नर्मदेश्वर चतुर्वेदी, स्वामी रामाश्रम और डॉक्टर रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य ने कई रूपों में अपना सहयोग दिया है, जिसे कदापि भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। इसी प्रकार श्रीमती सत्यवती सिनहा, सुश्री शशि शुक्ला तथा सुश्री सुषमा सिनहा भी हमारी कृतज्ञता और धन्यवाद की पात्र हैं, जिन्होंने बहुविध सहयोग दिया है।

हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग के भूतपूर्व विशेषकार्याधिकारी श्री विद्याभास्कर तथा सहायक मंत्री श्री रामप्रताप त्रिपाठी शास्त्री और सम्मेलन मुद्रणालय के कार्यकर्ताओं आदि से हमें उल्लेखनीय सहयोग मिला है, जो उनके अनुराग और कर्तव्यनिष्ठा का परिचायक है। इन सभी सज्जनों के प्रति हम अपना आभार प्रकट करते हैं।

परिषद् भारत शासन के शिक्षा-मंत्रालय, सतलज कॉटन मिल्स, अमृतसर, ओरियंट पेपर मिल्स, कलकत्ता तथा डालमिया चैरिटेब्ल ट्रस्ट, नयी दिल्ली के प्रति विशेष रूप से आभारी है, जिनकी वित्तीय सहायता से इस अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ के प्रकाशन में उल्लेखनीय सुविधा हुई है।

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सम्पादकीय

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बीसवीं सदी (ईसवी) में उत्तर भारत और विशेषकर उत्तर प्रदेश में जिन विद्वानों ने संस्कृत तथा भारतीय पुरातत्त्व और संस्कृति के अध्यापन और प्रोत्साहन का कार्य किया, उनमें डॉ० गंगानाथ झा और पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज के नाम प्रमुख हैं। डॉ० झा बहुत समय तक म्योर सेंट्रल कालेज, इलाहाबाद में संस्कृत के प्राध्यापक थे, फिर संस्कृत कालेज, बनारस के प्राचार्य हुए और अन्त में प्रायः दस वर्ष तक इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति रहे। कविराज जी के कार्यकाल का सारा समय काशी में ही बीता। संस्कृत कालेज का ग्रन्थागार, सरस्वती भवन, भारत के प्रमुख ग्रन्थागारों में है। कविराज जी उसके ग्रन्थपाल रहे और फिर डॉ० झा के उत्तराधिकारी, संस्कृत कालेज के प्राचार्य। दोनों को ही अनुसन्धान-कार्य में विशेष रुचि थी। डॉ० झा प्रकाशन में विश्वास करते थे, जबकि कविराज जी प्रकाशन के प्रति उदासीन थे। कविराज जी के सम्पादकत्व में "सरस्वती भवन अध्ययन" के नाम से निकली हुई ग्रन्थावली डॉ० झा के काशी आ जाने के बाद ही प्रारम्भ हुई। डॉ० झा की शिष्य-परम्परा उत्तर भारत में फूली-फली और चमकी। कविराज जी ने साक्षात् विरले ही शिष्य को पढ़ाया होगा, किन्तु अपने सत्संग से उन्होंने सहस्रों विद्यार्थियों को प्रेरित किया और सर्वांगीण अध्ययन की ओर रुचि दिलायी। डॉ० झा का विशेष अवधान भारतीय दर्शन पर था। कविराज जी का विशेष अवधान किस विषय पर है, यह कहना कठिन है: क्योंकि उनके अध्ययन और शोध में सभी विषय शामिल हैं। कविराज जी परम्परा और विश्वास से श्रद्धालु तान्त्रिक हैं। डॉ० झा परम्परा से धर्मनिष्ठ हिन्दू विचार के थे, किन्तु उन पर आधुनिक विज्ञान और पश्चिमी दर्शन का यथेष्ट प्रभाव था।

प्रस्तुत अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ की योजना बने हुए तीन वर्ष से अधिक समय हो गया। प्रायः सभी लेख दो वर्ष पूर्व आ गए थे। अनिवार्य कारणों से लेखों के छपने में विलम्ब हुआ। इसके लिए सम्पादक-मंडल की ओर से हम लेखकों से क्षमा माँगते हैं। इस ग्रन्थ में समाविष्ट सारी सामग्री को सम्पादित करने में जो परिश्रम हमारे सहयोगियों ने किया है, उसके लिए हम हृदय से आभारी हैं। इस ग्रन्थ की त्रुटियों के प्रति भी हम पाठकों से क्षमा-याचना करते हैं। विश्वास है कि यह ग्रन्थ पूज्य कविराज जी की स्मृति को अनन्तकाल तक कायम रक्खेगा।

कुलपति निवास,
रायपुर
११ अगस्त, १९६७

बाबूराम सक्सेना
संयोजक, सम्पादक-मंडल

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

Amongst the names of such of the twentieth century scholars as have rendered any meritorious service to the cause of Sanskrit, Indology and Indian Culture, two names stand foremost, namely, those of Dr. Ganga Nath Jha and Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj. Dr. Jha was for a long time a professor of Sanskrit in the Muir Central College, Allahabad. Subsequently, he became the Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College and ultimately happened to occupy the chair of the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, which post he held for about ten years. Kaviraj ji, on the other hand, passed the whole of his active life without going out of Benares.

The Benares Sanskrit College Library, known as the 'Saraswati Bhavana', is one of the prominent libraries of the country. Kaviraj ji was for a long time its librarian and later on, succeeding to Dr. Jha, became the Principal of the Sanskrit College.

Kaviraj ji and Dr. Jha were both deeply interested in research; but while the former believed in publishing the fruits of his researches, the latter was mostly indifferent on that account. The Series, known as the 'Saraswati Bhavana Studies', which was published under the editorship of Kaviraj ji, could be started only after Dr. Jha had shifted to Benares.

There was a long chain of Dr. Jha's pupils, which made a mark in most parts of Northern India. Kaviraj ji, on the other hand, seldom taught anyone in a regular way; but there are thousands of scholars who have by sitting at his feet become all-round scholars.

Dr. Jha's special subject of study was Philosophy; but as almost all the subjects come within the field of Kaviraj ji's study and research it is difficult to say which one of them is his special subject of study. Kaviraj ji is traditionally and by conviction a devout 'Tāntrika'. Dr. Jha was traditionally and by faith a staunch Hindu; but Modern Science and Western Philosophy too had not left him untouched.

It was some three years ago that we planned and started carrying into effect the scheme concerning the present Felicitation Volume. Almost all the articles appearing therein had been received about two years back, but due to certain circumstances beyond our control the printing was considerably delayed and for this we beg to offer our sincere

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apologies to the contributors of the said articles. I am personally very much obliged to my co-editors for the pains they have taken in editing the material contained in this Commemoration Volume. I would also like to earnestly beseech the readers to kindly excuse us for our failings and shortcomings. I am sure this Volume will help commemorating Kaviraj ji for all times to come.

Kulpati Niwas
Raipur
11 August, 1967

BABURAM SAKSENA
Convenor
Board of Editors

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अनुक्रम

A—VEDIC

१. Interesting Developments in Vedic Rituals : *Chintaharan Chakravarti* १
२. The Status of the Atharvaveda : *G. V. Devasthali* ३
३. A Rare Manuscript of the Vārāha School : *C. G. Kashikar* १४
४. Nirukta Notes XII (Vibhakti) : *M. A. Mehendale* १७
५. Vāk Legends in the Brāhmaṇa Literature : *Vidya Niwas Misra* २०
६. A Literary Evaluation of the Gttsamada-Sūktas : *V. G. Rahurkar* २९
७. वेदों में ज्योतिर्विज्ञान की दृष्टि से पिण्ड और ब्रह्माण्ड का प्रतिपादन : **प्रा० डॉ० मधुकर त्र्यंबक सहस्रबुद्धे** ३२
८. व्रात्य-समीक्षा : **अमरनाथ शास्त्री व्याकरणाचार्य** ३६
९. अहो अहल्या : **पिन्नेगुडि स्वामिनाथ सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री** ४२
१०. Conscious Introversion and Divine Intimations in the Rgveda : *Satya Prakash Singh* ४४
११. Miscellanea Pasupatica : *Minoru Hara* ५५

B—PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

१२. वामनपुराण के अनुसार शैव सम्प्रदाय : **स्व० डॉ० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल** ६९
१३. Muralīdharadāsa's Commentary on the Sāndilya Bhakti Sūtras : *Late G. H. Bhatt* ७२
१४. Omniscience (Sarvajñatā) And Metaphysic of Knowledge (Adhigama) in Jainism : *H. M. Bhattacharyya* ७६
१५. The Bhuśuṇḍopākhyāna And its Esoteric Drift : *Late Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya* ७९
१६. Matter According to the Sānkhya System of Thought : *Tapo Nath Chakravarti* ९०
१७. Problems of Abstract Thinking : *Chinmoy Chatterjee* १०३
१८. Theism And Early Vaisesika System : *George Chemparathy* १०९

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१९. The Three Qualities of Sānkhya System : *Dr. Rasik Vihari Joshi* १२६
२०. Vīraaśiva Literature During the Vijayanagara Empire (A.D. 1400—1800): *Dr. G. Marulasiddiah* १३६
२१. सांख्य दर्शन के दुःखवाद का मूल एवं आधार : डॉ० आद्याप्रसाद मिश्र १४०
२२. Vitaṇḍā or Wrangling : *Dr. Jatilcoomar Mookerjee* १४६
२३. The Renaissance of Indian Thought : *A. C. Mukerji* १५१
२४. The Particular Nature of the Vedanta : *Hajime Nakamura* १५९
२५. The Origin of Mahāyāna : *Dr. G. C. Pande* १६६
२६. A So-Called View of Maṇḍana on World-Meaning Discussed by the Navya-Nyāya School : *Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja* १८०
२७. The Meaning and Vision of Immediacy in Bradley's Philosophy : *S. S. Roy* १८२
२८. The Conception of Tattva – A Study : *Dr. Deba Brata Sen Sharma* १९८
२९. Acārya Trilocana : His Contribution to Indian Philosophy : *Dr. Shri Nivas Shastri* २०२
३०. उपनिषद् और सूफ़ी-मत : हबीबुर्रहमान शास्त्री २०७
३१. The First Verse of the Bhagavadgītā : *Sri Jaideva Singh* २१३
३२. The Nature of Space, Time and Causality according to Saṅkara and F. H. Bradley : *Dr. Ajit Kumar Sinha* २१५
३३. Jīvagosvāmīn's Conception of God : *Dr. Jadunath Sinha* २२४
३४. साङ्ख्ये मुक्तिस्वरूपं तदुपायश्च : रामनारायण त्रिपाठी २३४
३५. Purusa : *Dr. K. C. Varadachari* २३७
३६. Sensation in Indian Philosophy : *Dr. Siddheshwar Varma* २४१
३७. बालिद्वीप की उपासना : डॉ० लोकेशचन्द्र और श्रीमती डॉ० शारदा रानी २४५

C—LINGUISTICS AND GRAMMAR

३८. Dramatical Pictorial and Verbal Representations of Past Events at the Time of Patañjali : *K. V. Abhyankar* २५७
३९. On the use of the Absolutive in Sanskrit : *J. Gonda* २६२
४०. The Sanskrit-Conjuncts of two Dissimilar Class-Nasals and their Transformation in Prākrit : *Dr. S. N. Ghosal* २६६
४१. Development of the Sanskrit Particle 'API' : *Carl Gustav Hartman* २७१
४२. On the Meaning of the Word 'Vali' (Megh. 35) : *Dr. A. N. Jani* २७६
४३. Puraṇic Etymologies : *Dr. S. G. Kantawala* २७८
४४. Danturā—in New Indo-Aryan : *S. M. Katre* २८१
४५. The Basis of पाणिनि (8.1.59 and 65) in ऋग्वेद : *V. P. Limaye* २८२

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४६. उणादिसूत्राणि पाणिनिश्च : हरिअनन्त शास्त्री फडके २८९
४७. Fresh Formations in Hindi : *Dr. Babu Ram Saksena* २९३
४८. नव्य भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं का एक विवादास्पद शब्द 'जंजाल' : डॉ० भोलानाथ तिवारी २९४
४९. A Re-Appraisal of Panini : *Dr. D. N. Shastri* २९६

D—LITERATURE

५०. The Mṛcchakaṭikam and the Cārudattam : *Dr. Purshottam Lal Bhargava* ३०५
५१. The Moon in Kālidāsa : *Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer* ३११
५२. भारतीय लोकगीतों की एकता : डॉ० त्रिलोचन पाण्डेय ३१८
५३. Rāmāyaṇa Notes : *Sadhu Ram* ३२२
५४. Rāmāyaṇa Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia : *Ludwik Sternbach* ३२८
५५. भवभूतेरुत्तररामचरितस्याङ्गिरससमीक्षा : लालरमायदुपालसिंह ३४०
५६. माघकृतं भारवेरर्थगौरवस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञानम् : सत्यव्रतसिंह ३५१
५७. काव्य की आत्मा : सत्यदेव चौधरी ३५५

E—ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

५८. Fresh Light on the Post-Asokan History of Kausambi : *K. D. Bajpai* ३७३
५९. Sa'Di at Somanatha : *Buddha Prakash* ३७८
६०. गुरु गोरखनाथ के समय का निरूपण : परशुराम चतुर्वेदी ३८५
६१. Land and People of Ancient Kamarupa : *P. D. Chaudhury* ३९५
६२. Panhidep Hati : Some Notes on the Worship of Sarasvati in Balinese Hinduism : *J. Ensink* ४००
६३. Economic Pursuits in Ancient Indian Life : *Lallanji Gopal* ४०५
६४. Location of Devagiri described in Kalidasa's Meghaduta : *Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi* ४१८
६५. The Hunas in the Gangetic Basin : *Kailas Chandra Ojha* ४२३
६६. Archaeology and Sanskrit Literature : *R. S. Panchamukhi* ४२५
६७. कच्छपघात (कछवाहा) वंश : स्व० महामहोपाध्याय पण्डित विश्वेश्वरनाथ रेउ ४३६
६८. प्राचीन भारतीय नगर तथा नगर-सन्निवेश : डॉ० उदयनारायण राय ४४७
६९. The Indo-Aryan or Indo-Caspian Head Form : *S. S. Sarkar* ४५७
७०. The Historical Aspect of the Harsacarita : *Surya Kanta* ४६५
७१. Philosophy of Vastu-Brahma and its Impact on Hindu Temple Architecture : *D. N. Shukla* ४७५
७२. Date of the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga : *D. C. Sircar* ४८१

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७३. Sociol-Economic Life in Mithila under the Khandavalas or Darbhanga Raj : *Upendra Thakur* ४८३
७४. सिन्धु-सभ्यता की लिपि : एक आंशिक दृष्टिपात : **ब्रजवासीलाल** ४९९
७५. आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा-युक्त बलि-देवी की रहस्यमय मृण्मूर्तियाँ : **डॉ० जगदीश गुप्त** ५०२

F—BIOGRAPHICAL

७६. Kavirajji As I Know Him : *S. Bhattacharya* ५११
७७. श्रीगुरुः शरणम् : **राजेश्वर शास्त्री द्राविड** ५१६
७८. क्रमतत्त्व पर कविराज जी से एक वार्ता : **नवजीवन रस्तोगी** ५१८
७९. महामहोपाध्याय गोपीनाथ कविराज जी का विद्या-व्यसन (एक संस्मरण) : **डॉ० गोवर्धननाथ शुक्ल** ५२२
८०. संस्कृत-जगत् की विभूति पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज : **डॉ० सम्पूर्णानन्द** ५२३
८१. कविराज जी : कतिपय संस्मरण : **बलदेव मिश्र** ५२४
८२. कविराज जी के कतिपय संस्मरण : **बलदेव उपाध्याय** ५३०
८३. अपार ज्ञानराशि के साथ ही साधना के धनी––कविराज जी : **डॉ० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा** ५३२
८४. "जाइये, भजन कीजिये" : **डॉ० राममूर्ति त्रिपाठी** ५३४
८५. घने प्रेम तरु तले : **डॉ० भगवतीप्रसाद सिंह** ५३७
८६. कविराज जी की महत्ता : **डॉ० योगेश पाण्डेय** ५४०
८७. Sraddheya Kaviraja ji—Some Memories : *Dr. Aditya Nath Jha* ५४२
८८. Gopinath Kaviraj : Reminiscences : *Dr. Govind Gopal Mukhopadhyay* ५४३
८९. कविराज जी : जीवन और साधना : **डॉ० भगवतीप्रसाद सिंह** ५४७
९०. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj–A Life Sketch : *Gopal Chandra Sinha and Atul Chandra Patra* ५७४
९१. कविराज जी : एक विद्वान् सन्त के रूप में : **डॉ० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री** ५८५
९२. अभिनन्दनम् : **रामकुबेर मालवीय** ५८७
कविराजजी की कृतियाँ : संकलनकर्ता—**नर्मदेश्वर चतुर्वेदी, स्वामी रामाश्रम, रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य** ५९३
परिशिष्ट : लेखक-परिचय ६१५

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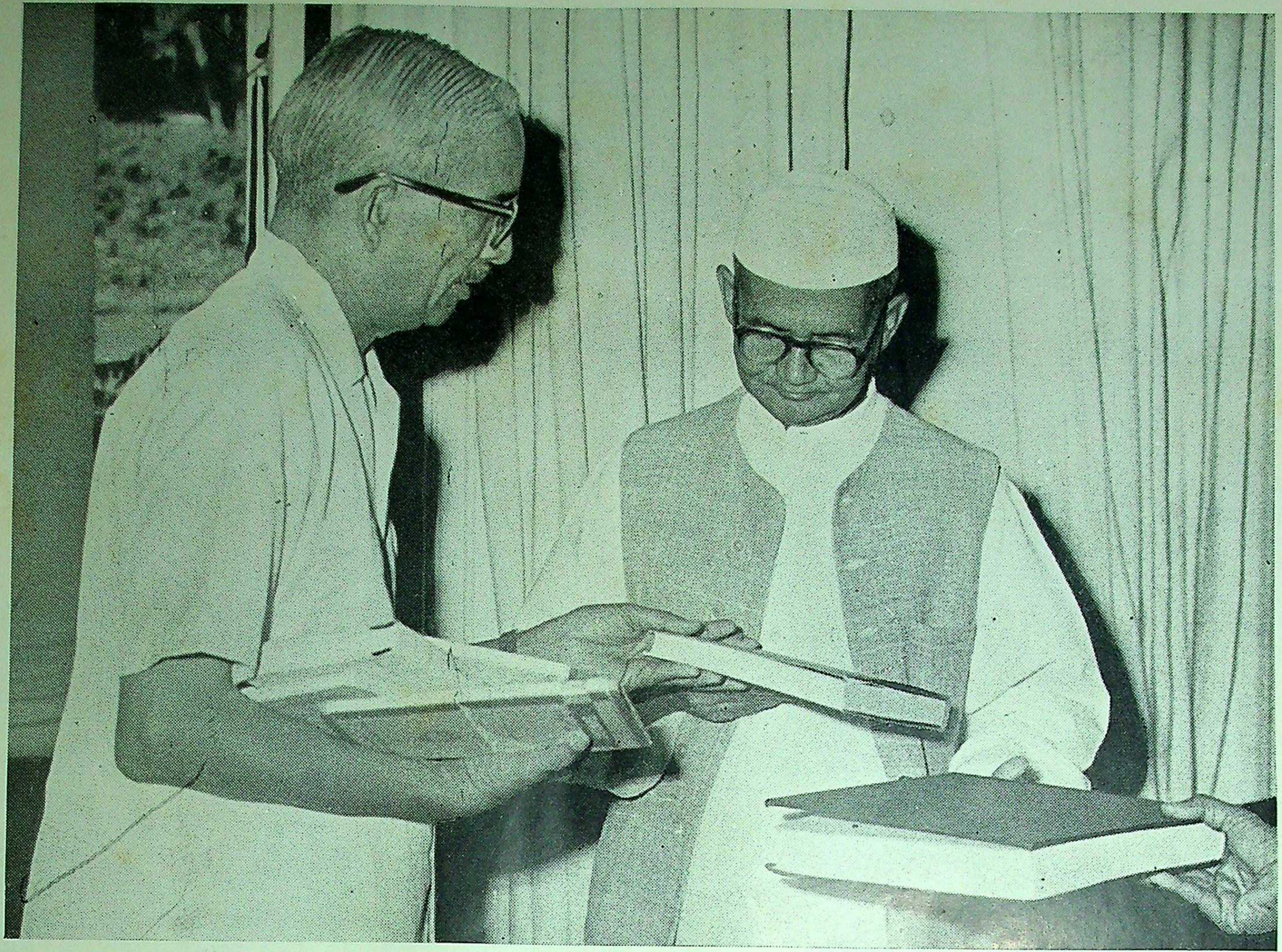

स्व० प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री को परिषद् के प्रकाशन भेंट करने के साथ कविराज अभिनन्दन-ग्रंथ के लिए संदेश की याचना करते हुए परिषद् के मंत्री श्री गोपालचन्द्र सिंह

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श्रद्धा-सुमन

प्रधानमंत्री-भवन
दिसम्बर ३, १९६५

पंडित गोपीनाथ कविराज देश के संस्कृत के गण्यमान विद्वानों में से हैं। संस्कृत साहित्य, धर्म और तन्त्र का उन्हें असाधारण ज्ञान है। अपना सारा जीवन उन्होंने इस देववाणी के विभिन्न शास्त्रों, अंगों और प्रवृत्तियों के अध्ययन और मनन में लगाया है।

कविराज गोपीनाथ जी को ज्ञान और साधना का अनूठा समन्वय प्राप्त है। काशी की प्रसिद्ध शिक्षा-संस्था से उन्होंने केवल इसलिए अवकाश ग्रहण कर लिया था ताकि अध्ययन और साधना के लिए उन्हें अधिक-से अधिक समय मिल सके।

मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत परिषद्, लखनऊ ने कविराज गोपीनाथ जी जैसे ज्ञानी, अध्येता और विनम्र विद्वान् के सम्मानार्थ अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित करने का निश्चय किया है। मुझे आशा है कि इसके द्वारा कविराज जी की बहुमुखी प्रतिभा पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ सकेगा।

(ह०) लालबहादुर

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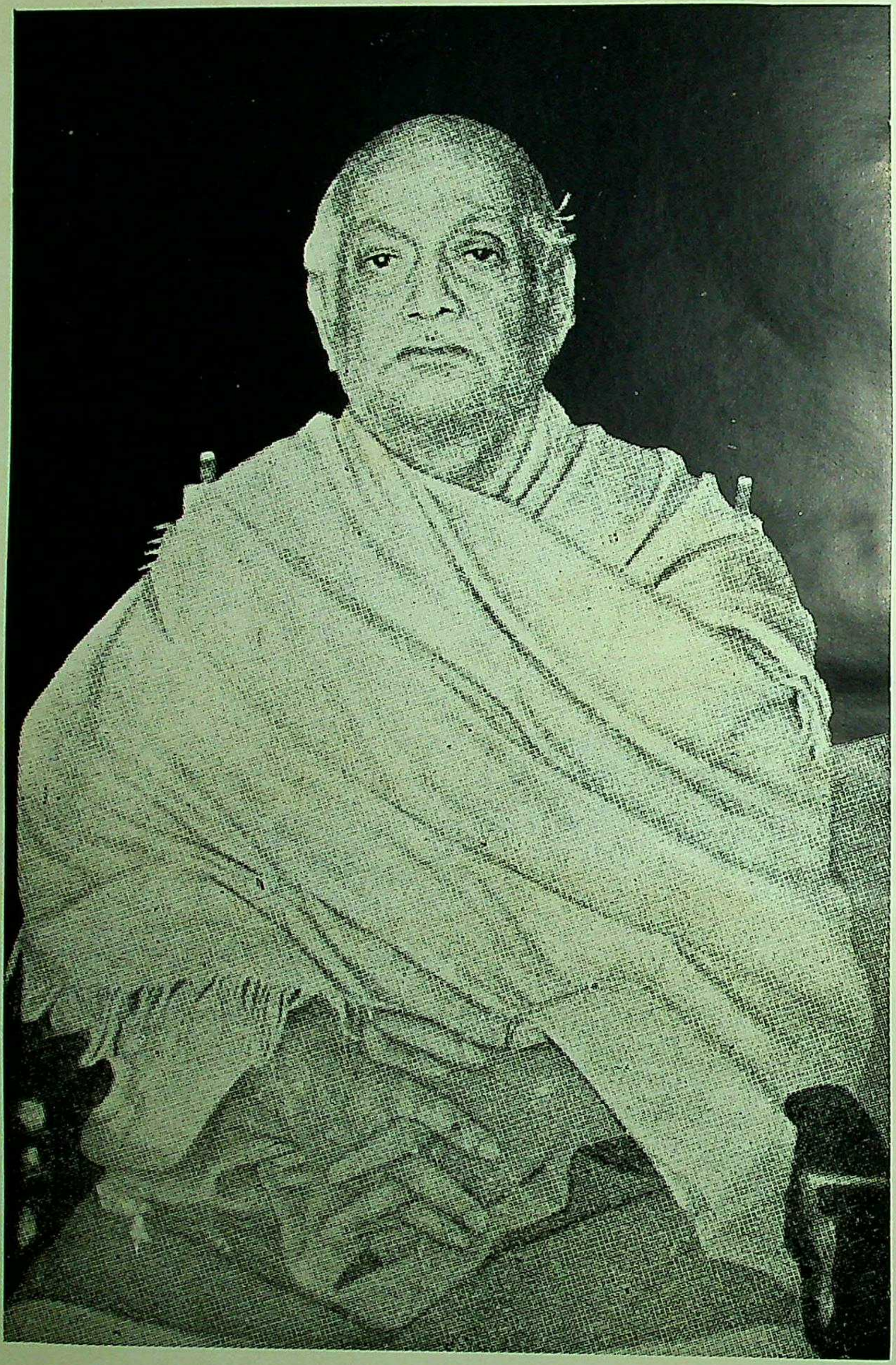

महामहोपाध्याय पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज

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A-VEDIC

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INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS IN VEDIC RITUALS

By

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, CALCUTTA

Brahmanic rituals, their growth and development, their variations from region to region and age to age, form an interesting subject of study, though it does not appear to have received due recognition at the hands of scholars. Elsewhere[1] I have drawn attention to the use of Vedic mantras in non-Vedic, especially Tantric rites. In the present note I would bring to the notice of scholars a few, among many, curious modifications introduced in a number of well-known rituals current from the Vedic age.

Most of these modifications are prevalent in Bengal for a fairly long time. They are found in manuals used by priests for generations. The most interesting development is noticed in connection with the marriage ceremony. As the bridegroom was honoured with various offerings he was offered a cow in olden times (*Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra*, I.3.26-30). A cow-sacrifice was considered essential in a marriage; on some other occasions it was optional. And the honoured guest would either accept the offer or reject it with a request to set the cow free so that it might graze at will. When cow-sacrifice came to be prohibited the practice of offering a cow still lingered on. And the cow appears to have been held by a barber who might have been in charge of performing the sacrifice, near the site of marriage and formally released at the request of the bridegroom. Later on, as at present, the presence of a cow was no longer required but only the mantras were uttered (sometimes long after the other offerings were made) and the barber who previously reported the presence of the cow with the words *gaur-gauḥ* (Here is the cow, here is the cow), now recited what was called *gaura-vacana* or verses describing the marriage of Rāma and Sītā or Hara and Gaurī.

On the occasion of Śrāddhas in olden times offerings were made to forefathers through selected Brāhmaṇas who represented the former (*Kātīya Śrāddhasūtra*). In course of time the proper type of qualified Brāhmaṇas became difficult to be secured and provision was made for sacred Kuśa grass to take the place of Brāhmaṇas. The practice came into vogue in Bengal sometime after the 12th century when Aniruddha wrote his *Pitṛdayitā* in which there is no reference to Kuśa symbols.

In the few Vedic sacrifices performed in Bengal in connection with the *Vṛṣotsarga* and *Vratapratiṣṭhā* ceremonies the set of priests employed do not fully agree with what is found prescribed for well-known Vedic rites of the past. Here we have besides the Hotṛ (actual performer) and Brahman (supervisor versed in the Vedic lore), the Sadasya (who kept an eye on the observance of the ritualistic rules) and the Tantradhāraka or Ācārya (holder of the ritualistic manual, who reminds the Hotṛ of the order of the different items and of the

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mantras to be uttered on every occasion). But one is not required to find out a vastly learned man to be chosen as a Brahman in these days. As a matter of fact, any body and everybody with or without any scriptural knowledge or general scholarship is selected for officiating as a Brahman. The identity of the names of the priest and of the four-faced god associated with the act of creation and in popular belief with fire, is responsible for the usual assignment to the priest of the task of lighting the sacrificial fire. The preceptor (or a member of his family), who initiates into the Tantra form of worship, the members of the family of the Yajamāna, on whose behalf the sacrifice is performed, usually acts as the sadasya. If such a person is not available, the family deity is invoked for the job.

Besides the modifications noted above, new elements have been introduced in each of these cases in the form of worship of various deities as well as in other ways. As a matter of fact, the Vedic sub-stratum is too much over-laden with extraneous matters and is almost relegated to the background. In the course of sacrifice proper worship is offered in the Puranic way to the god Agni (Fire) while it is preceded by similar worship of different deities on different occasions.

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THE STATUS OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

By

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Generally it is supposed that AV. is a *Veda* of exorcism, magic and such other matters; and this idea naturally leads to a sort of disgust or disrespect for it. It is, therefore, necessary to go a bit deeper into the matter and try to ascertain the fact in this respect on the basis of a close scrutiny of the AV. itself and also of the various references to it, particularly in ancient literature. We should also pay attention to the various geographical and other references in AV., its language, and the topics dealt with therein in general. It is on the basis of such close study that we shall try to form an opinion about this *Veda* and try, if possible, to throw light on the problem of the status of the AV. which is the main subject of this paper.

Restricting ourselves first to mere verbal usage, we find that expressions like *trayī*, *trayī vidyā* and *traividyā* are quite common in Sanskrit literature. These expressions apparently seem to imply only three lores (i.e., three *Vedas*) and persons well-versed in three *Vedas*—an impression that appears to be confirmed by a closer perusual of the various references themselves. Taking up the expression *trayī* (by itself), we find that it is conspicuous by its absence in the principal *Upaniṣads*; and further that in its more ancient references it does not signify *Three Vedas*. The expression *trayī vidyā*, however, has occurred at least ten times in the principal *Upaniṣad*—eight times in the *Chāndogya*[1] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*[2] which admittedly belong to the oldest strata of the *Upaniṣadic* literature. The other references are found in the *Kauṣītaki*[3] and the *Mahānārāyaṇa*[4] *Upaniṣads*. In all these places *trayī vidyā* is meant to express the three *Vedas*; and the three *Vedas* doubtless are the *RV.*, the *YV.* and the *SV.* The *Muṇḍaka*[5] has the expression *tretā* in the same sense, though the passage cannot be said to be quite decisive owing to the fact that some commentators have alternatively interpreted the expression to mean *Triad of fires*.[6] It is thus quite evident that the expression *trayī vidyā* has been in vogue eversince the *Upaniṣadic* period, though, of course, we get no expression that would signify the four *Vedas* corresponding to the expression *trayī vidyā* (signifying three *Vedas*). This has led some scholars to conclude that at some period in ancient times only three *Vedas* had been in existence and were recognised as authoritative, while the fourth Veda (the *AV.*) was either altogether non-existent, or if at all it existed, it was not valued on par with the other three *Vedas*. It was considered to be rather too inferior to be mentioned along with them. However, inferences based on mere verbal usage may not always be quite correct—correct beyond all doubt; and hence the current opinions about the *AV.* also stands in need of further scrutiny and confirmation before it can be actually admitted as correct. This we shall now

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proceed to do by perusing the references to *AV.* in ancient Vedic and other literature, and on that basis try to arrive at some definite conclusion if possible.

The R*V.*, the most ancient piece of *SK.* literature contains a hymn known as the *Puruṣasūkta* (10-90) which is important from more points of view than one. While stating how the whole universe, including everything conceivable, has sprung up from the *Primeval Man* (The *Puruṣa*), this hymn has mentioned the *Vedas* also; and curiously enough only three viz. *ṚK.*, *Yajuṣ* and *Sāma* (*Vedas*) are specifically mentioned therein,[7] while the fourth *Veda*, the *Atharvaveda*, is subjected to reticence. Nor is the *Atharvaveda* mentioned in the *Saṁhitās* of the *Yajurveda*, as also those of the *SV.* A clear and definite reference to four *Vedas* including the *AV.* by their specific names is found first in *AV.* itself. Sometimes when only three *Vedas* are actually named, more often than not a fourth name also occurs there along with them, and there can be no doubt that this fourth name, whatever it may be, is meant to refer to the *AV.* This variety of names we have already seen in one of the preceding chapters; and have also seen what they are meant to signify. It may, therefore, be said without much fear of being contradicted that of the various *Saṁhitās* none but the *AV*, contains references to *AV.* direct or indirect.

Turning our attention next to the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Br.*), the next stratum of Vedic literature, we find that the *Br.* of the *RV.* viz. the *Kauṣītaki* and *Aitareya* contain no reference at all to *Atharvaveda.* The *Taittirīya Br.* (of the Black *YV.*) refers to it twice, while it is again curious to note that references to it in the *Śatapatha Br.* (of the white *YV.*) occur all of them in its chronolgically later portions or *Kāṇads* only. Thus, for example, *Kāṇḍa* XI mentions all the various divisions of Vedic literature and adds that each one of these divisions forms, as it were, one distinct and separate oblation to the gods. It further states that *RV.*, *YV.* and *SV.* are, as it were, milk (*payas*), clarified butter (*ājya*), and *Soma* oblations respectively; and adds that the *AV.* forms the fat (*medas*) oblation while the *anuśāsana*, the *Vākovākya* and other divisions all together form the oblation of mead (*madhu*).[8] The other reference[9] occurs in *Kāṇḍa XIII* in the description of the *pāriplava* where during the ten days one is asked to instruct different sections of the people (society) in different sections of literature (or *Vedas*, lores) one after the other. In this passage *RV.*, *YV.*, *AV.*, *Angiroveda*, *Sarpavidyā*, *Devajanavidyā*, *Māyā*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, and *SV.* are serially mentioned as meant for house-holders (*gṛhamedhinaḥ*), old men (*sthavirāḥ*), handsome youths (*śobhanā yuvānaḥ*), beautiful young ladies (*śobhanā yuvatayaḥ*), and so on, the last to be mentioned there being *apratigrāhakāḥ śrotriyāḥ* (persons well versed in *śruti*, not receiving gifts).

It is doubtful if any conclusion can be drawn from the first of these two references in the *Śat. Br.* But, if scrutinized along with the second, it gives the impression that *trayī* (i.e. *RV.*, *YV. and SV.*) are perhaps more closely related to each other and command respect; while *AV.* and other sections of literature or lores mentioned therein were possibly held in low esteem. For hey appear to be connected with fishermen (*matsyahanaḥ*), fowlers (*voyovidyikāḥ*) etc., and also because they include among them such sections as *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* etc. which are not only not recognized as *Veda* in the strict sense of the term, but unlike the *Veda* are, as is well-known,

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meant for all and sundry. This impression is further confirmed by the fact that *AV.* is said to form the *fat oblation* as distinguished from *milk*, *clarified butter*, and *Soma oblations* that the other three *Vedas* are said to constitute.

The second reference appears to be more pregnant. For, whereas *RV.* and *SV.* appear to be associated with *aśrotrīyāḥ gṛhamedhinaḥ* and *apratigrāhakāḥ śrotriyāḥ* respectivtely, the *YV.* is associated with *Sthavirāḥ* (the aged persons of the society—presumably learned *Brāhmaṇs*); while *AV.* in its two component parts is brought into connection with handsome youths and beautiful young ladies respectively. The epithet *śobhana* used specifically with reference to these youthful persons (men and women) perhaps suggests that the remaining lores were associated with persons who are not *śobhana*—a description which may well apply to *Sarpavidaḥ pāpakṛtaḥ*, etc. mentioned there. It is easy to see that these are all of them *aśobhana*, both physically as well as culturally. It may thus be said that at the *pāriplava* were present all the different strata of the society (which appear to be counted as being *ten*) and that they were each one of them connected respectively with the ten *lores*. If then it is correct to say that society as a wole was at that time divided into ten sections such as are mentioned in the passage under discussion, it is evident that the *AV.* was connected with a stratum comprising young folk of either sex (who are particularly described as *śobhana*), which perhaps is meant to suggest persons who are capable of developing into good house holders etc., or are otherwise well cultured, though not well brought up in spiritual lore.

Another curious fact to be noted about *AV.* is that, unlike the other three *Vedas*, this *Veda* is referred to not as one single *Veda* but as two *Vedas* being associated with youthful men and women respectively. The names given to these two *Vedas* also are worth noticing. One is *Atharvāṇaḥ* which is associated with youthful men, while the other is *Aṅgirasaḥ* which is associated with youthful women.[10] In the case of the other three *Vedas* such separate assignment to the two sexes is conspicuous by its absence. It is only in the case of *AV.* that such a division and assignment is found; and one naturally is led to ask 'why this should be so ?' Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the fact that the first there *Vedas* are connected with sacrifice which is to be performed by a couple (*dampatī*) together, a circumstance which makes a divisional assignment of the *Vedas* among men and women impossible. Such, however, is not the case with *AV.* It perhaps was not connected with sacrifice[11] (at least not as closely connected as the other *Vedas*), and has a subject matter that can well be divided as being suitable to man or woman. This can well explain why *AV.* is divided into two parts and assigned in these parts, bearing two different names, to man and woman separately. Now, though it may not be quite easy to arrive at any conclusion on the basis of these names (viz. *Atharvāṇah* and *Aṅgirasaḥ*) given to these two parts, it may safely be said that in its original form *AV.* comprised two parts or divisions (sub-divided into *parvans*) formed on the basis of the subject matter or the *adhikārin* (i.e. those for whom they were meant), conceptually, if not physically.

Let us now turn to the *Gopatha Br.* which being a *Br.* of *AV.* naturally has a large number of references to this *Veda* under different appellations. Here we shall discuss only a few of them and see what information we can gather from them.

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Even a casual reader of the *Go. Br.* cannot fail to observe that the *Atharvaveda* is mentioned in it very often, and under several names. The reference, occurring in a passage pertaining to the genesis of *AV.* and its seers, tells us in clear terms that at first from Bhṛgu there sprang up *ten Ātharvāṇaḥ* (from *ekarca* to *daśarca*), from whom in their turn sprang up further ten *ātharvaṇāh* (from *ekādaśa* to *viṁśa*). The passage further declares that the *mantras* that are revealed to the *Ātharvaṇa ṛṣis* and the *Ātharvaṇa ārṣeya* have the designation *Ātharvaṇa Veda*. In the same passage it is further stated that from salt water (*lavaṇāḥ āpaḥ*) sprang up ten *Aṅgirasa ṛṣayaḥ*, who, in their turn, gave rise to ten *āṅgirasa ārṣeya*; that the *mantras*, revealed to these *Angirasa ṛṣis* and *āṅgirasa ārṣeyas*, are given the name *Āṅgirasa Veda*, just as *Ātharvaṇa Veda* was the name given to *mantras* revealed to the *Ātharvaṇāḥ ṛṣayah* and *Ātharvaṇāḥ ārṣāyaḥ*, who are said to have similarly sprang up from sweet water (*svādu ap*).[13] It may be observed that these two kinds of water are described as *aśānta* and *śānta* respectively, which suggests a similar division of the subject matter of the *Veda* with similar designations for the parts in view of the subject matter contained in them.

The reference[14] in *Go. Br.* 1-29 is highly important in this connection. There, it is stated that *Aṅgirasas* comprise *Agni*, *Āditya* and *Aryaman*; while *Vāyu*, *āpah* and *candramāḥ*. consitute *Bhṛgus*. There, it is further stated that it is these that ultimately cause destruction or growth of every thing in the universe, the former being responsible for destruction, the latter for growth. This clearly shows that they are *ghora* and *śānta* respectively.

But we need not depend upon mere inference for such a twofold division and also the names to be given to the two divisions. For, we actually get a reference where these expressions (viz. *ghora* and *śānta*) have been directly used together to signify the *AV.*[15]

Another equally important point to be noted in connection with the references to *AV.* is the repeated mention of its importance directly or indirectly. For more than once[16] it has been clearly stated that one well-versed in *AV.* (*Bhṛgvangirovid*) alone can be omniscient (*sarvavid*). In fact, one, not fully conversant with it can have no claim to that title. Elsewhere it is stated that one trained by a person versed in the *AV.* (*Bhṛgvangirovid saṁskṛtah*) is fit and capable to study the other *Vedas*; but one trained by persons well-versed in the other *Vedas* is not competent to study *AV.*[17] Similar evidently is the import of the statement that those who know the three *Vedas* (viz. *RV. YV.* and *SV.*) know the earth, the mid-region and the heaven singly alone; but one versed in *AV.* (*Bhṛ.*) knows all the three. Similar is the import of the statement that one should have the *Brahman* priest well-versed in *AV.* for such a person alone has the capacity to make good the deficiency (*viriṣṭa*) in a sacrifice.[18] This repeated endeavour to stress the importance of *AV.* is not unlikely to impress on our mind the idea that the importance of the *AV.* was not as yet recognized indisputably on all hands.

Turning to the *Upaniṣads* we find that this *Veda* is mentioned by the name *Atharvaveda* in the *Muṇḍaka*[19] alone, among the older *Upaniṣads*. The *Muktikā*[20] and the *Mahānārāyaṇa*,[21] which also refer to this *Veda* by this name, are generally accepted as being comparatively later. The name *Atharvāngirasa* has occurred in the *Ups.* several times.[22] But no other name of this *Veda* is found in any of the *Ups.*, at least ancient. At one place in the *Chāndogya*, *ṛk*, *yajuṣ*,

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and *sāman* are conceived as honey-making bees (*madhukṛtaḥ*) and the three *Vedas* containing them are declared to be their flowers As for *AV.*, however, it has to be noted that it is here called a honey-making bee (*madhukṛt*), but its flower is not *AV.* (as one might naturally expect) but it is *Itihāsa-purāṇa.*[23] Two more references to *atharvāngirasaḥ* are to be found in the *Bṛhadāranyaka* which at two places has, as it were, given us a detailed list of extent literature in all its sections and divisions.[24] In both these places the name occurs after the first three *Vedas*; and what is more pertinent to note is that the expression *Veda* is not used with the name of this *Veda* though it is used in the case of the other three *Vedas*; and further that this name is immediately followed by *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Vidyā* and *Upaniṣadah*. A consideration of all these references leads one to conclude that *AV.* is more on par with the *Itihāsa-purāṇa* than the other *Vedas*, though it may not be quite easy to establish it. At any rate there is no doubt that references to *AV.* in the *Ups.* are not of the same nature as those to the other three *Vedas.*

The reference in the *Taittirīya Up.*[25] is quite intriguing. There, describing *Ātman* (self) in the form of a bird metaphorically, it is stated that *RV.* and *SV.* are its two wings; *YV.* is its head; and further that *AV.* is its tail, support or base (*puccham pratiṣṭhā*). This also may be interpreted as an attempt to emphasize the importance of *AV.* like the other passages discussed above, when we see that the expression *pucchapratiṣṭhā* in this *Up.* under this very metaphor has been used with reference to the Supreme Reality (*Brahman*).[26]

Among the *Śrautasūtras* (*SSU.*) only two viz. the *Śānkhāyana* and the *Āśvalāyana* refer to this *Veda*; though the *Gṛhyasūtras* (*GSU*) appear to quote verbatim or with a slight variation several *mantras* from it. Moreover, sacraments (*Saṁskāra*) which form the main topic of these *sūtras* have its root in *AV.* The *Dharmasūtras* and also *Smṛtis* are found to refer to the *AV.* But in them it is considered to be inferior to the other three *Vedas*. Manu is found prescribing its use against enemies. *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, as is well known, bear a strong impress of Bhṛgus and *Aṅgirasas*; and as such it is no wonder if they not only refer to it several times, but even eulogise its importance.[27]

Having thus far studied the several references to *AV.* in *SK.* literature from the *Saṁhitās* down to the *epics* we shall now try to see what inferences can be drawn from them. From the fact that references to *AV.*, direct or indirect, are conspicuous by their absence in the three *Saṁhitās* (*RV*, *YV* and *SV*) and the *Brs.* of *RV.* clearly show that either this *Veda* was not in existence at that period (which does not appear to be quite likely) or that (and this is more likely) the *AV.* had not attained a definitely fixed corpus as a *Saṁhitā*, but existed rather in the form of different pieces which at some later date were put together as the fourth *Veda*. This appears to be supported by the fact that while the other three *Vedas* have only one definite name each one of them, this *Veda* has a bewildering plurality of names. Another corroborative evidence for this is found in the fact that the hymns of this *Veda* have been mentioned in *AV.* itself in two different hymns[28] under two different names viz. *Aṅgirasaḥ* and *Atharvāṇaḥ*. The *Brs.* also evince a division or classification of the *mantras* of *AV.* into two divisions or classes viz. *śānta* and *aśānta* (which is the same as *ghora*); while one reference in the *Śat. Br.* would show *AV.* to be quite different in its nature from the other thre *Vedas*—nay,

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there would appear to exist an inherent contradiction between *AV.* on the one hand and the three *Vedas* on the other, when it is remembered that *AV.* is associated with younger and *śobhana* persons of either sex unlike the other *Vedas*. Repeated attempts in the *Go. Br.* was in emphasize the importance of *AV.* would seem to lend support to the idea that *AV.* was in earlier days opposed and not accorded good respect, and hence was not classed along with the other *Vedas*. References to this *Veda* in the *Ups.* are not of much help in this respect, though one reference has (or at least appears to have) tried to emphasize the importance of *AV.* General neglect of this *Veda* in the *SSU* (but for only two stray references) is striking indeed; and has perhaps to be explained by the fact that *AV.* has introduced the concept of *Savas*[29] (sacrifice simplified) which seem to have supplanted sacrifice that forms the main subject of the *SSU*. Non-mention or rather neglect of *AV.* by *SSU* would thus appear to suggest their utter disrespect for that *Veda* arising out of this direct and mutual conflict between their subject matter. The *GSU*, on the other hand, have some matter in common with this *Veda* and have as such good regard for it as is shown by the multiplicity of references to *AV.* that we find in them. The attitude of the *Dh Su*, however, is of general disrespect only, though the epics and the *Purāṇas* hold it in good esteem, naturally because they have developed under the influence of the *Bhṛgus* and the *Aṅgirasas* themselves. In brief, therefore, we can now say that *AV.* originally was lacking in one definite form or corpus; that its different parts were separately in vogue as separate *Veda* works; that these were combined into the *AV.* that we now have before us, lending their own name or names to it and thus giving rise to the phenomenon of a plurality of names for one *Veda*; that its subject matter being rather antagonistic to that of the *SSU*, it failed to command respect and authenticity in the earlier stages when sacrifice was the ruling idea, though by passage of time it not only got authenticity but even came to be counted as the highest and the most supreme of all the *Vedas*. This position, however, it does not appear to have retained for a long period; and has remained neglected for several centuries.

We have so far tried to see the position of *AV.* from the most ancient days down to the epic age noticing that ultimately it had secured high importance in spite of the vicissitudes through which it had to pass. We have now to see if this *Veda* can have any importance at all to the modern world. For this we shall try to study the various kinds of references that we come across in this *Veda* and on their basis try to get an idea of its importance, if any.

As for the geographical references in *AV.*, they are comparatively few. Thus at one place[30] it is said that *Mūjavat* is the original habitat of fever (*takman*) and it is suggested that it should go back to its place; for it may not find a foreign land pleasant and agreeable. There again, a little further up, it is said that he would go away to his own land viz. *Vālhikas* or 'we should like to send him away to *Gandhāra*, *Mūjavat*, *Aṅga* or *Magadha* by way of gift'.[31] These references would show that *Mūjavat* must, in those days, have been notorious for fever. *AV.* does not contain any other important geographical references that will enable us to arrive at any very important conclusions.

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The next important reference is to constellations (*nakṣatras*) serially beginning with the *Kṛttikās*.[32] A reference to the constellations by their names in serial order is found in the *Tait. Saṁ.* also. But the names occurring in *AV.* are said to be more modern than those in the latter.[33] Moreover, the book itself which contains this reference is chronologically later and appears to have been appended to the original kernel at some later date. It may not, therefore, be quite safe to draw any conclusion about the whole of *AV.* on the basis of this reference which is not late but even of the nature of an appendage.

Let us now turn to references to sacrifices, which are quite numerous. *AV.* appears to have taken for granted that these various sacrifices yield highly covetable results of a large variety. Thus, for example, there is a statement about the reward accruing to one who properly honours a guest.[34] 'Offering milk to a guest yields the same result or fruit as accrues from a full and large scale performance of the *Agniṣṭoma;* similarly offering gruel (sarpiḥ) yields fruit of a similar performance of the *Atirātra;* offering honey (*madhu*) yields the fruit of a *satrasadya*; and offering flesh, that of *Dvādaśāhasattra.* From this reference it is clear that these *yajñas* or *sattras* had become quite well established, so much so that the rewards accruing from them were too well-known to require any direct mention. It is also clear that these results were sumptuous enough to be quite covetable to all; but at the same time it is also evident that people ordinarily had begun to find it very difficult to perform these elaborate sacrifices, and sought for (or were eager to have) some easier means of securing the same fruits or acquiring the same results. This, in other words, means that the concept of sacrifice has not only been deeply impressed on and rooted into the society of those days, but had rather overgrown itself to such an extent that it had gone almost, if not wholly, out of the reach of a major part of the society. Such a conclusion finds full corroboration in the promulgation of the concept of *savas* in *AV.* which ultimately appear to have supplanted the cumbrous sacrifices and sacrificial sessions altogether or at least to a very large extent.

From the point of view of language, it may be observed that this *Veda* is partly in prose and partly in verse, and further that about a sixth of its bulk is taken over from *RV.* As for the metrical portion it is found that it is not metrically as smooth as the *RV.* For, metrical irregularities found in *RV.* are comparatively few; while in *AV.* they have occurred quite in large numbers.[35] This is but quite natural when we take into consideration the fact that this *Veda* is more connected with the masses whereas *RV.* is a *Veda* prominently of the hierarchy. The borrowing of *mantras* by *AV.* from *RV.* also has its peculiar feature. For, as a general rule, this *Veda* has not only introduced variations in readings but has also put them in contexts and settings altogether different from the original. The prose of this *Veda* appears to be on a par with that of the *Brs.* and covers two entire books in addition to portions of other books where it is mixed up with verse.

Still more important, however, is the vocabulary of this *Veda*. Take any hymn of *AV.* and you are sure to find therein some words deserving particular attention. *AV.* contains several such words as are not to be traced anywhere else in the whole of the vast

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expanse of all available Sanskrit literature; and names of diseases, herbs and shrubs, of various kinds of bacteria, of snakes and reptiles, of sorcerers (*yātudhānas*) etc. may be pointed out as a special contribution of this *Veda* to Sk. language. Barring a few of these words, which may perhaps be traced here and there, almost all these may be said to belong to this *Veda*. For, it must be noted, that even sciences and scientific works of later days that have derived much benefit from the *AV.* do not contain all of them. There are, however, certain other words that occur in *AV.* alone and that too only once. Such, for example, are *asaṁsūktagila, utkuṣīmat, uruṇḍa, urugala, ailavakara, Khṛgala, Tābuva, Taimāta, Bharūji, Mahīlukā, Valaga, Raghaṭa, Śardi, Śibhra, Śarkoṭa* etc. to which it is not impossible to add a host of words and make the list almost endless. As a matter of fact it is highly desirable and even necessary to compile a systematic dictionary of *AV.* for, such a dictionary is bound to be of immense value for the study of *AV.*

Consideration of subject matter is perhaps the most important aspect of the study of this *Veda*—the three hierarchical *Vedas* are concerned more with sacrifice and prayer and contain a very small portion that may be described by the term *yātu* (magic). The proportion between *yajña* and *yātu* in *AV.* is just the reverse of that in the other *Vedas*. This circumstance is mainly responsible for the general impression that *AV.* is nothing better than a *Veda* of *yātu* of all sorts, which in its turn has helped to throw the whole *Veda* into disrepute and disrespect in general. A little careful attention paid to *AV.* will, however, reveal the fact that this *Veda* is not so worthless and lowly as it is generally supposed to be. It is true that a major portion of this *Veda* is occupied by charms and such other means or remedies for securing various desired objects and for warding off or removal of certain evils and calamities. Such portions in *RV.* are infinitely small; but they have assumed an infinitely vast proportion in *AV.*, naturally because the *AV.* is most intimately connected with the life and aspirations of the common man. Not that it has no philosophical or sacrificial (or religious) portions. But these are mostly later appendages to the original kernel which is more concerned with (and hence quite faithfully reflects) the life of the common man.

From the whole discussion it is now quite clear that *AV.* has its own importance from various points of view. If *RV.* gives us a glimpse of the life in the hierarchical strata of the society, the *AV.* serves the same purpose with reference to the lower or the common strata untouched as yet by the hierarchical thoughts and beliefs. This makes *AV.* at least as important as *RV.*, if not even more so.[36]

REFERENCES

1. cf. *ch. up.* 1-1-9; 4-2; 2-21-1; 23-3; 4-17-3; 8.
2. *Br.* up. 5-14-2; 6.
3. *K. up.* 2-6.
4. *Man. up.* 12-2; 22-1.
5. cf. तानि त्रेतायां बहुधा संततानि । *Mun. up.* 1.2.1.
6. cf. 'गार्हपत्यादिषु वैतानिकाग्निषु' रंगरामानुज, शंकराचार्य explains it as 'त्रेतायां वा युगे' also.

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7. तस्मा॑द्य॒ज्ञात् स॑र्व॒हुत॒ ऋच॒: सामा॑नि जज्ञिरे।
छन्दां॑सि जज्ञिरे॒ तस्मा॒द्यजु॒स्तस्मा॑दजायत ॥ Rv. 10·90.9

It must, however, be observed here that this *ṛc* is also interpreted so as to refer to all the four *vedas,* though the general concensus of opinion is that this *ṛc* refers to '*les èlemente des trois Vèda*' (*Renou, Hymnes Speculatifs du Veda,* p. 248 n. 11).

8. Read : पय आहुतय वा एता देवानां यदृचः।...आज्याहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यद्यजूंषि।...सोमाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यत् सामानि।...मेद आहुतयो वा एता देवानां यदथर्वाङ्गिरसः।...मध्वाहुतयो वा ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथानाराशंस्यः। शत० ब्रा० ॥ ५.६.४–८॥

9. Read : मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजेत्याह। तस्य मनुष्या विशः। त इम आसत इति अश्रोत्रिया गृहमेधिन उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति ऋचो वेदः सोऽयमिति ऋचां सूक्तं व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ दवोभूते द्वितीयेऽहन।...यमो वैवस्तो राजेत्याह। तस्य पितरो विशः त इम आसत इति स्थविरा उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति यजूंषि वेदः सोऽयमिति यजुषामनुवाकं व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ तृतीयेऽहन्।...वरुण आदित्यो राजेत्याह। तस्य गन्धर्वा विशः त इम आसत इति युवानः शोभना उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति अथर्वाणो वेदः सोऽयमिति अथर्वणामेकं पर्व व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ चतुर्थेऽहन्।...सोमो वैष्णवो राजेत्याह। तस्याप्सरसो विशः ता इमा आसत इति युवतयः शोभना उपसमेता भवन्ति। ता उपदिशति अंगिरसो वेदः सोऽयमित्यंगिरसामेकं पर्व व्याचक्षण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ पञ्चमेऽहन्।...अर्बुदः काद्रवेयो राजेत्याह। तस्य सर्पा विशस्त इम आसत इति सर्पाश्च सर्पविदश्चोपसमेताः भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति सर्पविद्या वेदःसोऽयमिति सर्पविद्याया एकं पर्व व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ षष्ठेऽहन्।...कुवेरो वैश्रवणो राजेत्याह। तस्य रक्षांसि विशः तानमिान्यासत इति सेलगाः पापकृत उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति देवजनविद्या वेदः सोऽयमिति देवजनविद्याया एकं पर्व व्याचक्षाण इवानुद्रवेत्।...अथ सप्तमेऽहन्।...असितो धान्वो राजेत्याह। तस्यासुरा विशः त इम आसत इति कुसीदिन उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति माया वेदः सोऽयमिति कांचिन्मायां कुर्यात्।...अथाष्टमेऽहन्।...मत्स्यः सांमदो राजेत्याह। तस्योदकेचरा विशः त इम आसत इति मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यहनश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति इतिहासो वेदः सोऽयमिति कंचिदितिहासमाचक्षीत।..अथ नवमेऽहन। तार्क्ष्यो वैपश्यतो राजेत्यह। तस्य वयांसि विशः तानीमानि आसत इति वयांसि च वयोविद्यिकाश्चोपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित् पुराणमाचक्षीत।...अथ दशमेऽहन्।...धर्म इन्द्रो राजेत्याह। तस्य देवा विशः त इम आसत इति श्रोत्रिया अप्रतिग्राहका उपसमेता भवन्ति। तानुपदिशति सामानि वेदः सोऽयमिति साम्नां दशतं ब्रूयात्।...एतत् पारिप्लवम्॥ शत० ब्रा० १३.४.३.३–१४॥

10. It is curious to note that *AV.* itself has noticed these two names in XIX. 22 and 23.
11. As a matter of fact *AV.* has taught various kinds of *Sava,* which appear to have greatly affected the importance of sacrifice.
12. Read : स भृगुं दृष्ट्वाऽन्तरधीयत।...तमथर्वाणमृषिमभ्यश्रायदभ्यतपत्। तस्मात् श्रान्तात् संतप्तात् दशतयानथर्वण ऋषीन्निरमिमत एकर्चान्.. दशर्चान् इति। तानथर्वण ऋषीनभ्यश्राम्यदयतत्। तेभ्यः श्रान्तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यः दशतयानाथर्वणानार्षेयान्निरमिमत् एकादशान्...विंशान् इति। तानथर्वण ऋषीनाथर्वणानार्षेयानभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। तेभ्यः श्रान्तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यः यान्मन्त्रानपश्यत् स आथर्वणवेदोऽभवत्। गोपथ० 1.5 (p.3.).
13. ता आपः सृष्ट्वा अन्वैक्षत। तासु स्वां छायामपश्यत्। तामस्येक्षमाणस्य स्वयं रेतोऽस्कन्दत्। तदप्सु प्रत्यतिष्ठत्। तास्तत्रैवाभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। ताः श्रान्तास्तप्ताः सार्धमेव रेतसा द्वैधमभवन्। तासामन्या अन्यतरा अतिलवणा

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अपेया अस्वाद्‌व्यः। ता अशान्ता रेतःसमुद्रं कृत्वाऽतिष्ठन्। अथेतराःपेयाःस्वाद्‌व्यःशान्ताः तास्तत्रैवाभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। ताभ्यः श्रान्ताभ्यस्तप्ताभ्यः यद्रेत आसीत तदभृज्यत। यदभृज्यत तस्माद् भृगुः समभवत्। . . ता या अमू रेतः समुद्रं कृत्वाऽतिष्ठन् ताः प्राच्यो दक्षिणाच्यः प्रतीच्य उदीच्यःसमद्रवन्त। तद्यत् समद्रवन्त तस्मात् समुद्र उच्यते ता भीता अब्रुवन् भगवन्तमेव वयं राजानं वृणीमहे। यच्च वृत्वाऽतिष्ठन् तद्वरुणोऽभवत्। तं वा एतं वरणं सन्तं वरुण इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण। तं वरुणं मृत्युमभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। तस्य श्रान्तस्य तप्तस्य सर्वेभ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो रसोऽक्षरत्। सोंऽगरसोऽभवत्। तं वा एतमङ्गरसं सन्तं अङ्गिरा इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण। . . . तमङ्गिरसमृषिमभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। तस्मात् श्रान्तात् तप्तात् द्वाविंशिनोऽगिरस ऋषीनितरमिमत। तान् विंशिनोऽगिरस ऋषीनभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। तेभ्यः श्रान्तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यो दशतयानाङ्गिरसार्षेयान् निरमिमत्। षोडशिनोऽष्टादशिनो द्वादशिन एकर्चास्तृचांश्चतुर्ऋचान् पञ्चर्चान् षडर्चान् व्द्यृचान् सप्तर्चान् इति। तानङ्गिरस ऋषीनागिरसानार्षेयानभ्यश्राम्यदभ्यतपत्। तेभ्यः श्रान्तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यः यान् मन्त्रानपश्यत् स आङ्गिरसो वेदोऽभवत्। गो० ब्रा० 1. 3. 7—8 p. 24

14. Read : ब्रह्मा भृगवङ्गिरोभिर्यज्ञस्य विरिष्टं शमयति। अग्निरादित्योऽयंम इत्येतेऽङ्गिरसः। एते इदं सर्वं समाप्नुवन्ति। वायुरापश्चन्द्रमा इत्येते भृगवः। एते इदं सर्वं समाप्याययन्ति। गो० ब्रा० 1. 2.9 p. 24
15. cf 'व्युष्टिरासीत् तां पञ्चस्वपश्यत् ऋचि यजुषि साम्नि शान्तेऽथ घोरे' गो० ब्रा० V. 10, p. 24
16. Read : तस्माद्य एव सर्ववित् स्यात् तं ब्रह्माणं कुर्वीत। एष ह वै विद्वान् सर्वविद् ब्रह्मा यद् भृग्वङ्गिरोविद्। (गो० ब्रा० V. II, p. 69); ऋचां विद्वान् पृथिवीं वेद। सम्प्रति यजूंषि विद्वान् बृहदन्तरिक्षम्। दिवं वेद सामगो यो विपश्चित् सर्वान् लोकान् यद् भृग्वङ्गिरोविद्॥ (गो० ब्रा० V. 25, p. 76); इत्येतद्वै सर्वं ब्रह्मण्यर्पितम्। ब्रह्मैव विद्वान् यद् भृग्वङ्गिरोविद् सम्यगधीयानश्चरितब्रह्मचर्योऽन्यूनातिरिक्ताङ्गः अप्रमत्तो यज्ञं रक्षति। (गो० ब्रा० VII); ब्रह्मचर्येण चैतस्मात् अथर्वाङ्गिरसो ह यो वेद सर्वमिति ब्राह्मणम् (गो० ब्रा० 1.2.9, p 13)
17. Read : सर्वमापोमयं भूतं सर्वं भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम्। अन्तरैते त्रयो वेदा भृगूनङ्गिरसः श्रिताः इति। अप् इति प्रकृतिरपाम्। ऊंकारेण चैतस्माद् व्यासः पुरोवाच। भृग्वङ्गिरोविदा संस्कृतोऽन्यान् वेदानधीयीत। नान्यत्र संस्कृतो भृग्वङ्गिरसोऽधीयीत॥ (गो० ब्रा० 1. 2.9, p. 12 f.)
18. See notes 14 and 16 above.
19. मुण्ड० 1. 1. 5.
20. अथर्ववेदगतानां. . . उपनिषदाम्। मुक्ति० 1.
21, आनेष्टुभं छन्दोऽथर्ववेदः। महाना० 3.
22. cf. छा० उ० III. 4. 1. 2; बृह० उप० II. 4. 10.; 1V. 2. 1; 5- 11; तैत्ति० उ० II. 3- 1; मैत्री० VI. 33; प्रश्न० II. 8.
23. अथ येऽस्योदञ्ची रश्मयः ता एवास्योदीच्यो मधु नाड्यः, अथर्वाङ्गिरस एव मधुकृतः इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम्। छा० उ० III. 4. 1.
24. Read : यथार्द्रैधाग्नेरभ्याहतात् पृथग्धूमा विनिश्चरन्ति एवं वा अरे अस्य महतो निःश्वसितं यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राणि अनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि, अस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। बृ० उ० II. 4. 10; also read बृ० उ० IV. 5. 11.
25. तस्माद्वा एतस्मात् प्राणमयादन्योऽन्तर आत्मा मनोमयः। . . . तस्य यजुरेव शिरः ऋक् दक्षिणः पक्षः सामोत्तरः पक्षः आदेश आत्मा अथर्वाङ्गिरसः पुच्छं प्रतिष्ठा। तै० उ० II. 3. 1.
26. See तै० उप० II. 5 Where the *ānandamaya ātman* is described.

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27. For all these references see *Bloomfield*, *Atharvaveda*.
28. *AV*. XIX, 22 and 23 respectively.
29. The concept of *sava* is discussed in some details in a separate chapter.
30. cf. ओको अस्य मूजवत ओको अस्य महावृषा :। यावज्जातस्तवमंस्तावानसि बह्लिकेषु गोचरः॥ . . .तक्मन् मूजवतो गच्छ बह्लिकान् वा परस्तराम्। . . .महावृषान् मूजवतो बन्ध्वद्धि परेत्य। प्रैतानि तक्मने ब्रूमो अन्यक्षेत्राणि वा इमा॥ अन्यक्षेत्रे न रमसे वशी सन् मृडयासि नः॥ अभूदु प्रार्थस्तक्मा स गमिष्यति बह्लिकान्॥ *AV*. V. 22. 5, 7-9.
31. cf. गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भ्योऽङ्गेभ्यो मगधेभ्यः। प्रैष्यन् जनमिव शेवधिं तक्मानं परिदद्मसि॥ *AV* V. 22. 14.
32. *AV*. XIX. 7.
33.
34. cf. स य एवं विद्वान् क्षीरमुपसिच्योपहरति। यावदग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवा सुसमृद्धेनावरुन्द्धे तावदेनेनावरुन्द्धे। IX. 6.
35. For metres in *AV*. see *Bloomfield*, ibid. p. 41 f.
36. This paper is based on one of the series of lectures on the *Atharvaveda* delivered by the author at Poona a few years ago.

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A RARE MANUSCRIPT OF THE VĀRĀHA SCHOOL

By

C. G. KASHIKAR, VAIDIKA SAMŚODHANA MANḌALA, POONA.

The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, which belongs to one of the four recensions of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, has got two sets of ancillary texts : (i) The Mānava and (ii) the Vārāha. The Mānava school is represented by a Śrauta[1] and a Gṛhya[2] Sūtra. The Vārāha school is similarly represented by a Śrauta Sūtra and a Gṛhya Sūtra. The Gṛhya Sūtra was first edited by R. *Sama Sastry* at Baroda; another edition of the same book was published by *Raghu Vira* in 1932. The Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra was edited in 1933 by *Coland* and *Raghu Vira*.

In olden days the Maitrāyaṇīyas lived within the region ranging from the Mayūra mountain (modern Mulher in the Nasik District of Maharashtra) up to the Gurjar country as stated in the commentary on the Caraṇavyūha.[3]. Even at present they appear to have settled down there. So far as the Vārāha school of that recension is concerned, the followers of that school were said to be living round about Nandurbar in Dhulia District of Maharashtra. The general impression was that that school had totally disappeared and that probably it was merged with the Mānava Māitrāyaṇīyas. On a closer observation, however, it was found that the school was still living.[4]

As regards the literature of the Vārāha school, the Vārāha Gṛhya Sūtra edition is based on a number of manuscripts, but the case of the Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra is quite different. There are only two manuscripts of that work at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. A transcript of the MS. Acc. No. 11234 was made for R. *Sama Sastry* for being used as a press-copy in which certain variants, mostly derived from the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra, were recorded. *Caland* and *Raghu Vira* prepared their edition on the basis of this transcript; they had not used any original manuscript. As a result, their edition was only tentative. *Raghu Vira* has said in his Preface that "We succeeded in the main, though here and there we had to keep in our text doubtful or even entirely undeciphered readings. On the whole we claim no more than to present herewith a tentative text which could certainly be improved by the discovery of fresh manuscripts." Fortunately some material is now available which can help towards the improvement of the printed text. There is another manuscript (Acc. No. 680) of that work at the Oriental Institute itself. The present author had an opportunity to study this manuscript. This study showed that the text as printed in the edition could be considerably improved. The results of this study have already been published.[5]

A third manuscript of the Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra has been fortunately discovered by the present author. Its critical value apart, the discovery itself of a third manuscript of

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that work is indeed a great achievement. The manuscript consists of 212 folios written in Devanagari script on country paper. There are nine lines on each side of a folio, and in each line there are 38 letters on an average. The colophon reads :

शके १७७१ आश्विनमासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथौ ६ मंदवासरे नक्षत्रे पुण्यनक्षत्रे दक्षिणायनेहेमंतश्रृतौ ।। हस्ताक्षर सदाशिवात्मज हरी व नारायणेन लिखितं ।।

Thus the manuscript is 115 years old. It was written by Hari and Narayaṇa, the two sons of Sadāshiva, which is evident from two different hand-writings. The hand-writing on folios 1-148 is superior to that on the remaining folios. An additional numbring, beginning from 1, is found from folio 150 onwards; it runs upto 60.

The manuscript consists of two works : (i) Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra, and (ii) Vārāha Pariśiṣṭa. The latter is a supplement mainly to the Śrauta Sūtra. The Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra which is printed comprises the Sūtra-portions of the so-called Prāksoma rites, Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Dvādaśāha, Gavāmayana, Utsargiṇām Ayana, Mahāvrata, Yupaikādaśins, Sautrāmaṇi, Rājasūya, and Aśvamedha. Even here the text is at times broken. If a small portion is lost, the scribe has left a little space to denote it (e.g. folio, 29A); if a few folios of the manuscript from which he copied were not available, he has mentioned the fact. For instance, on folio 50A, after Vār SS I.6.7.38 he says गत पत्र २. Unfortunately the second Baroda manuscript (Acc. No. 680) and the manuscript discovered by the present author do not contain any additional portion. In the latter manuscript the Śrauta Sūtra ends on the 99th folio, and the remaining part of the manuscript presents the entire Vārāha Pariśiṣṭa. There are in all twenty-two Pariśiṣṭas; they are enumerated at the beginning of the Vārāha Gṛhya Sūtra. The Vārāha Pariśiṣṭa has not been printed so far.

A casual study of the newly discovered manuscript shows that the text of that manuscript agrees more with that of the MS. No. 680 rather than with that of No. 11234. A comparison with the MS. No. 680 of the new manuscript as regards the orthography shows that both the manuscripts have च्च instead of च्छ, and च्य instead of त्स. On the other hand, the Baroda manuscript, unlike the new manuscript, reads sometimes श and sometimes ख instead of ष. In the new manuscript the sign of *anunāsika* is similar to that found in the Taittirīya recension. In the Baroda manuscript it is like the English letter S with a dot inside the upper curve. There is some difference also with regard to the numbering of chapters : In the Vārāha Śrauta Śūtra there are three chapters which are subdivided into thirteen sections. The paragraphs in each section are numbered separately. In the Baroda manuscript the paragraphs in all the sections are numbered serially. The new manuscript shows a system similar to that in the printed text.

The Baroda manuscript was written in Śaka 1601, while the new manuscript, as already stated, was written in Śaka 1771. The text of these two manuscripts is similar to a large extent. In both the manuscripts there are a number of lacunas. These are mostly identical. There are only two exceptions. In the Baroda MS. three letters are left out in one place (folio 196); they are intact in the new MS. (folio 133). A whole folio (129)

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is lost in the Baroda MS. The new MS has got (in folio 101) the contents (14 lines) lost in that folio. The Text of the new MS. is sometimes defective.

The newly discovered manuscript does not appear to be directly copied from the Baroda MS; however both the MSS. belong to the same tradition. The new manuscript will decidedly render some help in presenting the text of the Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra and Pariśiṣṭa in a more correct form. Let us hope that more manuscripts of this Sūtra, particularly representing a better tradition of the text, will come to light some day, so that complete and fully correct text of the works of the Vārāha school may become available.

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2. Edited by *Knauer*; another edition published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1926.
3. मयूरपर्वताच्चैव यावद्गुर्जरदेशतः।
   व्याप्ता वायव्यदेशात्तु मैत्रायणी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥
4. The following Brāhamaṇa families belong to the Vārāha school :—Joshi, Mule, Vāvde, Kulkarni, Pāṭhak and Tembhekar. It will be interesting to record here their Gotras and Pravaras :—Joshi and Mule belong to the Bhāradvāja Gotra with the Pravaras, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya. Vāvde belong to the Sāṅkhyāyana Gotra with the Pravaras Pramoda, Amṛta and Indra. Kulkarni belong to the Kauśika Gotra with the Pravaras Kauśika, Viśvāmitra and Aghamarśaṇa. Pāthak belong to the Kṛṣṇātreya Gotra. Tembhekar belong to the Vasiṣṭha Gotra. Joshi belong to the Māṇḍavya Gotra with the Pravaras Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya. Pāṭhak belong to the Gautama Gotra with the Pravaras Gautama, Aṅgirasa and Ayāsya.
5. *JBBRAS* Vol. XXVI No. i, pp. 10-20 Bombay 1950; *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. XXV, pp. 229-41 Madras 1962.

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NIRUKTA NOTES XII (Vibhakti)

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, POONA

While enunciating the principles of etymology, Yāska observes : *avidyamāne sāmānyè-pyakṣaravarṇasāmānyān nirbrūyāt / na tueva na nirbrūyāt/na saṃskāram ādriyeta/viśayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti/yathārthaṁ vibhaktīḥ saṁnamayet/* (Nirukta 2.1) "If there be no (such) analogy, one should explain them even by the community of a (single) syllable or letter; but one should never (give up the attempt at) derivation. One should not attach (too much) importance to the grammatical form, for these complex formations (*vṛttayaḥ*) are (often) subject to exceptions. One should interpret inflected cases according to the meaning" (Sarup).

Sarup thus interprets Yāska's word *vibhakti* to mean case inflection.[1] Roth (Erläuterungen, p. 16) apparently does the same, for he translates the last line as "Die Beugungen löse man auf wie es sich gehört."[2] Both these scholars have followed the commentator Durga who understands *yathārthaṁ vibhaktīḥ saṁnamayet* to mean that while interpreting a passage one should, if necessary, change the inflected cases of the text as required by the context. He says that Yāska himself makes use of this principle and changes case inflections while interpreting a Vedic passage in the Nirukta 9.33. Yāska paraphrases *nirdaha hṛtsū* (loc. pl) *śokair* (ṚV. 10.103.12) by *nirdahaiṣām hṛdayāni* (acc. pl.) *śokair*[3] (Read...... *vibhaktīrapi yathārthameva saṁnamayed vipariṇmayet pūrvottarapadaprakaraṇāvirodhena/ kim kāraṇam/tāsāmapi hi vyatyayo bhavateva/ 'supāṁ sthāne supo bhavanti' iti hi vaiyākaraṇāḥ paṭhanti/ darśayiṣyati cāyamapi vibhaktivipariṇāmam/ tad yathā/ 'hṛtsu śokair hṛdayāni śokaiḥ' ityevam ādi/* (Durga).

One, however, fails to see what a change in case terminations, like *hṛtsu by hṛdayāni*, has to do with the derivation of nouns with which the principles of etymology (*nirvacana*) are concerned. Such changes in case terminations may at times be necessary while interpreting a given passage, but they do not affect the etymology of a word. Rajavade, who also interprets *vibhakti* as case-termination, feels this difficulty. He observes, "The injunction is out of place here as it is an interruption between *viṣayavatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti* and *prattam avattam* etc. which illustrates this statement; it is difficult to suggest its location in the Nirukta."[2]

The commentary ascribed to Skanda-Maheśvara tries to get over this difficulty by treating *yathārthaṁ vibhaktīḥ saṁnamayet* an exception to the rule *apyakṣaravarṇasāmānyān-nirbrūyāt*. They also interpret *vibhakti* to mean case-inflection. They seem to suggest that a given case itself has the power of conveying the meaning of any other case, and therefore

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one need not try to derive the desired case-ending from the case-ending which actually appears in the text on the basis of some similarity of a letter or a syllable between the two case-endings[5] (e.g.-*as* from-*su*). Thus according to this commentary the present rule is concerned with the derivation of case-endings. (Read......*sannāmo vipariṇāmaḥ| yathārthaṁ vibhaktivipariṇāmaṁ kuryāt, na tvakṣaravarṇasāmānyena nirvacanam| kiṁ kāraṇam| vibhakterhi kārakaviśeṣo' rthaḥ| sa śaknoti kārakasāmānyaṁ lakṣayitum| tadapi yogyaṁ kārakaviśeṣāntaram| evaṁ lakṣaṇāparamparayā samastāyā avakṛtāyāśca*[8] *tata eva vibhaktervibhaktyantarārthapratītisambhavāc-chakyata eva vibhaktivipariṇāmaḥ kartum, na tu yogyenākṣaravarṇasāmānyena nirvacanam|* Skanda-Maheśvara).

This is hardly satisfactory. Yaska is laying down the principles to be followed while deriving *nāma* from *ākhyāta*. He is not concerned about the derivations of case terminations, much less about the derivation of one case-ending from another, e.g. loc. pl. from acc. pl., etc. This is certainly beside the point. The confusion has come about because the word *vibhakti* in the Nirukta text has been misunderstood. In this context it does not mean 'case termination,' but simply 'division'. Yāska has already laid down that in difficult cases where no clear meaning, similarity is to be seen between the word to be derived and a verb, the word should be split up and derived on the basis of similarity of a syllable or a letter. The divisions of a word into syllables or letters by themselves may not mean anything. They(*vibhaktīḥ*), therefore, should be interpreted (*saṁnamayet*) according to the sense (*yathārtham*) of the word to be derived. A few examples of derivations of this type will make this point clear. The word *agni* is derived in more than one way. (7.14). The various divisions (*vibhaktīḥ*) of the word *agni* are made to yield (*saṁ*$\sqrt{}$*nāmaya*) the intended sense (*yathārtham*) on the basis of the similarity of *akṣara* or *varṇa*. e.g. (1) *ag-ni*=*agra* 'front'+$\sqrt{}$*nī* 'to carry' or (2)=*aṅga* 'limb'+$\sqrt{}$nī; (3) *a-gni*=*á* 'not'+$\sqrt{}$*knū* 'to make wet'; (4) *a-g-ni*=$\sqrt{}$*i* 'to go'+$\sqrt{}$añj 'to smear' or $\sqrt{}$*dah* 'to burn' +$\sqrt{}$*nī*. The word *artha* has two derviations (1.18) : (1) *ar-tha*=$\sqrt{}$*ṛ* 'to move' +*tha* suffix; or *ar-tha*=*araṇa* 'distant' +$\sqrt{}$*sthā* 'to stand'. Similarly the two derviations of *naraka* have the same divisions, but they are differently interpreted (1.11) : (1) *na-ra-ka*=*ni* 'downwards' +$\sqrt{}$ṛ 'to go' +*ka* suffix; (2) *na* 'not' +$\sqrt{}$*ram* 'to delight'+*ka* 'small' (*alpa*). *Śākhā* (1.4) is either (1) *śā-khā*=$\sqrt{}$*śī* 'to lie' +*kha* 'atmosphere' or (2) from $\sqrt{}$*śak* 'to be able' (with aspiration unexplained). These instances, and there are many more of this type in the Nirukta, exemplify the twin principles *apy-akṣaravarṇasāmānyān nirbruyāt* and *yathārthaṁ vibhaktīḥ saṁnamayet*.

REFERENCES

1. Also cf Sarup, Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, p. 240.
2. Roth considers that *prattam, avattam* etc. are examples of the rule about changing the inflected cases as required. Usually these are regarded as examples of *viṣaya-vatyo hi vṛttayo bhavanti*.
3. Geldner :........versenge sie in ihrem Herzen mit Glut.

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4. His B.O.R.I. edition of the Nirukta, p. 298. For examples of *vibhaktivipariṇāma* cf. p. XXIV and Index XV, p. 627. Also cf. his Marathi edition p. 76 and pp. 1213-14. On p. 76 Rajavade observes that changing of case-terminations has nothing to do with etymology.
5. This commentary gives one more instance where (Nirukta 6.1) a nominative is optionally interpreted as ablative.
6. Is this a misprint for *avikṛtāyāś*.

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VĀK LEGENDS IN THE BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE

By

VIDYA NIWAS MISRA, GORAKHPUR

1.1. *Vāk* is one of the most mysterious figures in the Vedic mythology. The legends pertaining to Vāk are not numerous, either in the Saṃhitās or in the Brāhmaṇas, but, nevertheless, the importance of these legends could not be denied, in as much as the concept of *Vāk* is one of the basic concepts of the Indian thought. Looking into the sources of the *Vāk* legends, we find that three hymns in the ṚK Saṃhitā, I.164, X.125 and X.71 have laid down the foundation of the Brāhmanic annotations. In the hymn I.164, *Vāk* has been referred as having its peak in the Brahmā[1], from *vāk* emanate the oceans, the space breathes through *Vāk*, the imperishable '*akṣara*' oozes out of *Vāk* and it enlivens the universe[2] and *Vāk* is the white one, '*Gaurī*' which creates the cosmic waters and which gradually extended into a thousandfold imperishable[3]. The gist of the *Vāk Sūkta* (X.125) is that *Vāk* is the first amongst the requisites of a Sacrifice,[4] *Vāk* is the creator of the Heaven, has its cradle in the water[5] and *Vāk* is the vital force which stretches the bow of Rudra.[6] The queer thing about this hymn is that its *Ṛṣi* (the seer) is *Vāk* itself, said to be the daughter of Ambhṛṇa

1.2. The name *Ambhṛṇa* has been derived by Mayrhofer from '*ambhi* + *Bhṛṇah*' = a vessel to hold water or *Soma* juice.[7] Its second meaning is 'great, powerful'.[8] The reading in Ś. B. is Āmbhṇī and the order of the sages is fixed as Āditya, *Vāk* Āmbhinī, Naidhruvi Kaśyapa, Śilpa Kaśyapa etc. The equation of *Vāk* with *Soma* and with the vessel holding *Soma* was quite a natural sequence of the symbolic importance of the ritual of the pressing of *Soma*. The name Ambhṛṇa or Ambhiṇa seems to be as much a mystical as Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, equated with *Soma* and *Agni* respectively by Pandita Girdhar Sharma Chaturvedi.[10] I would suggest that this name may be derived from '*ambhas* + √ṛ (to move)' that which moves the cosmic waters or in other words that which stirs the process of the first creation and this is in consonance with the equation of *Vāk* with Prajāpati[11] or the Creator. The word *ambhṛṇa* occurs in the Ṛgveda as an epithet of *piśāci* and undoubtedly means 'the powerful'. So the conception of *Vāk* as gathered from the *Vāk* hymn is that of the primordial moving force and it is for this reason that the earliest recorded manifestation of *Vāk*, the Veda, was figuratively described as the breath of the Supreme being (*yasya niśvasitāni vedāḥ*) and the Tāntric discipline equated the *Parā Vāk* with the supreme being. It is to be noted that the conception of the serpent energy (the *Kuṇḍalinī*) is a further extension of *Vāk* as the stirring vital energy.

1.3. In the hymn X.71 (ascribed to *Vācaspati* or *Bṛhaspati*) the importance of *Vāk*

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has been credited to *yajña*[12] and the mystical nature of *Vāk* as the source of inspiration has been beautifully described.[13]. The other important references to *Vāk* are in the IX *maṇḍala*, wherein *Soma* has been described as the husband of *Vāk*,[14] besides scattered references in the X *maṇḍala*, wherein *Vāk* is deemed a means of victory,[15] the glory of *Vāk* has permeated the Universe in a thousand ways,[16] and the Gandharvas are said to have placed *Vāk* in the cosmic womb.[17] Equating *Vāk* with *Sarasvatī*, we get three different aspects of *Vāk*, *Iḍā* or *Ilā*, *Saraswati* and *Mahī*.[18] *Mahī* has been synonymized by *Bhāratī* elsewhere,[18] the functions of each being respectively to foster Ṛta (cosmic dynamic order), *Satya* (Truth) and the *bṛhat* (the expansion or the largeness), as aptly interpreted by Aurobindo.[20] I would suggest that these three aspects refer to the triad, the Heaven (Dyaus), the space (*Antarikṣa*) and the Earth (Pṛthvī). The equation of *Bhāratī* with *Mahī* is very apt, because *Agni* has been described as *bhārata* repeatedly in the Brāhmaṇas[21] and *Vāk* has been equated repeatedly with *Agni*.[22] *Vāk* has also been equated with *Dyaus*, *Antarikṣa* and *Pṛthvī*.[23] The identification of *Vāk* with *Sarasvatī* (a river Goddess) does not present any difficulty when we find a consistent emphasis on the aquatic aspect of *Vāk*; *Vāk* seems to be an abstract representation of the acquatic element (the seed of the cosmos) as observed by Bosch in his admirable work, 'The Golden Germ'.[24] To summarize, *Vāk* had already been established as a driving force in the sacrificial act, subsequently a driving force in the human existence and finally a driving force in the cosmogony in the Ṛgveda and leaving aside a few references, the term *Vāk* does not refer so much to the actual activity of speech as to the power underlying that activity. It has, therefore, a triple aspect in consonance with the threefold categorization of the Gods of the Universe.

2. Keeping this background in view, we propose to analyse the *Vāk* legends in the Brāhmaṇas. The largest number of such legends pertain to the energy aspect of *Vāk* and these could be grouped under three main categories.

(i) the cosmogonic legends;

(ii) the legends connecting *Vāk* with *Soma;*

(iii) The legends connecting *Vāk* with the perpetual *deva-asura* struggle. The legends pertaining to *Vāk* as the human activity of speech or language or organ of speech, though smaller in number, are none the less important from a sociological point of view. First we take up the cosmogonic legends.

2.1. Most of the cosmogonic *Vāk* legends start with *Prajāpati's* desire to create; in some *Vāk* is the first or second progeny[25] and in others his wife.[26] The process of creation according to these legends starts either with gods or with libations with different types of incantations and metres. In Jai. B. *Vāk* is said to be the first thing in existence. Vāk intended to perform a sacrifice and poured which ultimately turned into twelve months and increased the number thirty which transformed into days from which the year cycle was born and it became the first *Yjaña*.[27] In Ai. B. legend *Prajāpati* created the three worlds, the earth, the space and the Heaven, these three in succession gave birth to *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Āditya* (Fire, Wind and Sun respectively), which in turn created *Ṛk*, *Yajuṣ* and *Sāma*, these three created

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी
विश्वविद्यालय

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out their essence, the three *Vyāhṛtis*, *Bhūḥ*, *Bhūvaḥ*, *Svaḥ*, which finally became to be represented by the three letter constituents A, U, M (of OM).[28] The Kā. B. legend makes *Vāk* as the consort of *Prajāpati*. *Vāk* became pregnant and bore *Soma* as the first offspring, after having given birth to *Soma*, *Vāk* entered into *Prajāpati*.[29] Another legend in Jai. B., the waters have been described as the wives of the gods and having conceived from them bore the different types of *Sāma*, viz. *Rathantara*, *Bṛhat*, *Vairūpa*, *Vairāja*, *Sāmbara*, *Raivata* and *Aindra*.[30] *Vāk* has been described as the supreme Brahma and is to be addressed as the emperor and the Vedas and other branches of learning are said to have been born as attendants of *Vāk*.[31] In another legend *Vāk* has been called the starting day and subsequently the starting point in the time cycle and also the initiator of the sacrificial activity, and as such is the seat of every manifestation.[32] In another *Prajāpati-Vāk* legend in Jai. B., *Prajāpati* created *Vāk*, *Vāk* in turn created the cow and for the maintenance of this cow he created the eight *Vasus*, eleven *Rudras* and twelve *Ādityas*.[33] Each of these groups kept the cow for a year and with her help multiplied into the manifold manifestations of cosmos. The gradual process of creation of the earth from the aquatic *Vāk* and of the space from the earth and of the heaven from the space is the theme of another legend in Jai. B.[34]

2.1.1. In all these legends *Vāk* is the manifestation of the latent creative power. The terms *Ṛk*, *Yajuṣ* and *Sāma* do not connotate the three *Saṃhitās*, in fact they refer to the three types of revelations, earthly, intermediary and heavenly (this order can be reversed if we, instead of aiming at the elevation of the individual soul through the power of *Vāk*, intend to reach the gradual transformation of *Vāk* into the physical, gross, concrete and sensory act of speech, a parallel to the situation of *Paśyantī*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī*, three layers of the *Parā Vāk* in the *Āgama* literature). In a way they are the lower differentiated layers of the unified abstraction called *Vāk* (corresponding to logos). It has to be clearly borne in mind that this acquatic aspect of *Vāk* is essentially an image of nebulous, unfathomable, dormant urge of life. The two extreme ends in this threefold layering, the earth and the heaven in a polarized conception came to be symbolised by the mother of serpents and that of the eagle (*Sārparājñī*=*Kadrū*=*Pṛthivī*,[35] and *Suparṇī*=*Dyaus*, *Sāma*=*Sauparṇa* and born of *Dyaus*).[36]

2.2. This gave incentive to the concept of duality extended to the sphere of *Vāk* so that the *Agni-Soma* are the male-female elements weld into one for the purpose of creation as rightly observed by Bosch.[37] The legends connecting *Vāk* with Soma-Agni and *Yajña* are too numerous to be analysed individually. One thing is certain, *Soma* had already become by the later Vedic period a symbol rather than a concrete intoxicant or stimulant material. Most of the *Vāk-Soma* legends start with the assumption that *Soma* was inaccessible and was jealously guarded by Gandharvas. *Vāk* asked the Gods to barter for *Soma*. The Gods were hesitant, as they could not aford to live without her. *Vāk* found out a way of coming back through entering into the fire.[38] In another legend *Gāyatrī* brought the *Soma*, but *Viśvāvasu* stole it away. *Vāk* transformed itself into a red one-year cow and *Soma* was bartered .[39]The purport of all these legends seems to be that the exhileration of *Soma* is sought through *Vāk*

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(the power of *Mantra*), *Soma* is much more a mental beatitude than a concrete object and the Gandharvas described to be amenable to feminine charm or infact the firy or the male aspects of divinity (as well corroborated by its numerous equations with *Vāyu*, *Yajña*, *Agni* and *Sūrya*).[40] The anthropological or historical interpretation may fit in a context, where *Soma* is a physical reality, but in the present context of speculation into the inner significance of ritual a more integrated approach is needed. As pointed out by Altizer "the symbol postulates a religious goal which cannot be reached by the practitional form of myth and ritual nor by rational or conceptual thought."[41] The rich intricacy of a myth, therefore, defeats an attempt towards 'Intellectual formulation'.[42] A close scrutiny of *Vāk-Soma* legends would reveal that the *Vāk* referred to here is different from the *Vāk* of the cosmogonic legends. Here, it is the female aspect or more precisely the instrumental rather than the ultimate end aspect of *Vāk* which is bartered for divine state exhileration. Instead of being summum bonum, *Vāk* is the most potent means for excellence to achieve such a state. But still *Vāk* is not the activity of speech, atmost it is the power of sacred speech. This would correspond to the *Iḍā,* the contentment (incarnate of Gods) or to the *Paśyantī* of the *Āgama* tradition. The marriage of *Soma* and *Vāk* has already been referred to in para 12 of this paper; *Soma* is the male static aspect and *Vāk* the female dynamic one and the duality is kept intact in the merger.

3.1. The third series of legends pertain to the *Deva-Asura* struggle. In one of these legends, the gods and the demons vied with each other for the inheritance of *Prajāpati.* Gods chose *Manas*, the mental faculty, the demons, *Vāk* (speech); the gods opted for sacrifice, the demons for *Vāk* (the revealed speech); gods got the heaven and the demons, the earth. But, then, the gods could not do without *Vāk* and asked *Yajña* to cajole *Vāk* into their fold. *Yajña* tried and failed, the gods goaded him saying 'such is the way of treating the male by the female'. *Yajña* tried the second time, *Vāk* nodded but did not come and succeded in his third attempt. The Gods concealed *Vāk* in the sacrificial fire and deprived of *Vāk*, the demons fled away uttering a corrupt speech.[43] There is another reference to corrupt or obscene speech in Tai. B., wherein Indra had to kill the demonic speech (when she interfered in his killing of the three-headed demon *Vṛtra*) through a prayer to *Agni.*[44] In another legend, the Gods and the demons decided to resolve their struggle through a verbal contest and the mode of contest was that the gods would utter some word in the masculine gender to which the demons would give a feminine corresponding word. The gods started with words 'Eka' (one) and when they reached word 'Panca' (five), the Asuras who had kept up the contest drawn till the number four were floored as they could not find a feminine corresponding word, so the Gods won.[45]

3.2. *Vāk* is said to have fled from the Gods and entered the waters; she came back only after an assurance by the Gods had been given that the human being would not corrupt it.[46] In a G. B. legend the gods could only by uttering 'Omkāra' drive out the demons from the City of *Indra.*[47]. In all these legends *Vāk* is the act of speech, particularly the sacred language of the Vedic ritual, and has been shown to have gained a greater importance and sanctity than

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that it had in earlier phases. *Vāk* no doubt had been the first amongst the requisites of a sacrifice, but the concept of divinity has been equated more with breath (*Prāṇa*) and *Manas* (thought) than with speech. Here again the Vedic speech itself became identified with the divinity and as such the *Asura* priests, who had preserved the oral tradition, were approached and the mystic meaning of the revealed word was regained by the gods from the *Asuras*. The Puranic legend of *Uśanas Kavi* (Śukra=the mystic meaning=effulgence of *Vāk*=the progeny of *Bhṛgu*) is an extended projection of the above idea. This leads us to the juxtaposition of *Manas* and *Vāk*, *Prāṇa* and the *Vāk*, *Ṛk* and *Sāma*, *Indra* and *Vāyu*, *Agni* and *Sūrya*. In a S. B. legend *Vāk* has been equated to this world (the Earth), *Manas* to the space and *Prāṇa* to the heaven; Vāk to *Ṛgveda*, *Manas* to *Yajurveda*, *Prāṇa* to *Sāmaveda*; *Vāk* to mother, *Manas* to father, *Prāṇa* to the offspring.[48] This is corroborated by a pairing of *Pṛthvī* and *Agni* on the one hand and *Vāk* and *Sūrya* on the other in T. B.[49] The equation of *Vāk* with *Ṛk* and of *Manas* with *Sāma* is an oft repeated motif.[50] and so is juxtaposition of *Vāk* and *Manas*[51] (the speech and the thought).

4.1. Now we come to the miscellaneous set of legends, where sacrificial vessels and dates (*tithi*) and various types of ritual instructions have been deified by the power of *Vāk*. In a S. B. legend[52] the ritual of playing on a stone with a pestle has been justified by a story pertaining to *Manu* and his wife *Mānavī*. *Manu* had a bull and the *Vāk*, which had the power to kill the demons, had entered into the bull, so that the demons could not stand against the breath of that bull. They consulted their priests *Kilāta* and *Ākuli*, they advised that *Manu* being a believer in sacrifice would agree to perform a sacrifice with his bull. The demons acting on this advice, got the bull killed, but the real concealed enemy had already fled into the body of *Manāvī*. The demons persuaded *Manu* to sacrifice his wife and then *Vāk* entered into the sacrificial vessels, so that whenever a sound is created by striking these vessels against one another the demons flew away. The explanation of this legend as well as another legend where the *Soma* vessel became deified with the presence of *Vāyu* seems to be that even the echo of recited incantations and songs had the power to bestow the divine spirit upon even the material objects in a sacrificial set-up.

4.2. The importance of *Vāk* was further extended into the realm of *Agnicayana* (the *Cayana* or arrangement of bricks=the symbolic transformation of the sacrificial ritual through a process of self-identification and subsequently of self-purification). It may be recalled that *Vāk* was described as the first among the *Yajñiyās* which was desirous of knowing herself. The term *Cayana* has a double connotation, the material one being 'to arrange the bricks' and the symbolic one being 'to discover oneself' and 'to place oneself in the sacrifice'. There are two types of bricks in the '*Cayana*' ritual, *Yajuṣmatī* and *Lokampṛṇā*. The former form the centre or the core of the arrangement and the later form the perifery. It is with the latter that the world encompassing *Vāk* is identified,[54] and as such no incantation is required to lay down these bricks. *Vāk* is again identified with *Aṣāḍhā* (This *Vāk* is not the activity of speech and so is different from the earlier one identified with *Lokampṛṇā*, this is, in fact, the latent divine power which is in the beginning of creation). *Aṣāḍhā* is the brick made by the

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wife of the sacrificer and laid down first in the core of the arrangement after which the *Hiraṇmaya Puruṣa* (the golden being) (=*Prajāpati*), *Dviyajuṣa* (=the sacrificer) and the Tortoise (=the aquatic symbol of the first manifestation of *Prajāpati*=*Kaśyapa*= the Sun) are laid down side by side. It is for this reason that this brick symbolizes not only the creative female energy of the sacrificer but also of the Universal Being and as such its identification with *Vāk* is fully justifiable. It would not be out of place to point out that the shape of the *Cayana* is that of *Suparṇa* (the eagle, who brought *Soma*, and who is identified with the heavenly aspect of *Vāk*) so that the threefold manifestation of *Vāk* is inherent in *Cayana* as well.

4.3. The identification of *Vāk* with sacrificial dates and implements may be bypassed, as it would not throw any new light on the symbolic purposes of *Vāk* already described. The intention of this paper was not to exhaust all the parallel references of *Vāk* in the Brāhmaṇa literature,[55] but it intended (i) to differentiate the layers of *Vāk* from one another and to lay down a foundation of further enquiry into the evolution of the Purānic legends pertaining to *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning in Hindu and Jain pantheons and *Prajñā*, the goddess of knowledge in Mahāyāna Buddhism. The foregoing analysis shows three things, the dualistic *Vāk* legends are a part of the overall pattern of the Brāhmanic polarization and are in consonance with the theory of archetype applied to the Great Mother,[56] which envisages the indifferentiation of the primordial archetype; the cosmogonic legends lay down the foundation of the *Śabda-Brahman* concept of the grammarians[57] and *Kāśmīra Śaivas*; and the legends pertaining to the sacred speech as differentiated from the profane speech are the main source of the idea that Sanskṛta *Vāk* is the speech of gods and as such the priests should preserve the purity of speech. To conclude, it is the *Vāk* which infuses life and colour to objects, otherwise there are clods of earth.

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Abbreviations :

A. S.	Atharva Veda Saṃhitā
Ai. B.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
R. S.	Ṛk Saṃhitā
Kt. B.	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā Brāhmaṇa
Kau. B.	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
G. B.	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
Jai. S.	Jaimanīya Saṃhitā
Jai. B.	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
Jai. U.	Jaiminīya Upaniṣad

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T. B.	Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa
Tai. B.	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tai. S. B.	Taittirīya Saṃhitā Brāhmaṇa
Mai. S.	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
S. B.	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (the Mādhyandina recension).

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1. R. S. I. 164.34
   A. S. IX. 10.13.
   R. S. I. 164.35.
   A. S. IX. 10.14.
2. R. S. I. 164.42.
3. R. S. I. 164.41.
   A. S. IX. 10.21.
4. R. S. X. 125.3.
5. R. S. X. 125.7.
6. R. S. X. 125.6
7. M. Mayrhofer—*A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 46.
8. Ibid. ibid.
9. Ś. B. XIV. 9.4.33.
10. G. S. Chaturvedi—*Vaidik Vijñāna*. p. 99.
11. S. B. II. 2.4.4.
    Tai B. I. 3.4.5.
    Ai. B. II. 33
    Ai. B. II. 33.
12. R. S. X. 71.3.
13. R. S. X. 71.4
14. R. S. IX. 26.4
    R. S. IX. 67.13.
    R. S. IX. 106.12.
15. R. S. X. 42.1
    R. S. X. 53.4
16. R. S. X. 114.8.
17. R. S. X. 177.2
18. R. S. I. 13.9
19. R. S. X. 110.8.
20. Sri Aurbindo—*On the Veda*, pp. 110-111.
21. Ś. B. I. 4.2.2.
    Ś. B. I. 4.2.2.
    Tai. B. III. 5.3.1.
22. Tai. B. III. 10.8.4.

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Jai. S. II. 1.28.3 and II. 2.2.1.
G. B. II. 4.11.
Ś. B. III. 2.2.13 and VI. 2.2.13, IV. 1.2.28.
Jai. S. II. 3.2.5 and II. 3.20.16.
Ś. B. I. 4.2.17.

23. Jai. S. II. 4.22.11.
Ś. B. XIV. 4.3.11.
24. F. D. K. Bosch—*The Golden Germ*, pp. 52-53.
25. Jai. B. II. 242, II. 252.
Ai. B. XXV.
26. K. B. XII. 5.14, XXVII. 1.1.
27. Jai. B. II. 396.
28. Ai. B. XXV.
29. K. B. XII. 5.14.
30. Jai. B. II. 118.
31. Ś. B. XIV. 6.10.5-6.
32. Jai. B. II. 57.
33. Jai. B. II. 252
34. Jai. B. II. 244.
35. Kau. B. XXVII. 4.
Ś. B. III. 6.2.2., II. 1.4.30, IV. 6.9.17.
T. B. IV. 9.6.
36. Ś. B. III. 6.2.
T. B. XIV. 3.10.
Jai. U. I. 1.5.
K. B. XXIII. 10.23.
37. F. D. K. Bosch—*The Golden Germ*, pp. 60-61.
38. Ai. B. XV. 25.
39. Jai. S. VI. 1.6.
K. S. XXIII. 10.23.
Ś. B. III. 5.1.2.-7.
Ai. B. V.
40. Ś. B. IX. 4.1.7-8, 10-11.
Jai. U. III. 36.3.
41. T. J. J. Altizer—*The Religious Meaning of Myth and Symbol*, p. 99.
42. C. J. Jung—*Psychology of Alchemy*, p. 25.

'Myth is the primordial language natural to these psychic processes and no intellectual formulation comes anywhere near the richness and expressiveness of mythical imagery.'

43. Ś. B. III. 1.5, 18-25.

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44. T. B. XXVIII. 5.1-2.
45. Ś. B. I. 4.5.7-11.
46. T. B. VI. 5.10.
47. G. B. I.
48. XIV. 4.3.10-18.
49. T. B. II. 1.
50. Jai. B. I. 326.
51. Kau. B. IX. 3.
52. Ś. B. I. 1.4.14-17.
53. Mai. S. IV. 5.8.
54. Ś. B. VIII. 7.2.7.
55. See for details Ś. B. VI-VII.
56. E. Neumann—'*The Great Mother*' (tr. by R. Manheim) page 12—'the primordial archetype belongs to a consciousness and ego that are still incapable of differentiation'.
57. *Vākyapadīya*—Brahmakāṇda
    Anādinidhanaṃ brahma Śabdatattvaṃ yadakṣaraṃ.
    Vivartaterthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ.
58. Ś. B. III. 1.5.23-24.
59. Chāndogya Upaniṣad VI. 1.4.
    'Vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāro nāmadheyaṃ mṛttiketyeva satyaṃ.'

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A LITERARY EVALUATION OF THE GṚTSAMADA-SŪKTAS

By

V. G. Rahurkar Poona

From the literary point of view, the compositions of the Gṛtsamadas would seem to possess special interest. As poets, they rank high among the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis*. One of the Gṛtsamadas asks for 'sweetness of speech'[1] as one of the boons from the god Indra. This boon seems to have been granted by Indra, for, its effect becomes evident in many of the *sūktas* in the second *maṇḍala*.

Quite a few of the hymns of the Gṛtsamadas can be characterised as ballads. And in view of the special relationship in which the Gṛtsamadas stand to the Vedic Indian national war-god, Indra, this fact is quite understandable. The famous *Sajanīya sūkta* is perhaps the finest example of a Vedic ballad. It is a sort of a heroic song where Indra's various exploits are glorified. On the strength of the peculiar rhetorical construction of this *sūkta*, it is possible to assume that a special mode of reciting it was practised in those days. It would appear that the first three quarters and a part of the fourth in each of the stanzas of this hymn were recited by the bard himself, while the refrain, *sa janāsa indraḥ* was sung in chrous.[2] The fact that the first three quarters and a part of the fourth in each stanza, which were made up of relative clauses and which described the principal exploits of the national war-god, were every time clinched by an emphatic statement in the form of the refrain, "He, O men, is Indra", must have indeed helped to make the entire ballad very effective.

As a matter of fact the Gṛtsamadas show a peculiar fondness for refrains. There is, of course, the usual family refrain added at the end of many *sūktas*, in most cases, artificially and by way of an afterthought.[3] Then there is a refrain for all stanzas in a sūkta,[4] or only for some stanzas in a *sūkta*.[5] It is interesting to note that most of the hymns with refrains for stanzas relate to Indra and possess on obvious ballad-like character. Indeed such ballad-like songs which are, as it were, the catalogues of Indra's exploits constitute a special feature of the second *maṇḍala*. The narration is so graphic in these *sūktas* that one feels as if the bardic poet actually recited these *sūktas* with proper gesticulation and emphasis.[6]

Generally speaking, conscious use of rhetorical devices may be regarded as a significant trait of the poetry of the Gṛtsamadas. From this point of view, hymns eleventh, sixteenth and twenty-first in the second *maṇḍala* are noteworthy. An attempt at alliteration can be noticed at several places.[7] A tendency to repeat certain words for effect is also evident in many stanzas.[8] The Gṛtsamadas further seem to exhibit a sort of fondness for certain words such as *Kanikradat*, *mandasānaḥ* etc.

Sometimes it is found that the first quarter of a stanza in a hymn is connected with the last quarter of the preceding stanza through the use of the forms of the same word, such

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as *ukthaih* and *ukthesu*,[10] *śubhrah* and *śubhram*,[11] *harī*,[12] *parvataḥ*[13], *vajrat* and *vajraḥ*,[14] *rāsi*,[15] *mandasānāḥ* and *mandasānaḥ*[16] etc. Such arrangement reminds one of *Dāmayamaka* of the classical *alaṁkāraśāstra*. There is a good illustration of *Tulyayogitā* in II.16 2cd where *soma*, *vajra* and *kratu* are said to reside respectively in the bowels, hand and the head of Indra. In II.23.19[17] is an epigrammatic proverb meaning, "All that gods regard with favour is blessed."

The poetry of the Gṛtsamadas is characterised by choice expressions. Similies and metaphors are often appropriate and vivid. The eagerness of the *ṛṣi* to kindle and worship fire, for instance, has been beautifully described in II.2.2., where the poet says, "At night Agni, they have called thee like milch-kine in their stalls lowing to meet their young." At another place[18] the poet describes Agni as '*pṛśnyāḥ pataram*', the bird of the firmament. Agni is likened to a horse who "darts his tongue forth, like a harnessed courser who shakes his flowing tail among the bushes".[19] At another place Agni is compared with an ox without a herdsman.[20] A life-like and a characteristic description is found at II. 11.17,[21] where he is described as 'shaking the *Soma*-drops off the beard'.[22] Rudra is compared with a wild beast by a poet.[23] Another *ṛṣi* likens himself with a girl growing old in the house of her father and coveting for her good fortune.[24] Agni is compared with a young man surrounded by young damsels.[25] The Kapiñjala bird is likened by another poet to a singer of *Sāma*.[26]. The fondness for similes of the Gṛtsamadas is amply evidenced by II. 39.4-7 where the four stanzas are packed with no less than twenty-three similes.

A mention may be made, at this stage, of some of the peculiarities of the literary style of the Gṛtsamadas. Anakoluthona[27] seems to be quite frequent in the composition of the Gṛtsamadas. Similarly participle constructions, that is relative clauses, not connected with any principal clause, are not uncommon in the hymns of the Gṛtsamadas.[28]

In the use of metres, the Gṛtsamadas show a considerable amount of looseness. The fourth *sūkta* in this *maṇḍala*, for instance, contains an unusual number of such verses.[29] Similarly II.19-20 are metrically defective. Lyrics of Nature are quite few in this *maṇḍala* and *Uṣas-sūkta* which speak of the aesthetic sense of the *ṛṣis* are also conspicuous by their absence in the *maṇḍala*.

It is interesting to note that the Gṛtsamadas whose compositions are placed at the beginning of what is called the nucleus of the ṚV and who seem to have played a significant role in the early history of the Vedic Āryans are not referred to with any prominence in the post-Vedic literature.

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1. *Svādmānam vācaḥ* II.21.6.
2. Such mode is practised in the Maratha country even today in the singing of the '*povāḍā*' type of bardic compositions.
3. बृहद्वदेम विदथे सुवीराः II.II or सुवीरासो विदथमावदेम। II.12.15 cf. II.13.13, II.15 10, II.16.9 35c.

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4. II.. 12. cf. also II. 13 where '*Sāsyukthyaḥ* is repeated at the end of each stanza.
5. II. 14.6-7. cf. also '*Somasya tā mada indraścakāra*' II. 15.2-9, II. 37.1-3. It is also seen that sometimes the whole stanza is used as a refrain e.g. II.13.13 and II.14.12.
6. In this connection, attention may be drawn also to the word '*adhvaryavo*' used with a dramatic effect at the beginning of each stanza of II.14.
7. *ṚV* II.12.2; II.6.3.
8. *ṚV* II.11.14 (repetition of *rāsi*), II.11.4 (repetition of *śubhram*).
9. *ṚV* II.42.1, 2; 11.3; 15; 17; 30.5.
10. II.11.2d and II.11.3a.
11. II.11.3d and II.11.4a.
12. II.11.6d and II.11.71.
13. II.11.7d and II.11.8a.
14. II.11.9d and II.11.10a.
15. II.11.13d and II.11.14a
16. II.11.14c and II.11.15a
17. विश्वं तद्भद्रं यदवन्ति देवाः। II.23.19.
18. II.2.4.
19. II.4.4.
20. II.4.7.
21. प्र दोधुवच्छ्मश्रुषु प्रीणानः। II.11.7.
22. This is how the quarter of the stanza (II.11.7) is generaly interpreted. Cf. *Dandekar*, 'vṛtrahā Indra.' *ABORI*, XXXI, p. 19. *Velankar*, (*BUJ*. Sept. 1940, 0.71), however, says that the expression is analogous to *Śmaśru dodhuvat* (X.23.1) and *Śmaśru dūdhot* (X.26.7) and that all the three passages refer to a peculiar characteristic movement of the upper lip which caused the moustaches to move and which indicated a feeling of pleasure on the part of Indra. In (*BUJ*, Sept. 1953) *Velankar* further points out that this action of Indra corresponds to the Marathi phrase 'misīvara tāva deṇe'.
23. II.33.11.
24. II.17.7.
25. II.35.4.
26. II.43.1.
27. Cf. *Velankar*, ('Hymns to Indra by the Gṛtsamadas' *BUJ* Sept. 1940, p. 70, notes on II.11.14). Here the poet means to say that Indra and the Maruts should bestow a house and a friend on him. So we expect *rātu* in *b*; but under the influence of *a* and also as he meant *tvam* and *marutaḥ* both as the subject, the poet actually uses *rāsi*. Cf. also II. 11.20.
28. II.11.4.
29. e.g. II.4.1a; 2a; 3b; 5d, 6b, 8b, 9c.

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वेदों में ज्योतिर्विज्ञान की दृष्टि से पिण्ड और ब्रह्माण्ड का प्रतिपादन

लेखक

प्रा० डॉ० मधुकर त्र्यंबक सहस्त्रबुद्धे, संस्कृताध्यापक, नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय, नागपुर-१

ज्योतिषशास्त्र वेदों का ही उपाङ्ग कहलाता है, और वेदों को ही आधार मानता है। भारत की किसी भी ज्ञान-शाखा की यही मान्यता है कि उसने अपना ज्ञानभाण्डार वेदों से ही प्राप्त किया है। आधुनिक संशोधन प्रायः इस धारणा को लेकर नहीं चलता; किन्तु आधुनिक गवेषणाशास्त्र में जिन्होंने पर्याप्त सफलता प्राप्त की हुई है, ऐसे कुछ विद्वान् पुरानी भारतीय धारणा का समर्थन बड़ी प्रबलता से कर रहे हैं।

"So far as I am concerned, the Ṛgvedic literature presupposes a long period of development of civilization in India and represents the final stage in such an evolution."

Intoruction to "Ātman in pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature" by Dr. C. K. Raja. P. XIV.

इस भारतीय धारणा का कारण यही जान पड़ता है कि चराचर स्थूल-सूक्ष्म सृष्टि का तथा संसार का पूरा निरीक्षण करके और उसमें मानव के स्थान का विचार करके, मानव को सारे पुरुषार्थों की प्राप्ति हो इसलिए सब ज्ञान-शाखाओं की व्यवस्था वेदों द्वारा बनाई गई, ऐसा भारतीय विद्वानों का तथा महर्षियों का निश्चय था।

ज्योतिष एक वेदांगभूत शास्त्र होने से उसका ध्येय भी मानव जीवन का साफल्य ही है, यह बात नारद-पुराण स्पष्ट रूप से कहता है। [तस्माज्जगद्धितायेदं ब्रह्मणा निर्मितं पुरा। यस्य विज्ञानमात्रेण धर्मसिद्धिर्भवेन्नृणाम् ।।] अर्थात् ज्योतिष शास्त्र के वेदोत्तरकालीन जो ग्रन्थ हैं, उनमें वैदिक सिद्धान्त का ही अनुसरण पाया जाता है। यह ठीक है कि इस लेख में हमें विशेष रूप से वेद-वाङ्मय का ही विचार कर्तव्य है। प्रायः सब वेदानुयायी 'मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेद-नामधेयम्" इस व्यवस्था के अनुसार संहिता, ब्राह्मण, आरण्यक और उपनिषद् इतने वाङमय-राशि को वेद मानते हैं।

पिण्ड और ब्रह्माण्ड के विचार से पहले, सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति और गतिविधि के सम्बन्ध में वेदों की धारणा हमें देखनी होगी। एकमेवाद्वितीय परब्रह्म नाना रूप कैसे हुआ, इस प्रश्न का यहां विचार कर्त्तव्य नहीं है। ऋग्वेद अष्टम मण्डल में 'एकं वा इदं विबभूव सर्वम्' यह अवश्य बताया गया है। परन्तु यह एक का अनेक होना कोई आकस्मिक घटना नहीं है, प्रत्युत नियन्त्रित घटना है। वेद में इसलिए सृष्टि को यज्ञमूलक अथवा तपोमूलक बताया है। [ऋ० १.१६४. ३५ अयं यज्ञो भुवनस्य नाभिः। १०. १९०. १ ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत।] यही विचार लेकर अथर्ववेद में (काण्ड १९ सूक्त ५३.५४) सब भुवनों को काल की आवृत्तियाँ कहा है। कालतत्त्व भी ऋत, सत्य और समुद्र के पश्चात् संवत्सर रूप से निर्मित हुआ ऐसा ऋग्वेद में बताया है। काल का यह दिव्य स्वरूप अथवा परमात्म रूप वैदिकों का एक वैशिष्ट्य है, और उसी को "त्रयीमयोऽयं भगवान् कालात्मा कालकृद् विभुः" ऐसा वेदोत्तरकाल में कहा है।

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विश्वनिर्मिति एक नियन्त्रित शास्त्रीय घटना है, और वह कुछ सनातन नियमों के अनुसार चलती है, इस तथ्य को हृदयंगम करने के बाद एक और वैदिक तथ्य हमारे सामने आता है, जिसको समझना हमें आवश्यक है। "यदेवेह तदमुत्र यदमुत्र तदन्विह" यह जो कठश्रुति है, उसका शब्दार्थ भी चरितार्थ हो ऐसी कुछ बातें हमें प्राप्त होती हैं। पुण्डरीक कमल को (शतपथ ब्रा० ५.४.५.१४ में) नक्षत्र कहा गया है, जो भी चमत्कृतिपूर्ण सुन्दर आकृति पृथ्वी पर दिखायी दे उसको (तैत्ति० ब्रा० १.५.२.६) नक्षत्र कहा गया है, लाजाओं को भी नक्षत्र कहा गया है (शत० ब्रा० १३.२.७.५)। द्युलोक में जो नक्षत्र हैं, वे ही पृथ्वी पर पुण्डरीक कमल, सुन्दर आकार तथा लाजाएँ या धान हैं, ऐसा यहाँ अभिप्राय है। ब्राह्मण वाङमय में कई जगह ऐसे वर्णन मिलते हैं जहाँ पार्थिव सृष्टि अथवा मानव सृष्टि और द्युलोक अथवा देवलोक, इनमें किसी न किसी प्रकार का सामञ्जस्य अथवा सरुपता दिखलाने का अभिप्राय है। इतना ही नहीं, यज्ञादि के अनुष्ठान से मानव-सृष्टि और देव-सृष्टि में परस्पर सम्बन्ध भी स्थापित हो सकता है, ऐसी धारणा है। यथा—अग्निदेव पूर्वजन्म में मानव थे। 'देवों में मैं अग्नि बन जाऊँ, जिससे मुझे सब प्रकार का अन्न खाने को मिले' ऐसी उन्होंने इच्छा की। अपनी इच्छा सफल हो इसलिए उन्होंने अग्नि की तथा कृत्तिका-नक्षत्रान्तर्गत अम्बा, दुला इत्यादि सात ताराओं की उपासना की, जिसके फलस्वरूप वे स्वयं देवरूप बन गए। जो भी मानव यह जान कर इस प्रकार की उपासना करता है, वह मानव समाज में प्रचुर अन्न का भोक्ता और देवों में अग्निरूप बन जाता है। [यथा ह वा अग्निर्देवानामन्नादः, एवं ह वा एष मनुष्याणां भवति, य एतेन हविषा यजते . . .।। तैत्तिरीय ब्रा० ३.१.४.१] नक्षत्रेष्टकाओं की स्थापना करें, क्योंकि नक्षत्र द्युलोक में प्रकाशरूप हैं। इसलिए उनकी स्थापना करनेवाला स्वयं नक्षत्ररूप बनता है। नक्षत्र याने पूर्वजन्म में पुण्यकर्म करनेवाले महापुरुष। उनके जैसे पुण्यकर्म करने वाला भी उन्हीं के स्थान को प्राप्त करता है। [तैत्ति० सं० ५.४.१] कदाचित् इसी सामञ्जस्य अथवा संगति को मन में रखकर नक्षत्रिय प्रजापति का निम्नलिखित वर्णन मिलता है—प्रजापति का शरीर नक्षत्रसमूह ही है। हस्तनक्षत्र है प्रजापति के दो हाथ, और चित्रा नक्षत्र है उनका मस्तक। उनका हृदय है स्वाती, और विशाखा हैं उनकी जाँघें। अनुराधा नक्षत्र प्रजापति के पाँव है। इस नक्षत्रिय प्रजापति को तत्वतः जाननेवाला, मानव-समाज व देव-समाज में ख्याति प्राप्त करता है [हस्त एव अस्य हस्तः, चित्रा शिरः, निष्ट्या हृदयम्, उरू विशाखे, प्रतिष्ठानुराधाः। एष वै नक्षत्रियः प्रजापतिः।—तैत्ति० ब्रा० १.५.२.२]। इन सब कथाओं का तात्पर्य यही जान पड़ता है कि सृष्टि के स्थूल-सूक्ष्म स्तरों में जैसा परस्पर सामञ्जस्य है, वैसा ही मानव शरीर में और ब्रह्माण्ड में अथवा विराट् पुरुष में भी सामञ्जस्य अथवा संगति है। यह तो प्रसिद्ध ही है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में यज्ञ-प्रक्रिया का विशाल प्रपञ्च दिखायी देता है। यज्ञ याने स्थूल-सूक्ष्म सृष्टि का संगतिकरण, अर्थात् सृष्टि के विभिन्न स्तरों में संवादित्व स्थापित करना। [यजि देवपूजा-संगतिकरण-दानेषु] भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण ने गीता में—"देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः" ऐसा कह कर इसी यज्ञीय रहस्य का उद्घाटन किया है। अर्थात् जिन ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में पिण्ड और ब्रह्माण्ड में संवादित्व स्थापित करने की प्रक्रिया विस्तार से वर्णित है, उनमें ही ज्योतिष शास्त्र की दृष्टि से भी पिण्ड-ब्रह्माण्ड का संवादित्व बताने वाले कुछ विचार मिलना स्वाभाविक ही है। यज्ञ का अनुष्ठान कब शुरू हो, अग्न्याधान कब हो, इत्यादि सूक्ष्म विचार ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों में हैं, और ऐसे विषय में सूक्ष्मकालगणना और उचित मुहूर्त की खोज भी आवश्यक मानी गई है।

शतपथब्राह्मण (१.६.३) में कहा गया है कि दर्शपौर्णमासेष्टि के सम्बन्ध में पौर्णमासी एवं अमावास्या के दिन निश्चित किए, और चातुर्मास्य याग के लिए ऋतुओं का आरम्भ काल तथा समाप्ति काल निर्धारित किए। (भारतीय ज्योतिष शास्त्र, दीक्षितकृत, पृ० ३६)। तैत्तिरीय संहिता [काण्ड ६.५.३] में कहा है, 'तमृषय ऋतुग्रहैरेव अनुप्रजानन्. . . संवत्सरस्य प्रज्ञात्यै . . .।' अर्थात् ऋषियों ने संवत्सर का परिज्ञान ऋतुपात्रों के द्वारा निर्धारित किया। आगे यह बताया है कि दो ऋतुपात्र इकट्ठे ही लेना चाहिए, क्योंकि ऋतुदर्शक दो मास भी एकत्रित ही आते हैं। यज्ञशाला

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के दक्षिण द्वार से अध्वर्यु बाहर जाय और उत्तर द्वार से प्रतिप्रस्थाता। यदि ऋत्विक् एक के पीछे ही दूसरा बाहर जायगा, तो ऋतुओं में परस्पर गड़बड़ी हो जायगी [ऋतवो मोहुकाः स्युः]। इसलिए ऐसा न करें। सूर्य भी इसीलिए छः मास दक्षिण में तथा छः मास उत्तर में भ्रमण करता है। इन उद्धरणों पर से सूर्य का अयनारम्भ, विषुव और ऋतुओं का आरम्भ बड़ी सूक्ष्मता से स्पष्ट किया जाता था, यह बात साफ़ दीखती है। ऐसी स्थिति में जब प्रो० व्हिटने जैसे कोई पाश्चात्य विद्वान् कहते हैं कि पुराने या आधुनिक हिन्दुओं को संक्रमणबिन्दु का ज्ञान होना असम्भव है, तब खेद होता है।

ऋग्वेद के 'सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्मा' (ऋ० १०.१६.३) इस वचन से तथा 'गताः कलाः पञ्चदश प्रतिष्ठा देवाश्च सर्वे प्रतिदेवतासु' (मुण्डकोपनिषद् ३.२.७) इस मुण्डक श्रुति से यह ज्ञात होता है कि व्यष्टि-समष्टि अथवा पिण्ड-ब्रह्माण्ड इनका मूलभूत ऐक्य वेदों के लिए कोई नई बात नहीं थी। इसी मूलभूत ऐक्य को मन में रखकर ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों के निम्नलिखित वचनों का विचार बहुत चित्ताकर्षक होगा। शतपथ में आया है कि यज्ञ ही प्रजापति है (स वै यज्ञ एव प्रजापतिः। शतपथ १.७.४.४); (प्रजापतिर्वै यज्ञः। तैत्तिरी० ब्रा० १.३.१०.१०)। फिर आता है कि संवत्सर ही यज्ञ और प्रजापति हैं, अर्थात् ये तीनों एक हैं (संवत्सरो वै यज्ञः प्रजापतिः। शतपथ ११.१.१.१) और फिर यह भी आता है कि पुरुष याने संवत्सर। (पुरुषौ वै संवत्सरः, द्वादश वै मासाः संवत्सरस्य, द्वादश इमे पुरुषे प्राणाः। शतपथ १२.३.२.८)।...इन सबका अर्थ होता है कि संवत्सर, यज्ञ, प्रजापति और पुरुष ये सब एक हैं। अब संवत्सर पुरुष और पृथ्वीतल पर रहने वाला पुरुष इनकी स्वरूपता कैसी बतायी है, यह देखेंगे।

वैश्वानर ही संवत्सर है। मानव का शिर ही वैश्वानर है। उसी में सात प्राणों का निवास है (संवत्सरो वैश्वानरः। शिरो वै वैश्वानरः...शीर्षण्येव तत् सप्त प्राणान् दधाति। शतपथ ९.३.१.६.८) दश च वै सहस्राणि अष्टौ च शतानि संवत्सरस्य मुहूर्ताः।...तावन्तः प्राणाः...यावन्तः प्राणास्तावन्तो अनाः... शतं शतानि पुरुषः समेनाष्यै शता यन्मितं तद्वदन्ति। अहोरात्राभ्यां पुरुषः समेन तावत्कृत्वः प्राणिति चापचानिति। [शतपथ ब्रा० १२.३ २.८] शतपथ में एक जगह और भी ऐसी ही बात कही गई है (१.८.१.४४)। इसका अर्थ यह है कि संवत्सर के मुहूर्त हैं १०८००; उतने ही प्राण हैं और उतने ही अपान। पुरुष का परिमाण शत को शत से गुणा कर उसमें आठ सौ मिलाए जायँ, इतना होता है; अर्थात् १००×१००=१०००० अधिक आठ सौ याने कुल मिलाकर १०८०० होते हैं। दिन में इतनी बार तथा रात में उतनी ही बार श्वास-प्रश्वास करने से उसकी दुगुनी संख्या २१६०० बनती है। अर्थात् प्राण भी १०८०० और अपान भी १०८०० होते हैं। यही तथ्य सूर्यसिद्धान्त बताता है।

षड्भिः प्राणैर्विनाडी स्यात् तच्छष्ट्या नाडिका स्मृता।
नाडीषष्ट्या तु नाक्षत्रम् अहोरात्रं प्रकीर्तितम्॥
(मध्यमा १०-१२ श्लोक)

अर्थात् छः श्वास-प्रश्वासों से एक विनाड़ी याने पल बनता है, साठ पलों से एक नाड़ी अर्थात् घटिका, और साठ घटिकाओं का एक अहोरात्र होता है। ६० पलों में ३६० श्वास-प्रश्वास होते हैं, अर्थात् एक घटिका के श्वास-प्रश्वास ३६०, इनको ६० घटिकाओं से गुणा करने पर एक अहोरात्र में २१६०० श्वास-प्रश्वास बनते हैं। वेदोत्तरकालीन ज्योतिष वैदिक ज्योतिष से इस प्रकार मेल रखता है, और मानवशरीर का भी सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण यहाँ देखने को मिलता है।

प्रजापति को यज्ञ और यज्ञ को आदित्य कहा गया है। अर्थात् प्रजापति आदित्य है। [एष वै प्रत्यक्षं यज्ञो यत्प्रजापतिः (शतपथ ४.३.४.३)। स यः यज्ञोऽसौ स आदित्यः (शतपथ १४.१.१.६)।] शतपथ ब्राह्मण के दशम काण्ड में कहा गया है कि प्रजापति ही सुपर्ण भी है, और सविता याने सूर्य भी। [प्रजापतिर्वै सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् एष सविता। शतपथ १०.२.७.४। गोपथ ब्रा० पूर्व० १.३३ कहता है, 'यज्ञ एव सविता'।] सूर्य को तो ऋग्वेद

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में सारे स्थावरजंगम विश्व का आत्म रूप बताया है। [सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च ऋ० १.११५.१]। काठक संहिता बताती है कि सूर्य और अग्नि का मूल एक ही है—समाने वै योनावास्तां . . .सूर्यश्चाग्निश्च (का० सं० ६.३)। तैत्ति० ब्राह्मण कहता है कि अग्नि और आदित्य एक ही हैं (असौ वा आदित्यो अग्निः शुचिः। तैत्ति० ब्रा० १.१.६.२)। अब अग्नि की जो सात ज्वालाएँ हैं, उनके विषय में काठक संहिता पर के ब्राह्मण-प्रवचन में कहा है, "तस्मात् सप्तार्चिषः सप्त समिधः सप्त इमे लोका येषु चरन्ति प्राणा गुहाशया निहिताः सप्त सप्त।।" अग्निद्वारा ही मानव में सात प्राणों का संचालन होता है, यह बात यहाँ आई हुई है और इसी को मुण्डकोपनिषद् (२.१.८) में दुहराया गया है—"सप्त प्राणाः प्रभवन्ति तस्मात् . . .प्राणा गुहाशया निहिताः सप्त सप्त।" पृथ्वीस्थ सूर्य द्वारा—अर्थात् अग्नि के द्वारा—मानव में प्राणों का संचार होता है, वैसा ही द्युलोकस्थित सूर्य द्वारा ब्रह्माण्ड में ग्रहों का संचार होता है [डॉ० कॅलण्ड द्वारा संपादित काठक ब्राह्मण के त्रुटित अंश]। भाष्यकार माधव के अनुसार ऋग्वेद के 'अमी ये सप्त रश्मयः' (ऋ० १.१०५.९) इस मन्त्र में सूर्य की सात रश्मियों का उल्लेख है। तैत्तिरीय आरण्यक १.९.४ में इन्हीं सात रश्मियों के नाम दिए गए हैं। ये सात रश्मियाँ ही सात ग्रह हैं जो स्वर्गलोक में हैं। [ये नाकस्य अधि रोचने दिवि देवास आसते (ऋ० १.१९.६)] शतपथ ब्राह्मण का कथन है कि ग्रहों की उत्पत्ति सूर्य से हुई। [शतपथ ब्रा० ६.१.२.४] ऋग्वेद के मन्त्र (१०.१७७.३) पर प्रवचन करते हुए जैमिनीय उपनिषद् ब्राह्मण ने 'गोपा' शब्द का अर्थ 'प्राणाः' ऐसा ही किया है। ये प्राण याने रश्मियाँ हैं (अमी च रश्मयः) ऐसा भी कहा है; और ऐसे प्राणों को धारण करके जीवात्मा भुवनों में संचार करती है [जैमि० उप० ब्राह्मण ७.३७—कॅलण्ड द्वारा संपादित]। शतपथ ब्राह्मण के सप्तम काण्ड में प्राणों को 'देव' कहा है (प्राणा वै देवाः। शतपथ ७.५.१.२१)। इसी ब्राह्मण में दशम काण्ड के पञ्चम अध्याय में सूर्य-मण्डलस्थित अर्चिपुरुष को प्राण कहा है, जो सब प्राणियों को उज्जीवित करता है। उसी स्थल पर ऐसा भी वचन है कि सूर्यमण्डल शरीर और अन्न है [एष उ एव प्राणः। एष हीमाः सर्वाः प्रजाः प्राणयति। यदेतन्मण्डलं तपति तदन्नम्। इदमेव शरीरम् अन्नम् [शतपथ १०.५.२.१४-१९]।

पिण्ड-ब्रह्माण्ड का इस प्रकार ज्योतिर्विज्ञान की दृष्टि से सामञ्जस्य बतलाकर, ज्योतिःस्वरूप अग्नि की परिचर्या करता हुआ मानव जीव परम ज्योति परमात्मा को प्राप्त कर सकता है, यही बात मेरी अल्प मति के अनुसार श्रुतियों में बतायी गई है। इन प्रमाणों के अलावा और भी प्रमाण दिये जा सकते हैं, किन्तु जितने दिये हैं उतने ही विषय-प्रतिपादन की दृष्टि से पर्याप्त जान पड़ते हैं।

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व्रात्य-समीक्षा

लेखक

श्री अमरनाथ शास्त्री व्याकरणाचार्य, रिसर्च स्कॉलर, होश्यारपुर

शास्त्र-प्रतिपादित व्रात्य-स्वरूप

वेदादि शास्त्रों में व्रात्यों के अनेक भेद तथा 'व्रात्य' शब्द के अनेक अर्थ उपलब्ध होते हैं। पहले 'व्रात्य' शब्द के अर्थों पर विचार करें। भाषा-विज्ञान की दृष्टि से पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने भी ऋग्वेद को सबसे प्राचीन ग्रन्थ माना है। ऋग्वेद की ही सहस्रों ऋचाएं कहीं अक्षरशः और कहीं पाठ-भेद के साथ सम्पूर्ण वेद शाखाओं में आम्नात हैं। कम से कम ऋग्वेद में 'व्रात्य' शब्द का अक्षरशः प्रयोग नहीं है। 'संघ' अर्थ में 'व्राः' तथा 'व्रात' शब्दों का प्रयोग अवश्य मिलता है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि कम से कम ऋग्वेद के काल में सावित्री-पतित या अन्य किसी भी प्रकार के तथा-कथित 'व्रात्य' का प्रादुर्भाव नहीं हुआ था। फिर भी ऋग्वेद (८, २, ६) के 'मृगं न व्रा मृगयन्ते' मन्त्र-खण्ड में पूर्ववर्ती 'मृगं न' (मृग को जैसे) शब्दों और उत्तरवर्ती 'मृगयन्ते' (अन्वेषण करते हैं) शब्द के प्रकरण से वेद के महान् भाष्यकारों महर्षि यास्क आदि ने मध्यवर्ती 'व्राः' शब्द का अर्थ 'व्रात्याः' (=व्याध) किया है—'मृगं न व्रात्याः प्रैषाः' (निरुक्त ५, ३)। दुर्गाचार्य ने यास्क का तात्पर्य खोलते हुए लिखा है—'मृगं न मृगमिव इतरे लुब्धका व्रात्या मृगयन्ते मार्गयन्ते त्वाम्।' इसका भाव यह है कि सूक्त-द्रष्टा ऋषि इन्द्र से कहता है कि तुम्हारा अनन्य उपासक या स्तोता मैं ही हूं। मेरे अतिरिक्त दूसरे स्तोता निःसंदेह तुम्हें सोम को दूध घी में फेंट कर भेंट करें, किन्तु उन्हें उसी प्रकार सफलता नहीं मिलेगी जैसे मृग की खोज में व्याध (शिकारी) वृथा प्रयत्न करते हैं। सायणाचार्य ने भी 'व्रात्य' (=व्याध) अर्थ मान कर ऐसा ही भाष्य किया है। आचार्य वेङ्कटमाधव ने ऋग्वेद के 'व्राः' शब्द का 'व्राताः' अर्थ किया है। इससे सिद्ध है कि ऋग्वेद का 'व्राः' शब्द ही 'व्रात्य या व्रात' (उत्सेधजीवी व्याध) के अर्थ में उपलब्ध है।

माध्यन्दित-संहिता (प्रसिद्ध यजुर्वेद) तथा तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मण में तो 'व्रात्य' (सावित्री-पतित, उपनयन के अनधिकारी) का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है। पुरुष-मेध-प्रकरण में किस देवता के निमित्त क्या बलि (भेंट) दी जाय, इस प्रसंग में कहा गया है—'गन्धर्वाप्सराभ्यो व्रात्यम्' (यजुर्वेद ३०, ८; तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण ३, ४, ५, १)। सायण, भट्टभास्कर, महीधर सभी भाष्यकारों ने 'गन्धर्व और अप्सराओं की प्रीति के लिये' 'व्रात्य' (सावित्री-पतित) की बलि का अर्थ माना है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि यजुर्वेद के काल तक संस्कार-च्युत 'व्रात्यों' की श्रेणियां बन चुकी थीं।

अथर्ववेद के पन्द्रहवें काण्ड का नाम ही 'व्रात्य-काण्ड' है। परन्तु यह 'व्रात्य' प्रसिद्ध संस्कार-च्युत 'व्रात्य' नहीं है। यह 'व्रात्य' कोई त्रिगुणातीत ब्रह्मलीन यायावर महापुरुष हैं, जिनके सम्बन्ध में पन्द्रहवें काण्ड की भूमिका में सायणाचार्य ने ये शब्द लिखे हैं—'अत्र काण्डे व्रात्यमहिमा प्रपञ्च्यते। व्रात्यो नाम उपनयनादिसंस्कारहीनः पुरुषः, सोऽर्थाद् वेदविहिता यज्ञादिक्रियाः कर्तुं नाऽधिकारी, न स व्यवहारयोग्यश्च, इत्यादि जनमतमनादृत्य, व्रात्योऽधिकारी, व्रात्यो महानुभावो, व्रात्यो देवप्रियो, व्रात्यो ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोर्वर्चसो मूलम्। किं बहुना, व्रात्यो देवाधिदेव एवेति प्रतिपाद्यते, यत्र व्रात्यो गच्छति विश्वं जगद् विश्वे च देवास्तत्र तमनुगच्छन्ति, तस्मिन् स्थिते तिष्ठन्ति, तस्मिश्चलति ते

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चलन्ति, यदा स गच्छति राजवद् गच्छति। न पुनरेतत् सर्वव्रात्यपरं प्रतिपादनम्, अपितु कश्चिद् विद्वत्तमं महाधिकारं पुण्यशीलं विश्वसम्मान्यं कर्मपरैर्ब्राह्मणैर्विद्विष्टं व्रात्यम् अनुलक्ष्य वचनमिति मन्तव्यम्।' अर्थ स्पष्ट है—अथर्ववेद के इस पन्द्रहवें काण्ड में 'व्रात्य' की महिमा का वर्णन है। जनश्रुति (किंवदन्ती) के अनुसार तो उपनयनादि-संस्कार से हीन पुरुष 'व्रात्य' है, अर्थात् वेदविहित यज्ञादि अनुष्ठान का वह अधिकारी नहीं होता, न ही समाज में व्यवहार-योग्य होता है। किन्तु इस जनश्रुति के विपरीत अथर्ववेद का 'व्रात्य' अधिकारी, महानुभाव, देवप्रिय और ब्राह्मण-क्षत्रिय के वर्चस्व का आधार है। बहुत क्या, यह 'व्रात्य' देव का भी देव है, 'व्रात्य' जहां जाता है सारी सृष्टि और सारे देव उसके पीछे जाते हैं, उसके ठहरने पर ठहर जाते हैं, उसके चलने पर चलते हैं, जब वह कहीं जाता है राजा के समान जाता है। इसलिये इस काण्ड में सारे व्रात्यों का वर्णन नहीं है, किसी उत्कृष्ट विद्वान् सिद्धि-सम्पन्न जगद्वन्द्य 'व्रात्य' का वर्णन है, जिसके साथ कर्मपरायण ब्राह्मण वृथा द्वेष करते हैं। माननीय डाक्टर वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल ने अपनी 'पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष' नामक पुस्तक (पृष्ठ ९४) में अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य को भी पश्चिमोत्तर सीमाप्रान्त के उत्सेध-जीवी (लूट-खसोट करने वाले) व्रात्य या व्रात्यों में परिगणित किया है, जो कि उक्त उपपादन से अनुचित ठहरता है। विशेष ज्ञान के लिए माननीय डाक्टर संपूर्णानन्द जी की अथर्ववेद के व्रात्यकाण्ड पर संस्कृत हिन्दी में टीका पढ़ें।

जैमिनीय-उपनिषद्-ब्राह्मण (१, २, ३, ९-१०) में वैन्य (राजा वेन के पुत्र) पृथु का व्रात्यों के साथ वाकोवाक्य (प्रश्नोत्तरात्मक संवाद) उपलब्ध होता है। 'पृथुर्वैन्यो दिव्यान् व्रात्यान् पप्रच्छ—स्थूणां दिवस्तम्भिनीं सूर्यमाहुः। अन्तरिक्षे सूर्यः पृथिवीप्रतिष्ठः। अप्सु भूमीः शिश्यिरे भूरिभाराः, किंस्विद् महीर् अधितिष्ठन्त्यापः। अर्थात् वैन्य पृथु ने दिव्य व्रात्यों से पूछा—द्युलोक सूर्य का आश्रय है, अन्तरिक्ष में सूर्य पृथिवी के आकर्षण से स्थित है, सृष्टि का भार उठाये हुए पृथ्वी जल पर सोई हुई है, फिर यह महान् जलराशि किस पर टिकी हुई है ?

'ते ह प्रत्यूचुः'—पृथु (वैन्य) के इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में दिव्य व्रात्यों ने उत्तर दिया—'स्थूणामेव दिवस्तम्भिनीं सूर्यमाहुः। अन्तरिक्षे सूर्यः पृथिवीप्रतिष्ठः। अप्सु भूमीः शिश्यिरे भूरिभाराः, सत्यं महीरधितिष्ठन्त्यापः। ओम् इत्येतदक्षरं सत्यम् तदेतद् आपोऽधितिष्ठन्ति —यह सत्य है कि सूर्य ही द्युलोक का आधार-स्तम्भ है, यह भी ठीक है कि अन्तरिक्ष में सूर्य पृथ्वी के आकर्षण से टिका हुआ है, महान् भार को वहन किये हुए पृथ्वी जलराशि पर आश्रित है यह भी ठीक है और महान् जलसमूह सत्य पर टिका हुआ है, वह सत्य क्या है ? वह सत्य 'ओम्' यह अक्षर (अर्थात् 'अ' विष्णु, 'उ' 'ब्रह्मा' 'म्' शिव) ब्रह्मा-विष्णु-शिव की समष्टिरूप ब्रह्म (ओंकार) है जिस पर महान् जलराशि आश्रित है।

इस प्रकार के अनेक वाकोवाक्य-संवाद दिव्य व्रात्यों के साथ वैन्य पृथु के मिलते हैं। यह दिव्य व्रात्य सङ्घ बनाकर सृष्टि में भ्रमण करते हैं, हम इन्हें 'यायावर' कह सकते हैं। पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने इन्हें 'परिव्राजक' माना है, दोनों में शब्दमात्र का भेद है। ये दिव्य व्रात्य सङ्घ में चलने वाले ऋग्वेद के व्रात्य (व्याध) से, यजुर्वेद के व्रात्य (सावित्रीपतित) से, और अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य (देवाधिदेव) से विलक्षण हैं। क्योंकि अथर्ववेद में 'व्रात्य' का प्रयोग एकवचन में है, वह एक है, और ये दिव्य व्रात्य सर्वत्र बहुवचन में मिलते हैं, इसलिये सङ्घीभूत अनेक यायावर दिव्य व्रातों के रूप में भिन्न मानने होंगे।

ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण (१७, १ तथा २४, १८) तथा जैमिनीय-ब्राह्मण (२, २२१) में दिव्य व्रात्यों का वर्णन है, किन्तु ब्राह्मणग्रन्थों के दिव्य व्रात्य अपने स्वर्ग में पहुंचे हुए साथी देवों से बिछुड़ कर भूमिलोक में भटकते हुए और यज्ञ की किसी प्रक्रिया से प्रायश्चित्त करके फिर स्वर्ग में अपने साथी देवों से मिलने के लिये प्रयत्नशील हैं। इस दृष्टि से पूर्वोक्त आप्तकाम यायावर दिव्य व्रात्यों से स्वर्ग की इच्छा रखने वाले यह देव-सङ्घ से बिछुड़े हुए दिव्य व्रात्य भिन्न हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त प्रश्नोपनिषद् (२, ११) में प्राण-शक्ति के लिये भी 'व्रात्य' शब्द का प्रयोग है—'व्रात्यस्त्वं प्राणैक ऋषिः,

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अन्ता विश्वस्य सत्पत्तिः'। सर्वप्रथम उत्पन्न हुआ होने के कारण सब प्रकार के संस्कारों तथा संस्कर्ता के अभाव में असंस्कृत व्रात्य स्वभाव से शुद्ध है, यह भाष्यकारों ने 'व्रात्य' की उपपत्ति दी है।

बौधायन धर्मसूत्र (१, ९, १५) के 'वर्णसङ्कराद् उत्पन्नान् व्रात्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः' इस वचन के अनुसार वर्णसङ्करों की एक जाति-विशेष भी व्रात्य है।

उक्त विश्लेषण से १ व्रात्य (व्याध) २ व्रात्य (सावित्रीपतित), ३ व्रात्य (देवाधिदेव) ४ दिव्य व्रात्य (यायावर) तथा ५ दिव्य व्रात्य (देवसंघ से बिछुड़े हुए). ६ व्रात्य (प्राण), ७ व्रात्य (अन्त्यज जाति), ये सात प्रकार के व्रात्य विचार-कोटि में आते हैं।

व्रात्य शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति

सर्व-साधारण की दृष्टि से 'व्रात्य' शब्द की निष्पत्ति का आधार 'व्रात' शब्द माना गया है। पाणिनीय अष्टाध्यायी के 'व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम्' (५, ३. ११३) सूत्र में 'व्रात' शब्द का संकेत है। निर्दिष्ट सूत्र से स्वार्थ में (व्रात-शब्द के अर्थ में) 'ञ्य' प्रत्यय करके 'व्रात्य' शब्द निष्पन्न होता है। तात्पर्य यह है कि 'व्रात' और 'व्रात्य' दोनों शब्द पर्याय हैं। महाभाष्यकार महर्षि पतञ्जलि ने 'व्रातेन जीवति' (५, २, २१) सूत्र के व्याख्यान में 'किं व्रातं नाम, नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः संघाः व्राताः' ('व्रात' शब्द का क्या अर्थ है ? जिनकी आजीविका निश्चित नहीं है, ऐसे अनेक जातियों के उत्सेधजीवी संघ को 'व्रात' कहते हैं) इन शब्दों में 'व्रात' शब्द का अर्थ स्पष्ट किया है। इस व्याख्यान में 'उत्सेधजीविनः' शब्द का अर्थ स्पष्ट करते हुए काशिकाकार ने लिखा—'उत्सेधः शरीरं तदायासेन ये जीवन्ति' अर्थात् शारीरिक श्रम से आजीविका चलाने वाले वर्ग 'उत्सेधजीवी' व्रात हैं। यही 'व्रात' शब्द की परिभाषा 'व्रात्य' शब्द में भी घटती है, इसलिये 'व्रात' तथा 'व्रात्य' दोनों पर्याय हैं। डाक्टर वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल महोदय ने इन उत्सेधजीवियों को लूट-खसोट करनेवाले कबीले बताया है।

'व्रात्य' शब्द की उक्त व्युत्पत्ति पूर्व दिखाये गये किस 'व्रात्य' से संगति खाती है यह विचारणीय है। व्रात्य (देवाधिदेव), व्रात्य (प्राण) तथा दिव्य व्रात्यों (यायावरों) के साथ तो 'व्रात्य' शब्द की उक्त व्याख्यात्मक व्युत्पत्ति का सम्बन्ध हो नहीं सकता, क्योंकि 'आजीविका कमाने के लिए शारीरिक श्रम करना' यह अर्थ उनमें नहीं घटता। शेष तीन व्याध, हीनाचार तथा वर्णसंकर जाति में यह व्याख्या घट जाती है। जिनमें व्याध या वर्णसंकर जाति तो प्रत्यक्ष शारीरिक श्रम से आजीविका उपार्जन करते हैं। हीनाचार भी इसी कोटि में परिगणित हो जाते हैं। इसीलिये ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण (१७, १, २) में 'हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यतां चरन्ति, न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति, न कृषि न वाणिज्यम्' (=जो व्रात्य हो जाते हैं, वे संस्कारहीन अपने द्विजोचित कर्मों के अनधिकारी हो जाते हैं, न वे ब्राह्मण का कर्म ब्रह्मचर्य तथा क्षत्रिय-वैश्य का कर्म कृषि और व्यापार कर सकते हैं) इन शब्दों से हीनाचार व्रात्यों की स्वजातियोग्य कर्मों में अनर्हता दिखाई है। जब अपने जाति के कर्म से आजीविका उपार्जन करने योग्य न रहे, तो जिस किसी भी धन्धे से शारीरिक श्रम करके आजीविका कमाने के लिये वे बाध्य हैं।

डाक्टर कैलेण्ड महाशय ने ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण (१७, १, १) के अपने टिप्पण में दैव व्रात्यों की भी 'व्रात' शब्द से सिद्धि मानी है, और हेतु यह दिया है कि वे संघ बनाकर रहते हैं। इस दृष्टि से 'व्रात' शब्द का केवल 'संघ' अर्थ भी मानना पड़ेगा न कि उत्सेधजीवी इत्यादि ही। इतने पर भी 'व्रात्य-काण्ड के 'व्रात्य' (देवाधिदेव) का निर्वाह नहीं होता, इसलिये मानना होगा कि 'व्रात' शब्द से निष्पन्न 'व्रात्य' शब्द से भिन्न यह 'व्रात्य' है।

यथार्थ में 'व्रात्य' शब्द की निष्पत्ति का आधार 'व्रत्य' शब्द है। 'व्रतमर्हति' (जो व्रतचर्या के योग्य हो) के अर्थ में ऋग्वेद में आद्युदात्त 'व्रत्य' शब्द हैं, उसी 'व्रत्य' से स्वार्थ में 'अ' प्रत्यय करके यह 'व्रात्य' निष्पन्न होगा और

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आद्युदात्त ही रहेगा। यह 'व्रात्य' शब्द ब्रह्मलीन यायावरों या किसी आप्तकाम विद्वान् अतिथि के अर्थ को अधिक अभिव्यक्त करता है। इसीलिये आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र (२, ३, ७, १५) का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद करते हुए जार्ज बूलर (George Bühler) महोदय ने अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य-काण्ड के 'व्रात्य' का अर्थ—(O faithful fulfiller of the vows) किया है। स्मरण रहे अथर्ववेद के व्रात्यकाण्ड के अतिथि 'व्रात्य' का ही वर्णन अथर्ववेद की भाषा में कुछ पाठभेदों के साथ आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र के इस अतिथि प्रकरण में आया है।

जार्ज बूलर महोदय ने इस 'व्रात्य' अतिथि को श्रोत्रिय अतिथि माना है, जिस श्रोत्रिय अतिथि की परिभाषा आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र (२, ३, ६, ४, ५) में वर्णित है। निम्नलिखित तुलना से यह निश्चय हो जायगा कि आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र का यह 'व्रात्य' विद्वान् अतिथि अथर्ववेद के 'व्रात्य-काण्ड' के अतिथि से भिन्न नहीं है—

अथर्ववेद १५, १, १-९—'तद् यस्यैव विद्वान् व्रात्य उद्धतेष्वग्निषु, अधिश्रितेऽग्निहोत्रेऽतिथिर्गृहान् आगच्छेत्। स्वयमेनम् अभ्युदेत्य ब्रूयाद्—व्रात्य! अतिसृज, होष्यामीति, स चातिसृजेज्जुहुयाद्, न चातिसृजेद् न जुहुयात्। स य एवं विदुषा व्रात्येनाऽतिसृष्टो जुहोति, प्र पितृयाणं जानाति, प्र देवयानम्। अथ य एवं विदुषा व्रात्येनाऽनतिसृष्टो जुहोति, न पितृयाणां पन्थां जानाति न देवयानम्।

अर्थात् अग्निहोत्र के लिये (गार्हपत्य से आहवनीय में लाई गई) अग्नि प्रज्वलित हो, हवि के निमित्त दूध अग्नि पर गरम हो रहा हो, ऐसे समय में यदि ऐसा विद्वान् व्रात्य अतिथि जिसके घर में आ जाय, स्वयं उसके पास उपस्थित होकर प्रार्थना करे—हे व्रात्य! आज्ञा दो, अग्निहोत्र करूँगा, यदि वह आज्ञा दे तो अग्निहोत्र करे, अन्यथा नहीं। जो ऐसे विद्वान् व्रात्य अतिथि की आज्ञा से अग्निहोत्र करता है वह पितृलोक और देवलोक दोनों का मार्ग जान जाता है। और जो ऐसे व्रात्य विद्वान् से बिना आज्ञा लिये अग्निहोत्र करता है, वह न पितृलोक का मार्ग जान पाता है न देवलोक का।

आपस्तम्ब धर्मसूत्र २, ३, ७, १५—'यस्योद्धृतेष्वग्निष्वतिथिरभ्यागच्छेत्, स्वयमेनमभ्युदेत्य ब्रूयात्—व्रात्य! अतिसृज, होष्यामीति। इत्यतिसृष्टेन होतव्यम्। अनतिसृष्टश्चेज्जुहुयात्, दोषं ब्राह्मणमाह।' इससे सिद्ध है कि ऊपर वर्णित 'व्रात्य' का सम्बन्ध 'व्रत' शब्द के साथ है (जिसने अपना अध्ययन-व्रत पूर्ण कर लिया है)। 'व्रात' शब्द से यह व्युत्पन्न नहीं है। आगे भी दोनों ग्रंथों का संवादी पाठ है, जो विस्तार के भय से त्याग दिया है।

अमरकोष के व्याख्याकार क्षीरस्वामी ने तो संस्कारच्युत 'व्रात्य' की निष्पत्ति भी 'व्रत' शब्द से मानी है— 'व्रते साधुः कालः व्रत्यः, तत्र भवो व्रात्यः प्रायश्चित्तार्हः' अर्थात् प्रायश्चित्त के योग्य व्रत का समय 'व्रत्य' है, उस काल में व्रत (प्रायश्चित्त) करने वाला संस्कारहीन पुरुष 'व्रात्य' है। हमारी सम्मति में क्षीरस्वामी की व्रात्य-व्युत्पत्ति 'व्रात' शब्द से निष्पन्न 'व्रात्य' की व्युत्पत्ति से अधिक समीप है।

याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति के प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय में व्रात्यपन को गोवध की कोटि में रखकर उपपातक माना है 'गोवधो व्रात्यता स्तेयम् ऋणानां चानपक्रिया . .एषाम् एकैकम् उपपातकम्' (२३४-२४२)।

यह सावित्री-पतित व्रात्य चार प्रकार के होते थे—(१) निन्दित, (२) कनिष्ठ, (३) ज्येष्ठ, (४) हीनाचार। जो किसी जनापवाद के कारण जनता में निन्दित हो जाते थे, वे नृशंस निन्दित कहलाते थे। जो नवयुवक जाति-बहिष्कृत हो जाते थे वे कनिष्ठ, जो वृद्ध जाति-बहिष्कृत होते वे ज्येष्ठ, उपनयन-संस्कार होकर भी जो द्विजाति के कर्म प्रमाद से त्याग कर मनमाने आचरण करते थे, वे हीनाचार कहलाते थे (कात्यायन श्रौतसूत्र २२, ४, ३—६)। मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृति १०, ४३) ने भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि की है। इन व्रात्यों की सन्तति अन्त्यज श्रेणी में गिनी जाती थी। ब्राह्मण व्रात्य की सवर्णा सन्तान 'भूर्जकण्टक' इत्यादि अन्त्यज जातियाँ, क्षत्रिय व्रात्य से 'झल्ल, मल्ल' इत्यादि, वैश्य व्रात्य से 'सुधन्व' इत्यादि अन्त्यज जातियां बनीं (मनुस्मृति १०, २१-२३)।

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वर्णसंकर-व्रात्य

पीछे लिखा गया है कि वर्णसङ्करों की सन्तति भी व्रात्य कहलाती थी। ('वर्णसंकराद् उत्पन्नान् व्रात्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः' (बौधायन धर्मसूत्र १, ९, १५)। वैखानस धर्मप्रश्न (३, २) ने भी अपने ढंग से इसकी पुष्टि की है। 'प्रतिलोमात्प्रतिलोम्यां जातो व्रात्यः' अर्थात् अन्त्यज पिता (प्रतिलोम) से शूद्र माता (प्रतिलोमी) में हुई सन्तान व्रात्य है। सावित्रीपतित व्रात्य की निष्कृति के लिये तो प्रायश्चित्त है, परन्तु इस वर्णसंकर-व्रात्य के लिये प्रायश्चित्त की व्यवस्था भी नहीं।

दैव-व्रात्य

ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण, जैमनीयब्राह्मण और बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र में दैव व्रात्यों का विशेष वर्णन है। ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण (१७।१ तथा २४।१८) में दैव-व्रात्यों की भिन्न-भिन्न उपपत्तियां दी गई हैं। १७।१ में कहा गया है कि पृथ्वीलोक से देवतागण स्वर्गलोक को चले गये, उनके कुछ देवगण (सायणाचार्य ने देवों के अनुचर माना है) व्रात्यता (आचार-हीनता) के कारण प्रवासी हो गये (भटक गये) और देव-गण से त्यक्त होने के कारण पृथ्वी पर ही रह गये। देव-गण के स्वर्ग जाने के पश्चात् ये व्रात्य देवगण उस प्रदेश में वापस आये जहां इनके साथी देवगण थे, जिस स्तोम और छन्द के सामर्थ्य से यज्ञ में सफलता प्राप्त कर देव-गण स्वर्ग गये थे, उन साधनों को दैव-व्रात्य न जान सके। स्वर्ग में बैठे देव-गणों ने दैव-व्रात्यों की सहायता के लिये मरुतों से कहा कि इन भटकते हुए अपने साथियों को वह स्तोम और छन्द बताओ, जिनसे ये यज्ञ में सफलता प्राप्त कर हम से आ मिलें। मरुतों ने पृथ्वीलोक में आकर इन्हें षोडश (सोलह स्तोत्रीया ऋचाओं वाला) स्तोम तथा अनुष्टुप् छन्द समझाया, जिससे दैवव्रात्य स्वर्ग में साथी देवगण से जा मिले। यह दैव-व्रात्य भूलोक में भटकते हुए न ब्रह्मचर्य का पालन कर सकते थे, न कृषि और न व्यापार। षोडशस्तोम के सामर्थ्य से वे व्रात्यता से मुक्त हुए। इस षोडश-स्तोम को मरुत्-स्तोम भी कहते हैं।—'देवा वै स्वर्गलोकमायंस्तेषां दैवा अहीयन्त व्रात्यां प्रवसन्तः। त आगच्छन् यतो देवाः स्वर्गलोकमायंस्तेन तं स्तोमं न छन्दोऽविन्दन् ये न तानाप्स्यन्। ते देवा मरुतोऽब्रुवन्। एतेभ्यस्तं स्तोमं तच्छन्दः प्रयच्छत, येनास्मान् आप्नवानिति। तेभ्यस्तं षोडशं स्तोमं प्रायच्छन् परोक्षमनुष्टुभं, ततो वै ते तान् आप्नुवन्। हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यतां प्रवसन्ति, नहि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति, न कृषिं न वाणिज्यम्। षोडशो वा एतत् स्तोमः समाप्तुमर्हति। मरुत्स्तोमो वा एषः' (ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण १७-१-१—३)।

ताण्ड्य-ब्राह्मण (२४।१८) में बुध स्थपति (गृहपति) की सहायता से दैव व्रात्यों ने यज्ञ किया। वरुण देवता की अनुमति लिये बिना ही दैव व्रात्यों ने देवयजन की दीक्षा ले ली। वरुण राजा ने अप्रसन्न होकर उन्हें शाप दिया कि देवयजन की दीक्षा के लिये तुमने मेरी अनुज्ञा प्राप्त नहीं की, इसलिये मैं तुम्हें यज्ञ के भाग से वंचित करता हूँ। तुम्हें देवताओं को पहुँचने का मार्ग भूल जायेगा, इसी अपराध के कारण दैवव्रात्यों की दी हुई हवि स्वीकृत नहीं होती और न ही सोम। परिणाम यह निकला कि ओषधियों में से जल सूख गया, दूध में से घी निकलना बन्द हो गया, मांस के अन्दर चर्बी न रही, त्वचा में लोम नहीं उगे, वृक्षों पर पत्ते नहीं लगे। जब दैव व्रात्यों ने एकषष्टिरात्र (६१ दिन में संपन्न होने वाले) यज्ञ का अनुष्ठान करके वरुण देवता को प्रसन्न किया, तब सब ओषध्यादि में जलादि का प्रादुर्भाव हो गया। 'दैवा वै व्रात्याः सत्रमासत बुधेन स्थपतिना, ते ह वा अनिर्याच्य वरुणं राजानं देवयजनं दिदीक्षुः। तान् ह वा वरुणो राजाऽनुव्याजहाराऽन्तरेमि वो यज्ञियाद् भागधेयात्, न देवयानं पन्थानं प्रज्ञास्यथेति, तस्मात् तेभ्यो न हविर्गृह्णन्ति न ग्रहम्। अथ ह वै तर्हि नौषधीषु पय आसीत्, न क्षीरे सर्पिः, न मांसे मेदो न त्वचि लोमानि, न वन-

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स्पतिषु पलाशानि। तद् यत एतद् एकषष्टिरात्रं दैवा व्रात्या उपायन्, ततो वै तानि भूतानि एतैर्वीर्यैः समसृज्यन्त, तेजस्वन्ति एवासन् पयस्विन्ति (ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण २४, १८, २-३)।

जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण (२, २२१) में यही प्रसंग आया है, दैव व्रात्यों से ईशान देव अप्रसन्न हो गये हैं। अस्तु, ऊपर के प्रसंगों के अध्ययन से यह तथ्य समझ में आता है कि ये दैव व्रात्य यायावर दिव्य व्रात्यों से भिन्न हैं और किसी न किसी व्रात्य के अपराध से मुक्त होने के लिये व्रात्य-स्तोम या एकषष्टिरात्र या षोडशस्तोम का प्रायश्चित्त के रूप में अनुष्ठान करके व्रात्य-दोष से मुक्त हुए हैं।

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अहो अहल्या

लेखक

श्री पिन्नेगुडि स्वामिनाथ सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री (प्रिंसिपल, राजा कालेज) तिरुवइयरु

भगवान् वाल्मीकिः श्रीमद्रामायणे अहल्यावृत्तान्तं रचयामास। तद्वचनमत्र विषयः। अहल्या पतिव्रता वा न वा, इति संशयः। अहल्या अपतिव्रता, इति पूर्वः पक्षः। पतिव्रतैव सा, इति सिद्धान्तः।

एतदधिकरणरचनात् पूर्वमेव पतिव्रताशब्दस्य कोऽर्थः इत्येतद् विचारपदवीं प्रविशति। पतिव्रता इत्यस्य पतिः व्रतं यस्याः सा इति विग्रहः। व्रतमित्यस्य दैवतमित्यर्थः। अस्मिन्नेवार्थे गीताचार्याः शब्दमिमं भगवद्गीतायां नवमेऽध्याये "यान्ति देवव्रता देवान् पितॄन् यान्ति पितृव्रताः" (२५) इत्यत्र प्रयुञ्जते। तस्मात् पतिव्रता, पतिरेव मम दैवतम् इत्यनवरतं ध्यायति। तस्यैव शरीरेण तस्याः शरीरस्य संसर्गः तद्ध्यानस्यानुषङ्ग एव। अनन्यदैवतध्यानं विना यस्याः शरीरशुद्धिमात्रमस्ति सा पतिव्रतासु गणनां नार्हति। अनन्यदैवतध्यानवत्याः यदि कदाचिन्मोहाद् बलात्कारेण वान्यस्य संपर्को जायते, सा पतिव्रतैवेत्यत्र न कोऽपि संशयः॥

संशयबीजं च

मुनिवेषं सहस्राक्षं विज्ञाय रघुनन्दन।
मतिं चकार दुर्मेधा देवराजकुतूहलात्॥

इत्यस्मिन् श्लोके 'देवराजकुतूहलात्' इति पदस्य 'मतिं चकार' इत्यनेन अन्वयो वा, 'विज्ञाय' इत्यनेन अन्वयो वा इति विप्रतिपत्तिरेव। यदि आद्योऽन्वयः स्वीक्रियते, तर्हि कौतूहल्यम् अहल्यानिष्ठं, तस्य सहस्राक्षः निमित्तं भवेत्। यदि द्वितीयोऽन्वयः स्वीक्रियते, कौतूहल्यं सहस्राक्षनिष्ठं, तस्य अहल्या निमित्तं भवेत्। आद्यान्वये च, आगतवन्तं पुरुषम् अहल्या प्रथमतः मुनिवेषोऽयमिन्द्र इति जानाति स्म। दुर्मेधस्त्वात् ततस्तस्मिन् कौतूहल्यं वोढ्वा, तेन सह सुरतसुखमनुभवितुं मतिं चकारेत्यर्थः। द्वितीये च, मोहेन आवृता अहल्या संगमे मतिं चकार। सुरतवेलायामिन्द्रकर्तृककौतूहल्यं दृष्ट्वा, एष मुनिर्न मुनिवेषः इन्द्र एव, इति जानाति स्म इत्यर्थः। किं च आद्येऽन्वये,

अथाब्रवीत्सुरश्रेष्ठं कृतार्थेनान्तरात्मना।
कृतार्थास्मि सुरश्रेष्ठ गच्छ शीघ्रमितः प्रभो॥

इति समनन्तरश्लोके कृतार्थान्तरात्मत्वं अहल्यानिष्ठं स्यात्। कृतार्था इत्यस्य कृतः अर्थः यस्याः सा इति विग्रहः स्यात्। प्रभो इति शब्दः श्लाघापूर्वमुक्तः स्यात्। द्वितीये त्वन्वये, कृतार्थान्तरात्मत्वं इन्द्रनिष्ठं स्यात्। कृतार्था इत्यस्य कृतः अर्थः यस्यां सा इत्येव विग्रहः स्यात्। प्रभो इत्ययं शब्दः वाच्यविधया श्लाघावाचकः, व्यंग्यविधया निन्दावाचकश्च स्यात्।

अत्र कोऽन्वयः पूर्वपक्षीयः कश्च सिद्धान्तीयः, इत्यत्र निर्णायकप्रमाणं किमप्यस्ति इति निश्चेतव्यम्।

"विफलस्त्वं भविष्यसि" इति इन्द्राय शापो दत्तः गौतममुनिना। तादृशः शापः अहल्यायै न दत्तः। तस्यै

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इह वर्षसहस्राणि बहूनि त्वं निवत्स्यसि।
वायुभक्षा निराहारा तप्यन्ती भस्मशायिनी।।
अदृश्या सर्वभूतानामाश्रमेऽस्मिन् निवत्स्यसि।।

इति केवलमुक्तम्। अनेन द्वितीयान्वय एव सिद्धान्तीय इत्युनुमातुं शक्यते। अस्तु नाम अनुमितिः। शब्दप्रमाणमपि किमप्यस्ति इति चेदुच्यते :—

उपक्रमे यदि संशयः स्यात् स उपसंहारेण निवर्तनीयः इति हि पूर्वमीमांसानिर्णयः। अत्र तावत् उपक्रमे संशयो वर्तते। उपसंहारे तु उत्तररामायणे त्रिंशे सर्गे अहल्या

अज्ञानाद्धर्षिता नाथ त्वद्रूपेण दिवौकसा।
न कामकाराद्विप्रर्षे प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि।।

इति वदति। तेन तस्या मनसि न कदापि कालुष्यमासीदिति व्यक्तं ज्ञायते। स्थूलशरीरं केवलं दूषितमभूत्। तच्छुद्धिमनुसृत्य सा बहुनि वर्षाणि निराहारा परैरदृश्यमाना तप्यन्ती चासीद् इति निश्चीयते। यस्मिन्नेव क्षणे, सः गौतममुनिर्न, मुनिवेषधारी इन्द्र एव इति जानाति स्म, तस्मिन्नेव क्षणे सुरतसुखं तिरश्चकार। तेन पतिव्रतासु प्रथमं सा गण्यते।

"अहो अहल्यायाः पातिव्रत्यम्"

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CONSCIOUS INTROVERSION AND DIVINE INTIMATIONS IN THE RGVEDA

By

SATYA PRAKASH SINGH, ALIGARH

Introversion means turning within one's ownself. It consists in gradual cessation of sense-functioning and dwelling in the subjective being. This occurs in the states of dream and alcoholic intoxication also. The former state is natural or instinctive whereas the latter is articicial or acquired. But both of them, in common, involve slackening of consciousness and sinking increasingly into the unconscious. But there is a third form of introversion also, with which, however, we are usually unfamiliar. It, unlike the first two, is characteristically conscious. It is what is technically, and now popularly, known as Yoga. In India, divine revelation, ever since the beginning of the Vedic era down in the modern times, has been regarded as a matter of Yogic vision. Before its eminence the other two forms of introversion, if they have got any validity with regard to divine intimations at all, were already relegated to the background.

Here it is also important to distinguish between Yoga on the one hand, and the modern depth psychology on the other. This psychology originates with the discovery of a unique dimension of the mind, i.e. the dimension of depth. Mind is not only a jumble of ideas received from the outside world during the individual's lifetime. It is deep-rooted in the whole history of creation, which it recapitualtes. What we ordinarily take it to be is only its outermost stratum, only the wave. Below the wave lies the sea of the unconscious in all its immeasurable depth. With this assumption the depth psychology has shown the possibility of entering into that deep territory. It has also drawn our attention to certain ways along which people sometimes happen to land in that unknown world. At the same time it has itself evolved certain devices such as hypnotism and free-association by means of which a particular subject is transported mentally to his deeper psychic being. But this psychology, with all its notion of the immeasurable depth of the psyche and hectic devices, is still lacking fatally in the proper insight and equipment requisite for fathoming the psychic being and evaluating the pearls of divinities. The subjects of the depth psychologist is rendered mentally blind while being hurled down into his deeper mind. To his entirely darkened vision every thing looks dark. He is unable to distinguish between the dark and the bright, the demon and the deva. The depth psychologist, therefore, cannot help rendering superconscious divinities in terms of subconscious drives, impulses and archetypes.

The Yogin, on the other hand, does not only claim to enter into the psychic depth, but has also developed the power to retain his native consciousness in that unknown territory.

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His method of regression is to offer consciously the outer to the inner and thus awake into higher and higher consciousness. As the Upaniṣad has it, 'the wise should offer the speech (=all the senses) in the sense-mind, that in the knowledge-self, the knowledge-self in the great-self, and that in the calm self.[1]

Senses exert a great pull over the mind. They are outgoing by their very constitution. Nuatural flow of the mental energy outward is simply due to the pull exercised on the senses by environmental forces. 'The Self-existent has cut the openings (to the mind) outward', says the Upaniṣad, 'hence one looks outward and not inwaard'.[2] But when the aspirant is successful in withdrawing his senses, he is further confronted with his mental modifications. These latter are of five kinds : right knowledge, indiscrimination, delusion, sleep, and memory.[3] These are in part the impressions received from the outside world and in part the mental constructs. They belong to the sense-mind (manas). This stratum of the mind is grimly personal, for it is dominated by the I-sense. After getting the mental modifications subsided, he regresses to the plane of pure knowledge which is independent of the sensory perception. But it is limited in its scope : it is not rid of the personal sense. At the root of it lies the impersonal psychic being (mahat ātman). This is the initial stage of creation, for beyond it there lies the unmanifest (avyakta).[4]

The impersonal psychic being of the Upaniṣad is the plane of the multiple divinities. This process of inward regression culminates in that state where diversity merges into an all-embracing unity. Here comes the revelation of the monotheistic Puruṣa.[5]

From the above it is also explicit that the Yogic method of the revelation of divinities, as put by Patañjali in his Yoga-sūtra,[6] goes as far back as the earliest Upaniṣads. But what about the Ṛgveda ? Are the Ṛgvedic divinities mere fanciful dreams of the dreamer? Or, are they the vagaries of the Soma-intoxicated Āryan priest? Or, on the contrary, are they the inherent powers of the human psyche to be realized through conscious introversion or centripetal quest? The reconciliation of this question this way or that way depends upon whether in the Ṛgveda there is any indication to conscious introversion or not.

On the question of the origin of the Vedic lore the traditional and the modern views stand mutually poles apart. The tradition uncompromisingly holds that the Vedic revelations came to the choicest seers in the state of deep meditation. The modern view in general, on the contrary, is that the Vedic divinities are originally the sensory precepts received from the outside world. In this state of utter contrariety, the only safe and sound way out to us is to see what evidence on the point is furnished by the Ṛgveda itself. In the absence of any unambiguous and direct statement, one will have to rely on the connotation of a few relevant phrases and the corresponding images.

I. Hṛdā Manīṣā

This phrase occurs frequently in the Ṛgveda. There it also alternates with 'hṛdā manasā', 'hṛdā manaṣā manīṣā, or only 'maniṣā'. In order to have a correct appraisal of

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its meaning we think it necessary to see in what sense it is used in the subsequent literature.

Hṛt or heart has always been taken in the subsequent literature as the seat of the psyche. For the sake of convenience we have to take into account, on the lowermost point, the Yogopaniṣads. 'In the middle of the heart-plexus', the Dhyānabindūpaniṣad says, 'one should meditate on the Lord who is designated by the word Om, and is of the shape of an unmoving flame of lamp, merely thumb-sized, constant.[7] According to another Upaniṣad, the heart-plexus is the seat of the imperishable light of consciousness.[8] The Amṛtabindūpaniṣad defines the absolute state as that in which everything is reduced to the essence of the Self through restraining the mind in the heart.[9]

In the earlier Upaniṣads the heart-space is adopted as the centre of all Yogic practices.[10] Piercing of the heart-knot is intimately connected with the revelation of the Supreme.[11] In the Kathopaniṣad the phrase occurs in its intact form and is explained by Śaṅkara as 'by the intellect fixed in the heart'.[12] There it designates the way through which that psychic state is attained in which the senses are merged in the mind and the intellect is immovably fixed.[13]

From the above as well as from the literal meaning of the phrase we can draw the following conclusion. Hṛt signifies the psyche or inner being. Withdrawal of the senses from outward and placing them in the heart results in the flow of the psychic energy inward. This is introversion. Manīṣā, on the other hand, signifies the inner function that controls and supervises the mind. It is what we term as pure intellect. Combining of the intellect with the heart adds inner wakefulness to the act of introversion. Firstly, it guards the latter from sinking into the unconscious, and secondly, it transcribes the higher psychic experience. 'Hṛdā Manīṣā, is, thus, the most appropriate designation of the act of conscious introversion.

Of course, 'heart and head are the two poles of the human organism. They are the first centres to form in the embryo'.[14] Head is the highest while heart is the deepest centre. Heart is the seat of psychic powers and head is their transcriber. All the latent potentialities of the human psyche can, therefore, be fully realized only through a higher combination of the two centres.

In the Ṛgveda, divinities are many times said to be seen through this inner vision of heart and mind. 'The wise men see the flyer, which is annointed by the divine creative power, with heart and mind'.[15] The aspirant saw the beautiful-feathered bird, ascending upon the blissful region, through the heart.[16] (The waves of Ghṛta) stream forth harmoniously like swelling streams, being purified by the mind diving into the heart.'[17] Of the revelations of the imperishable fire, the sea, and the sun it is said : 'The meditative seers being guarded variously are led to the imperishable abode by the heart. As a result of great victories, they saw the sea all around; the sun emerging from them (=seers) was revealed unto men.'[18] Here the imperishable abode stands for the psychic fire, establishment in which leads to the revelation of Sūrya, the highest divinity

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The phrase is used most frequently in connection with the epiphanies of Indra. 'I verily aspire for Indra with the heart and the mind.'[19] The wise came to have intimation of Indra, who was closely accompanying Anuṣṭup, through the intellect.'[20]

In this connection, of special interest is the word Śrat. As comparative philosogy shows, this word is simply a phonetic variant of 'hṛt'. Hence 'Śraddhā' originally means 'placing of the heart' in expectancy of some superior being. This word in its original signification is used several times in relation to the revelation of Indra. Indra is a supra-sensual entity. He is imperceptible. Hence, the agonostic question : 'where is he?' and the logical answer : 'He does not exist at all'. Here, the wise suggest the agnostic that Indra's reality can be inferred from the fact that he withdraws the power of the miser secretly like a thief, but that he is capable of being intimated with directly only through placing the heart at his disposal.[21]

In the great hymn of creation, the associate of the existent is said to be disengaged from the non-existent by wise men through the intellect combined with intense craving in the heart.[22] As is evident from the description of divine beings in the immediately following verse, the associate of the existent, so discovered, is the essence or matrix of divinities.[23]

Elsewhere it is said that they found the Yajuṣ, that had leapt up, the first divine path, through deep meditation.[24] Yoga of the mind and the meditative being is often mentioned in this connection. 'The inspired seers fix their mind and fix their meditations on the Inspired, the Great, the Omniscient.'[25] In one verse it is said that the inspired seer arose in meditation in the mountain cave and at the confluence of rivers.[26] Solitude facilitates concentration and introversion.

2. Tapas : a symbolic expression for introversion.

The idea of Tapas is inalienably connected with the Vedic lore. Mahābhārata, for instance, maintains that seers craved for the Veda day and night through Tapas.[27] The divine speech was audible to them only after they had kept mute, practised concentration, given up food, and lived on air for a hundred divine years.[28] According to the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska, the self-born Brahman approached the seers as they were practising Tapas. It was through Tapas that the Vedic lore was received.[29]

In the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads the act of creative Tapas is ascribed most frequently to Prajāpati. 'Prajāpati heated the regions; therefrom the lore of the three emerged; he heated this also; therefrom emerged the syllables bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, and svaḥ.'[30]

In the Atharvaveda, the word occurs more than two dozen times and is juxtaposed nearly always with Śraddhā, Ṛta or Satya. There it denotes either a psychic power within some divinity or a means to its manifestation. In the Ṛgveda also the supreme deity is said to have emerged out of the power of Tapas.[31] Ṛta and Satya are said to be born of brilliant Tapas.[32] Tapas is a means of seeing the sacred land of the wise : 'The place, the contemplative have made manifest by means of extending Yajña, I have seen through Tapas.[33]

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The literal meaning of the word Tapas is 'heat'. What is the nature of this heat? According to the naturalist, it is the heat of the sun or the fire which later on came to be transferred to the mind. But a study of the word in all its occurrences in the Veda shows unambiguously that the word is used there always in the psychic sense. Moreover, the use of the word in its full signification in the Brāhmaṇas shows that the idea of Tapas was taken more probably from the bird's act of incubation rather than from fire or the sun; for, Tapas, there, is associated nearly always with the incubation of the cosmic egg by Prajāpati. Further, in the same texts, sometimes, Tapas is substituted by Dhyāna, 'concentration and mediation.' Śaṅkara also explains the word 'abhyatapat' as 'meditated upon'.[34] The ideal of Tapas lies in remaining self-contained.[35]

To sum up, Tapas symbolizes meditation and introversion, the symbol being taken from the bird's act of incubation. The bird sits on its egg in deep meditation, as it were. By that act of it there is generated heat sufficient for ripening and breaking the outer shell and getting the loveliest thing revealed. This process presents an excellent analogy to the act of introversion and getting the keenly desired divinity revealed from within the psychic being. In the Ṛgveda itself the analogy occurs a few times in its rudimentary form. One Mantra reads : 'Just as the embryo of the bird emerges to view after the egg is broken, in the same way Dawns were urged by Bṛhaspati automatically to merge from the mountain.[36] Elsewhere Indra is said to have found out the divine wealth concealed in the cave like the bird's germ.[37]

Tremendous is the incubating effect of introversion. 'In India', to quote Neumann, 'Tapas' "inward heat", "brooding", is the creative force with whose help everything is made.'[38]

3. Guhā and Parama Vyoman, the indicators of introversion.

Guhā or cave is a significant word in the theological literature. Divine revelations are instituted very frequently in caves. Pūṣan is said to have found Soma in a cave, where he lay concealed.[39] The meditative ones approached Agni in the cave, where he had concealed himselt like a poacher.[40] Further, a seer prays : 'Having all the human talents in his hand and sitting in the cave may he (Agni) place the gods within us'.[41] The myth of Indra and the Paṇis is intimately connected with cave. To determine the exact connotation of the word, therefore, is likely to shed a flood of light on the Vedic method of divine realization.

The natrualist maintains that in the older part of the Saṃhitā the word denotes the physical cave and that is only in its later part that its meaning has come to be mystified. But a close examination of the word in all its occurrences shows that the whole of the Ṛgveda uses it uniformly in one sense. There is neither baseless mystification in the so-called later part nor is there description of the sheer physical cave in the earlier part of the Saṃhitā.

In order to determine the implied sense of the word 'Guhā', let us begin with the Upaniṣads. In the Upaniṣads, the word designates the secret psychic being. 'The Self,

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which is smaller than atom and bigger than the biggest, dwells in the creature's cave.'[42] 'For those who see, the Self dwells in the cave.'[43]

In this connection it will also be helpful to consider the implication of Guhā in juxtaposition with 'Parama Vyoman', the supreme ether. Both of these terms are frequently used together in the Ṛgveda as well as in the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣad reads : 'He who knows the Absolute as truth, knowledge and infinite, as hidden in the cave, in the supreme ether, attains fulfilment of all his desires.'[44] The Ṛks are said, on the one hand, to exist in the supreme ehter, and on the other, to be concealed in the cave within the seers.[45] In the physical sense 'Parama Vyoman' denotes a place shooting upward, and 'Guhā' that sinking downward. But in the texts they allude to a common place, in order to remove this seeming anomaly Dr. Param Siva Aiyyar in his book 'The Ṛks' endeavours to identify 'Parama Vyoman' with the lowest hollow, the nethermost stratum of the earth instead of the highest heaven.To corroborate his viewpoint he splits up the phrase into vi-ūmā, meaning 'without protection', 'abysmal'.[46] With all its perversion in determining the real meaning of the phrase, the keen insight of Dr. Aiyyar brings one thing to the fore, viz. 'Parama Vyoman' and 'Guhā' in the Ṛgveda designate a common spot.

Of course, the whole contention of the learned scholar is pulled down by the simple fact that in the Ṛgveda 'Guhā' is juxtaposed not only with 'Parama Vyoman', but also with 'Divas Pada',[47] which both mean an identical place. Divas Pada can never mean an underground pit. Moreover, 'Parama Vyoman' in the Ṛgveda is distinctly reversed to 'Avama', the lowest.

As a matter of fact, the clue to the real interpretation of these terms is given in the Ṛgveda itself. Here the original abode of Agni is said sometimes to be the cave, sometimes to be 'Divas Pada' or 'Parama Pada' or 'Parama Vyoman' and not less frequently, to be the heart.[48] At one place, of two consecutive verses, in one, Agni is said to be brought down from the heaven, while in the other, he is said to have been born of the heart.[49] Thus, if we catch the hint offered by the seer, it is only in the secret, luminous and lofty heart-space or the psychic being where such words of mutually opposed meaning as 'Guhā' and 'Parama Vyoman' in their designation meet. It is in this psychic space that divinities and Ṛks dwell together. It is the secret cave of the inner speech.[50] It is the cave of Bṛhaspati's first speech, which cave, again, in the very third verse of the hymn is identified with the inner being of seers.[51]

It is, therefore, evident that 'Guhā' and 'Parama Vyoman' in the Ṛgveda stand for something not physical but psychic. But, what are those psychic phenomena which find their respective analogies in the supreme ether and the cave? With cave are associated, evidently, the ideas of darkness, secrecy, ignorance, a perilous and steep path, adventure and a major gain at the end. Illustrations of each of these ideas associated with 'Guhā' are easily to be found in the Ṛgveda. The derivative meaning of the word itself amounts to all these ideas.

Now, if we retrospect to the phenomenon of introversion, we recall that it consists of

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ingathering the mental energy, letting the latter flow through an inward secret channel, which till long remains embedded in darkness, and achieving in the long run the psychic light, spaciousness, and beatitude. Of these, the ultimate achievement will be analogous to the supreme ether, and the intermediate way to the cave. Divinity in us is concealed within our physical, vital, and psychic sheaths. The chief feature of these sheaths is unconsciousness and sub-consciousness. Hence the way through them is characterisitically dark. At the end of the journey along this inward dark path is achieved the divinity.[52]

Thus, the seer prays to Jātavedas for the wealth lying at the end of the cavus path : 'Of this what is our wealth, what our treasure, that dost thou discern, O Jātavedas, knowingly for us; that which is lying at the end of the cavus path; let our journey not be a fruitless chase ultimately'.[53] Journey across the cave leads to immortality : 'Proceeding from the undivine to the divine, I, the wise, going through the cave and observing minutely, reach immortality'.[54]

Further, the same psychic truth is put in still more tangible figures in the symbolism of the cow and the cave. Just as on entering into a cave the hunter finds out his desired animal, so on introverting to the psychic depth the aspirant is rewarded with divine gifts and revelations. Cow is the reward of the hunter who enters into a cave; wisdom is the reward of the seer who travels across the psychic realm.[55] It is significant to note that the human psyche in the Atharvaveda is compared to the Cowstall : 'The wise regards this persons as the Absolute, because in him dwell all the gods like cows in the stall'.[56]

The whole point is made clear by the following verse: 'Neither the nether world, nor the mountain hole, nor the darkness, nor even the sides of seas (are meant by 'cave') : seers intend by 'cave' the unqualified inner organ of knowledge in which dwells the external Absolute.'[57] From this viewpoint 'Parama Vyoman' and 'Guhā' stand exactly for 'Hṛdā Manīṣā. Here, however, it is significant to make out that the meaning of 'Guhā' has been specified and delimited to the super-intellect only down in the Upaniṣads. In the Ṛgveda it has got a more integral meaning. There it signifies the whole of the psychic being ranging from the unconscious to the super-conscious.

It is highly significant to note that as late a mystic philosopher as Plato finds in the cave an apt figure for bringing out the structure of the human psyche. In the allegory of the cave in his Republic he divides the human psyche into two parts, the unenlightened and the enlightened. The former he takes to consist of perception, faith and understanding while the latter of Reason. The unenlightened part, which is the lower one, he compares to a dark cave, 'which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den.' 'Above and behind a fire is blazing'. This is the fire of the idea of the Supreme Good. The first casts its light in the cave, no doubt, yet it is really cognized by ascending upwards and emerging out of the cave.[58] From what has been said above, it is evident that the analogy goes back via the Kaṭhopaniṣad to the Ṛgveda.

Further, going inward within one's psychic depth is felt as an act of entering into a cave in the modern times also. The celebrated dreamer of Prof. Jung, after diving to a

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considerable depth into the Impersonal Unconscious, comes upon a cave. 'There are curves', the dreamer describes his vision, 'outlined in light around a dark centre.' Then the dreamer is wandering about in a cave, where a battle is going on between good and evil. But there is also a prince who knows everything. He gives the dreamer a ring set with a diamond and places it on the fourth finger of his left hand.'[59]

As to distinguish the two orders of vision, i.e that of the Vedic seer, on the one hand, and that of Jung's dreamer on the other, the notable point is that while the dreamer is unaware of the nature of the cave and for that awareness needs a Jung, the seer, on the contrary, is fully conscious of it. This is simply due to the fact that while the former's introversion is unconscious, that of the latter is conscious.

The instance of Jung's dreamer, however, shows that the cave symbolism for the act of introversion is as natural today as it was thousands of years back; that, therefore, the symbol, instead of being a sheer mental construct, is organically connected with the human psyche.

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2. ibid, IV. 1.
3. Yoga Sūtra I.5,6
4. Kaṭhopaniṣad, III. 11
5. Ṛ̣V. X. 90: Kaṭhopaniṣad III. 11
6. स्वाध्यायादिष्टदेवतासम्प्रयोगः। Yoga Sūtra, II. 44.
7. हृत्पदमकार्णीकामध्ये स्थिरदीपनिभाकृतिम्।
   अङ्गुष्ठमात्रमचलं ध्यायेदोंकारमीश्वरम्॥ Dhyāna. Up. 19.
8. ध्यायतो योगनिः सर्वमनोवृत्तिर्विनश्यति।
   हृत्पुण्डरीकमध्यस्थं चैतन्यज्योतिरव्ययम्॥ Trishikha—Br. Up. 156.
9. निरस्तविषयासङ्गं संनिरुद्धं मनो हृदि।
   यदा यात्यात्मनो भावं तदा तत्परमं पदम्॥ Amṛta. Up. 4.
10. अथ यदिदमस्मिन्ब्रह्मपुरे दहरं पुण्डरीकं वेश्म व दहरोऽस्मिन्नन्तरा-
    काशस्तस्मिन्यदन्तस्तदन्वेष्टव्यं तद्वाव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति। Chhā. Up. VIII. 1.
11. भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः।
    क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन्दृष्टे परावरे॥ Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 9.
12. Śankara's Commentary on Kaṭh, up. VI. 9.
13. न संदृशे तिष्ठति रूपमस्य न चक्षुषा पश्यति कश्चनैनम्।
    हृदा मनीषा मनसाभिक्लृप्तो य एतद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति॥
    यदा पंचावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह।
    बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टति तामाहुः परमां गतिम्॥ Kaṭh. VI. 9-10.
14. Morwenna Bonnelly, Founding the Life Divine, p. 92.

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15. पतङ्गमक्तमसुरस्य मायया हृदा पश्यन्ति मनसा विपश्चितः। RV. X. 177. 1.
16. नाके सुपर्णमुप यत्पतन्तं हृदा वेनन्तो अभ्यचक्षत त्वा। RV. X. 123. 6.
17. सम्यक् श्रवन्ति सरितो न धेना अन्तर्हृदा मनसा पूयमानाः॥ RV. IV. 58. 6.
18. धीरासः पदं कवयो नयन्ति नाना हृदा रक्षमाणा अजुर्यम्।
    सिषसन्तः पर्यपश्यन्त सिन्धुमाविरेभ्यो अभवत सूर्यो नॄन्॥ RV. I.146. 4.
19. इच्छामीद्धृदा मनसा चिदिन्द्रम्॥ RV. VI. 28. 5.
20. अनुष्टुभमनु चर्चूर्यमाणमिन्द्रं निचिक्युः कवयो मनीषा॥ RV. X. 124. 9.
21. यं स्मा पृच्छन्ति कुह सेति घोरमुतेमाहुर्नैषो अस्तीत्येनम्।
    सो अर्यः पुष्टीर्विज इवा मिनाति श्रदस्मै धत्त स जनास इन्द्रः॥ RV. II. 12. 5.
22. कामस्तदग्रे समवर्तताधि मनसो रेतः प्रथमं यदासीत्।
    सतो बन्धुमसति निरविन्दन्हृदि प्रतीष्या कवयो मनीषा॥ RV. X. 129. 4.
23. तिरश्चीनो विततो रश्मिरेषामधः स्विदासी३दुपरि स्विदासी३त्।
    रेतोधा आसन महिमान आसन त्स्वधा अवस्तात प्रयतिः परस्तात्॥ RV. X. 129. 5.
24. तेऽविन्दन्मनसा दीध्याना यजुः ष्कन्नं प्रथमं देवयानम्॥ RV. X. 181. 3.
25. युञ्जते मन उत युञ्जते धियो विप्रा विप्रस्य बृहतो विपश्चितः। RV. V. 81. 1.
26. उपह्वरे गिरीणां संगथे च नदीनाम्।
    धिया विप्रो अजायत॥ RV. VIII. 6. 28.
27. ऋषयस्तपसा वेदानध्यैषन्त दिवानिशम्। Mahābhārata, Śānti. 232. 24.
28. तेऽतिष्ठन् ध्यानमालम्ब्य मौनमास्थाय निश्चलाः।
    त्यक्ताहाराः पवनपा दिव्यं वर्षशतं द्विजाः॥
    तेषां ब्रह्ममयी वाणी सर्वेषां श्रोत्रमागमत्॥ ibid. 183. 7—8.
29. ऋषिर्दर्शनात्। . . . . .तद्यदेनांस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्मस्वयम्भ्वभ्यानर्षत् त ऋषयोऽभवंस्तदृषीणामृषित्वमिति विज्ञायते॥
30. प्रजापतिर्लोकानभ्यतपत्। तेभ्योऽभितप्तेभ्यस्त्रयी विद्या संप्रास्रवत्।
    तामभ्यतपत्। तस्या अभितप्ताया एतान्यक्षराणि संप्रास्रवन्त भूर्भुवः स्वरिति॥ Chh. Up. II. 23. 32.
31. तपसस्तन्महिना जायतैकम्॥ RV. X. 129. 3.
32. ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत॥ RV. X. 190. 1.
33. यानि स्थानान्यसृजन्त धीरा।
    यज्ञं तन्वानास्तपसाभ्यपश्यम्॥ RV. VIII. 59. 6.
34. अभ्यतपत् अभितापं कृतवान् ध्यानं तपः कृतवान्। Śankara on Chh. Up. II. 23. 2.
35. विरिंचोऽपि तथा चक्रे दिव्यं वर्षशतं तपः।
    आत्मन्यात्मानमावेश्य यदाह भगवानजः॥ Bhāgavata III. 10. 4.
36. आण्डेव भित्वा शकुनस्य गर्भमुदुस्रियाः पर्वतस्य त्मनाजत्॥ RV. X. 68. 7.
37. अविन्दद् दिवो निहितं गुहा निधिं वेर्न गर्भम्। RV. I. 130. 3.

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38. Erich Neumann, The Origin and History of Consciousness, p. 22.
39. पूषा राजानमाघृणिरपगूळ्हं गुहा हितम्।
अविन्दच्चित्रबर्हिषम्॥ RV. I. 23. 14.
40. पश्वा न तायुं गुहा चतन्तं नमो युजानं नमो वहन्तम्।
सजोषा धीराः पदैरनु ग्मन्नुप त्वा सीदन् विश्वे यजत्राः॥ RV. I. 65. 1.
41. हस्ते दधानो नृम्णा विश्वान्यस्मे देवान्धाद गुहा निषीदन्॥ RV. I. 67. 3.
42. अणोरणीयान्महतो महीयानात्मास्य जन्तोर्निहितो गुहायाम्॥ Kaṭh. Up. II. 20.
43. बृहच्च तद्दिव्यमचिन्त्यरूपं सूक्ष्माच्च सूक्ष्मतरं विभाति।
दूरात्सुदूरे तदिहान्तिके च पश्यत्स्विहैव निहितं गुहायाम्॥ Muṇḍ. Up. III. 1. 7.
44. सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म यो वेद निहितं गुहायां।
परमे व्योमन् सोऽश्नुते सर्वान् कामान्॥ Tait. Up. II. 1.
45. (अ) ऋचो अक्षरे परमे व्योमन्। RV. I. 164. 39.
(ब) यदेषां श्रेष्ठं यदरिप्रमासीत् प्रेणा तदेषां निहितं गुहाविः॥ RV. X. 71. 1.
(स) यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयमायन्तामन्वविन्दन्नृषिषु प्रविष्टाम्॥ RV. X. 61. 3.
46. Śri Aurobindo, *On the Veda*, p. 35
47. (अ) अभि प्रया दिवस्पदमध्वर्युभिर्गुहा हितम्।
सूरः पश्यति चक्षसा॥ RV. IX. 10. 9.
(ब) अविन्दद्दिवो निहितं गुहा निधिं वेर्न गर्भम्। RV. I. 130. 3.
48. (अ) दिवश्चित् ते बृहतो जातवेदो वैश्वानर प्र रिरिचे महित्वम्। RV. 1. 59. 5.
(ब) विदन्मर्तो नेमधिता चिकित्वानग्निं पदे परमे तस्थिवांसम्। RV. I. 72. 4.
(स) स जायमानः परमे व्योमन्याविरग्निरभवन्मातरिश्वने। RV. I. 143. 2.
(द) अयं होता प्र_मः पश्यतेममिदं ज्योतिरमृतं मर्त्येषु॥ RV. VI. 9. 4.
(र) वि मे कर्णा पतयतो वि चक्षुर्वीदं ज्योतिर्हृदय आहितं यत्। RV. VI. 9. 6.
49. (अ) दिवश्चित् पूर्वो न्यसादि होता ऽऽपृच्छ्यो विश्पतिर्विक्ष वेधा॥ RV. I. 60. 2.
(ब) तं नव्यसी हृद आ आपमानमस्मत सुकीर्तिर्मधु जिह्वमश्याः॥ RV. I. 60. 3.
50. चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः॥
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति॥ RV. I. 164. 45.
51. (अ) बृहस्पते प्रथमं वाचो अग्रं यत्प्रैरत नामधेयं दधानाः।
यदेषां श्रेष्ठं यदरिप्रमासीत्प्रेणा तदेषां निहितं गुहाविः॥ RV. X. 71. 1
(ब) यज्ञेन वाचः पदवीयमायन् तामन्वविन्दन्नृषिषु प्रविष्टाम्॥ ibid. 3.
52. Cf. "The central mystical experience of enlightenment is aptly symbolized by light in most of the numerous forms of mysticism. It is a curious paradox that the approach to a region which seems to us the way into utter darkness should yield the light of illumination as its fruit."

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C. G. Jung : *Psychology and Religion*, pp. 508.

Again, "Thus said the Lord......, 'I will go before thee and make the crooked places straight; I will break in pieces the gates of the brass and cut in sunder the bars of iron; and I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places."

Isaiah XIV. 1-3.

53. किं नो अस्य द्रविणं कद्ध रत्नं वि नो वोचो जातवेदश्चिकित्वान्।
गुहाध्वनः परमं यन्नो अस्य रेकु पदं न निदाना अगन्म॥ RV. IV. 5. 12.

54. अदेवाद्देवः प्रचेता गुहा यन्प्रपश्यमानो अमृतत्वमेमि॥ RV. X. 124. 2.

55. पदं न गोरपगूळहं विविद्वानग्निर्मह्यं प्रेदु वोचन्मनीषाम्॥ RV. IV. 5. 3.

56. तस्माद् वै विद्वान् पुरुषमिदं ब्रह्मेति मन्यते।
सर्वा ह्यस्मिन् देवता गावो गोष्ठ इवासते॥ AV. XI. 9. 32.

57. न पातालं न च विवरं गिरीणां
नैवान्धकारं कुक्षयो नोदधीनाम्।
गुहा यस्यां निहितं ब्रह्म शाश्वतं
बुद्धिवत्तिमविशिष्टां कवयो वेदयन्ते॥

Pātañjalayogapradīpa (I edn.), p. 484.

58. Plato, *Republic*, VI.

59. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, Dream 37.

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MISCELLANEA PASUPATICA

By

MINORU HARA, JAPAN

1. *Śvetāśvatara*[1]

Although it belongs to the Taittirīya School of the Black Yajur Veda, some uncertainty is attached to the exact lineage of Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad and to the personality of the author, Śvetāśvatara.[2]

In Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6.21, the text itself refers to the author.

tapaḥ-probhāvād deva-prasādāc ca
brahma ha śvetāśvataro 'tha vidvān
atyāśramibhyaḥ paramaṃ pavitram
provāca saṃyag ṛṣi-sangha-juṣṭam

However, except for the important influences on the History of Indian Philsophy, such as Sāṃkhya and Yoga, Bhagavad-gītā and Īśvara-gītā, and so forth, his personality seems to be little investigated.

In this paper, the present writer sets aside the problem of his Vedic lineage and its later influence, and will only shed light on the sage, Śvetāśvatara, who is referred to in the Purāṇic literature, though not with positive intention to prove the indentity between the Upaniṣadic Śvetāśvatara and the Purāṇic Śvetāśvatara.

Kūrma Purāṇa 1.14.25 ff.[3] relate Suśila's visit to Dharmavana in the Himālaya, his meeting with a sage Śvetāśvatara, and his conversion to the Pāśupata Śaivism under the initiation of the sage.[4] The text reads as follows

sa kṛtvā tīrtha-saṃsevāṃ svādhyāye tapasi sthitaḥ
jagāma himavat-pṛṣṭhaṃ kadā cit siddha-sevitam (25)
tatra dharma-vanaṃ nāma dharma-siddhi-pradaṃ vanam
apaśyad yogināṃ gamyaṃ agamyaṃ brahma-vidviṣām (26)
tatra mandākinī-nāma supuṇyā vimalā nadī
padmotpala-vanopetā siddhāśrəma-vibhuṣitā (27)
sa tasyā dakṣiṇe tīre munīndrair yogibhir yutam
supuṇyam āśramaṃ ramyaṃ apaśyat prīti-saṃyutaḥ (28)
mandākinī-jale snātvā santarpya pitṛ-devatāḥ
arcayitvā mahā-devaṃ puṇyaiḥ padmotpalādibhiḥ (29)
dhyātvārka-saṃstham īśānaṃ śirasy ādhāya cāñjalim
samprekśamāṇo bhāsvantaṃ tuṣṭāva parameśvaram (30)

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rudrādhyāyena giriśaṃ rudrasya caritena ca
anyaiś ca vividhaiḥ stotraiḥ śāmbhavair veda-sambhavaiḥ (31)
athāsminn antare 'paśyat samāyāntaṃ mahā-munim
śvetāśvatara-nāmānaṃ mahā-pāśupatottamam (32)
bhasma-sandigdha-sarvāṅgaṃ kaupīnācchādanānvitam
tapasā karṣitātmānaṃ śukla-yajñopavītinam (33)
samāpya saṃstavaṃ śambhor ānandāsrāvilekṣaṇaḥ
vavande śirasā pādau prāñjalir vākyam abravīt (34)
dhanyo 'smy anugṛhīto' smi yan me sākṣān munīśvara
yogīśvaro'dya bhagavān dṛṣṭo yoga-vidāṃ varaḥ (35)
aho me sumahad bhāgyam tapāṃsi saphalāni me
kim kariṣyāmi śiṣyo'ham tava mām pālayānagha (36)
so 'nugṛhyātha rājānam suśīlam śīla-saṃyutam
śiṣyatve pratijagrāha tapasā kṣīṇa-kalmaṣam (37)
sānnyāsikaṃ vidhim kṛtsnam kārayitvā vicakṣaṇaḥ
dadau tadaiśvaraṃ jñānam sva-śākha-vihitā-vratam (38)
aśeṣaṃ veda-sāraṃ tat paśu-pāśa-vimocanam
antyāśramam iti khyātaṃ brahmādibhir anuṣṭhitam (39)
uvāca śiṣyān samprekṣya ye tad āsrama-vāsinaḥ
brāhmaṇāḥ kṣatriyā vaiśyā brahma-carya-parāyaṇāḥ (40)
mayā pravartitām śākhām adhītyaiveha yoginhaḥ
samāsate mahādevaṃ dhyāyanto viśvam aiśvaram (41)
iha devo mahā-devo ramamāṇaḥ sahomayā
adhyāste bhagavān īśo bhaktānām anukampayā (42)
ihainaṃ devamīśānaṃ devānām api daivatam
ārādhya mahatīṃ siddhiṃ lebhire deva-dānavāḥ (43)
ihāśeṣa-jagad-dhātā nārāyaṇaḥ svayam
ārādhayan mahādevaṃ lokāṇām hita-kāmyayā (44)
ihaiva munayaḥ sarve marīcy-ādyā maheśvaram
dṛṣṭvā tapoblāj jñānam lebhire sārva-kālikam (45)
tasmāt tvam api rājendra tapo-yoga-samanvitaḥ
tiṣṭha nityaṃ mayā sārddhaṃ, tataḥ siddhim avāpsyasi (46)
evam ābhāṣya viprendro devaṃ dhyātvā pinākinam
ācacakṣe mahā-mantram yathāvat sarva-siddhaye (47)
sarva-pāpopaśamanaṃ veda-sāraṃ vimuktidam
agnir ity ādikam puṇyam ṛṣibhiḥ sampravartitam (48)
so'pi tad-vacanād rājā suśīlaḥ śraddhayānvitaḥ
sākṣāt pāśupato bhūtvā vedābhyāsa-rato 'bhavat (49)
bhasmoddhūlita-sarvāṅgaḥ kanda-mūla-phalāśanaḥ
śānto dānto jita-krodhaḥ samnyāsa-vidhim āśritaḥ (50)

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Though slightly abridged, practically the same passages are found in Saura-Purāṇa 27.18 ff.[5]

tatra (himavad-giri) dharma-vanaṃ nāma muni-siddhair niṣevitam
apasyad yogibhir juṣṭaṃ mahā-deva-kṛtālayam (18)
yatra siddhā mahātmāno marīcy-ādyā maharṣayaḥ
nārāyaṇaś ca bhagavāṇs tathā cānye surāsurāḥ (19)
samārādhya mahā-devaṃ prāptā hy anekaśaḥ
yatra mandākini gaṅgā rājate hy agha-hāriṇī (20)
apśyad āśramaṃ tasyās tīre yogīndra-sevitam
mandākini-jale tatra snātvābhyarcya maheśvaram (21)
mahā-deva-kathā-yuktaih stutvā sa vividhaiḥ stavaiḥ
dhyāyamānaḥ kṣaṇaṃ tatra viśveśvaraṃ śivam (22)
śvetāśvatara-nāmānam athāpaśyam mahā-munim
mahā-pāśupatam śāntam jīrṇa-kaupina-vāsasam (23)
bhasmoddhūlita-sarvāṅgam tri-puṇḍra-tilakānvitam
abhivandya muneḥ pādau śirasā prāñjalir nṛpaḥ (24)
abravīt tam muni-śreṣṭaṃ sarva-bhūtānukampinam
adya dhanyaḥ kṛtārtho 'smi saphalaṃ mama (25)
tapāṃsi saphalāny eva jātāni tava darśanāt
bhavāmi tava śiṣyo'haṃ rakṣa samsāra-jād bhayāt (26)
yogyatā mama ced asti śiṣyo'ham bhavituṃ tava
so'nugṛhyātha putratve rājānaṃ muni-puṃgavāḥ (27)
kārayitvā sa samnyāsaṃ dadau yogam anuttamam
yat tat pāśupataṃ yogam antyāśramam iti śrutam (28)
guhyaṃ tat sarvavedeṣu vedavidbhir anuṣṭhitam
anugrahān munes tasya so'pi pāsupato 'bhavat (29)
vedābhyāsarataḥ śānto bhasmaniṣtho jitendriyaḥ
samnyāsavidhim āsritya suśīlo muktimān bhavet (30)

As is evident in the Purāṇic passages, quoted above here a sage, Śvetāśvatara is called *mahāmuni* (KP. 32; SP. 23), *mahā pāśupatottama* (KP. 32), *mahā-pāśupata* (SP. 23), *muni* (SP. 24, 29), *muni-śreṣṭha* (SP. 25), *muniśvara, yogīśvara, yogavidāṃ vara* (KP. 35), *vicakṣaṇa* (KP. 37) and *viprendra* (KP. 47). Though emaciated by the practice of asceticism, he wears an old kaupīna and a sacred white thread and besmears his body with ashes (KP. 33; SP. 23-24). He seems to have resided over an āśrama (KP. 27, 40; SP. 21) in Dharmavana of the Himalaya on the bank of the river Ganges, where siddhas (KP. 25; SP. 18), yogins (KP. 26.28, 41) or munis (KP. 28, 45; SP. 18, 21) are living with him. They worship the God, Śiva, with meditation (KP. 47) and utter a great mantra (*agnir ity ādika*) (KP. 48), which might be the same as that found in Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad.[6] He initiates a novice to the Pāśupata yoga, the highest ascetic yoga (SP. 28, cf. KP. 38).We might note here the word *śākhā*, mentioned in Kūrma Purāṇa. That is, he has a vow prescribed in his own

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school (*śva-śākhā-vihitaṃ vrata* KP. 38), which is called *antyāśrama*,[7] the essence of the whole Vedas, practised by Brahman, etc. (KP. 39, cf. Sp. 28), and the school itself is established by Śvetāśvatara himself (*mayā pravartitūṃ śākhām adhītya*. . KP. 41).

Apart from the personality of Śvetāśvatara, the purāṇic passages lead us to compare them with Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad VI.21. That is to say, the epithets, *mahā-muni*, *vicakṣaṇa*, etc. may correspond to *vidvān* in the Upaniṣad. Again, *ṛṣi-saṅgha* in the Upaniṣad seems to find its equivalent in the Purāṇic *āśrama* in Dharmavana where siddhas, yogins and munis are gathered. *Atyāśrama* in the Upaniṣad seems to be the same as the *antyāśrama* in the purāṇic passage. If we could take *brahman* in the Upaniṣad as a mantra, the purifier (*pavitra*), instead of the philosophical principle, it might suggest the possibility to take it as *puṇyam mahā-mantra, agnir ity ādikam* (KP. 47-48).

Now returning back to Śvetāśvatara, we meet him again in several purāṇic passages.[8] While discussing Lakulīśa as the twenty-eighth incarnation of the God Śiva. Vāyu Purāṇa[9] Kūrma Purāṇa, Vāyavīya Saṃhitā, the seventh chapter of Śiva Mahāpurāṇa, and Liṅga Purāṇa give a list of names of the twenty-eight incarnations, together with four disciples each. Here in the first incarnation, the avatāra is Śveta, and his disciples are Śveta (1), Śikha or Śveta-śikha[10](2), Śvetāsva or Śvetāsya[11] (3), and Śveta-lohita (4). The list is nothing but an invention to compete with the Vaiṣṇava Avatāras and it will never give us a positive proof, upon which a definite conclusion could be established. However, it is only to note that Śvetāśvatara is mentioned in close context with the Pāśupata lineage, though it might be fictitious.

II. *Kāyāvarohaṇa*[12]

A student of Pāśupata Śaivism is very much indebted to the illustrating studies carried out by eminent archaeologists and epigraphists.[13]

The place called Kāyāvarohaṇa, literally "(the place of) bodily incarnation," which is identified with modern Kārvaṇ, has been investigated by G. Bühler, D. R. Bhandarkar and others from the epigraphic and archaeological points of view. It might be convenient here to briefly describe the past research together with a short bibliography.

Already in 1890,[14] G. Bühler investigated the so-called Cintrapraśasti, which was originally discovered in Somanātha and is dated, 1287 A.D.[15] In verses 11-16[16] of the praśasti, it is said that Śiva incarnated in a human form as Nakulīśa and settled down in Kārohaṇa, a forehead of the earth and an ornament of Lāṭa country.

In 1908, D. R. Bhandarkar[17] investigated the Ekliṅgjī Stone Inscription and discussed the origin and history of Lakulīśa sect. In lines 8-11[18] of the Inscription, we are again told of how Śiva incarnated in a human body as Lakulīśa and settled down in Kāyāvarohaṇa. He also introduced us to the Kāravaṇa Māhātmya.[19] which was later critically edited by C. D. Dalal and published in Gaekwad's Oriental Series.[20] This Māhātmya, though it differs in details, again gives us an information of how the incarnation of Śiva settled in the holy place, Kāyāvarohaṇa.[21]

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Dr. M. R. Majumdar and Dr. R. N. Mehta are working on the site from the archaeological and historical points of view.

Apart from these epigraphic and historical evidences, the Purāṇic literature also refers to the place Kāyāvarohaṇa. Here are presented passages which have bearing on the matter in discussion. In Vāyu Purāṇa 23.221-222, which follow immediately after the enumeration of Śiva's twenty-eight incarnations as discussed above, we read

bhaviṣyāmi tadā brāhman nakulī nāma nāmataḥ (221)
Kāyārohaṇam ity evaṃ siddha-kṣetraṃ ca vai tadā
bhaviṣyati tu vikhyātaṃ yāvad bhūmir dhāriṣyati (222)

With some minor changes in details Liṅga Purāṇa furnishes practically the same passages.[22]

Thus it is clear that the place Kāyāvarohaṇa appears in close context with the Nakulīśa Pāśupata, and it has been illustrated by the epigraphists and archaeologists. Under such a circumstance, it would be the duty of a Pāśupata student to furnish the textual evidence found in the original Pāśupata scripture in order to substantiate the conclusion of the Epigraphists and Archaeologists.

Now in the commentary of Kauṇḍinya on Pāśupata Sūtra, which is attributed to Lakulīśa himself, we read the following passage :

tathā śiṣṭa-prāmāṇyāt kāmittvād ajātatvāc ca manuṣya-rūpī bhagavān brāhamaṇa-kāyam āsthāya kāyāvataraṇe (a) vatīrṇa iti/tathā padbhyām ujjayinīm prāptaḥ/kasmāt ? śiṣṭa-prāmāṇyāt cihna-darśana-śravaṇāc ca/atyāśrama-prasiddhaṃ liṅgam āsthāya pravacanam uktavān : bhasma-snāna-śayanānus-nāna-nirmālyikvāsographaṇād adhikaraṇa-prasiddhy-arthaṃ ca svaśāstrokte āyatane śiṣya-sambandhārthaṃ śucau deśe bhasma-vedyām uṣitaḥ (TSS. 143 p. 3, line 15, p. 4, line 4)

"Because of the authoritative statement of śiṣṭa and of God's ability to take any form at will and His unbornness, the Lord, taking the body of a Brāhmin, settled down at Kāyāvataraṇa in human form.[23] Then He went to Ujjain on foot. How (is this known) ? Because we have the authoritative statement of *śiṣṭa* and also because we see and hear of the mark. Having recourse to the liṅga known as atyāśrama, He proclaimed (the teaching)

beginning with the words, bathing in sshes, aleeping in ashes, subsequent bathing in ashes, (carrying) the flower remained, (wearing) one cloth, etc., in order to establish the subject matter. Then He stayed on the altar made of ashes in the clean spot within a temple, which is described in His own scripture, in order to communicate with the pupils.

The passage is not completely free from obscurity, but there is enough evidence to know that He incarnates in a human form as Lakulīśa resorting to the Brahmin's (dead) body in Kāyāvataraṇa, the place which we met in the inscriptions, Māhātmya and Purāṇic passages.

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III. *A Note on the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*

It is well known that the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad bears reference to the Pāśupata Śaivism.[24]

The Upaniṣad refers to the *Pāśupata vrata*, prescribing the practice of besmearing a body with ashes. The text reads as follows :

rudro hi śāśvatena vai purāṇeneṣam ūrjeṇa tapasā niyantā/agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyometi bhasma sarvaṃ ha vā idaṃ bhasma mana etāni cakṣūṃsi yasmād *vratam* idaṃ *pāśupataṃ* yad bhasma-nāṅgāni saṃspṛset tasmād brahma tad etat *pāśupatam* paśu-pāśa-vimokṣaṇāya (B. Tubini ed. p. 4, lines 5-9)[25]

Apart from this special reference to the *Pāśupata vrata*, the use of ashes for religious purpose is never separable from the Pāśupata Śaivism. It is prescribed in the source material of Pāśupata sect, that is, in the Pāśupata sūtra.

bhaṣmanā tri- ṣavaṇaṃ snāyīta (1.2)
bhasmani śayīta (1.3)
anusnānam (1.4)

Ashes are believed to have a purifying potency[26] among the Pāśupata ascetics[27] and its use aims at their religious merits of non-possession (niṣparigraha) and non-violence.[28] (ahiṃsā). Kauṇḍinya, while comenting upon the Pāśupata sūtra 1.6 (*liṅga-dhārī*), manifestly says that these practices with ashes are the characteristic sign (liṅga) of the Pāśupata followers.[29]

Thus the prescription of using ashes in Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad, as quoted above, easily leads us to the conclusion that it bears a close relationship with the Pāśupata Śaivism.

Now, while translating the Pāśupata Sūtra together with Kauṇḍinya's commentary, we come across a passage which finds a parallel in the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad.

Pāśupatas Sūtras 5.30-38 prescribe the regiment of an aspirant(*sādhaka*) in his fourth stage. They read as follows.

śmaśāna-vāsī (30) dharmātmā (31) yathālabdhopajīvakaḥ (32) labhate rudra-sāyujyam (33) sadā rudram anusmaret (34) chittvā doṣāṇāṃ hetu-jālasya mūlam (35) buddhyā (36) saṃcittam (37) sthāpayitvā ca rudre (38)

The Sūtras 30-34 compose a śloka and Kauṇḍdinya himself comments at the end of Sūtra 34, *atra śloko nirvacanaḥ* (p. 132, lines 7-8). The second half, that is Sūtras 35-38, does not compose a śloka, although Kauṇḍinya here again says at the end of Sūtra 38, *sloko nirvacanaḥ* (p. 139, lines 4-5). Now setting aside the metrical question, we shall discuss the second half in comparison with a passage of the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad.

The Upaniṣad passage goes as follows:

kṣamām hitvā hetu-jālasya[30] mūlam buddhyā saṃcittaṃ sthāpayitvā tu rudre (B. Tubini ed. p. 3, lines 25-26)

But this passage has various readings in different published texts. The text with Śaṅkarāṇanda commentary reads as follows ;

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tṛṣṇāṃ chittvā hetu-jālasya mūlaṃ buddhyā saṃcintya sthāpayitvā tu rudre (AAS. 29, p. 37, lines 4-5)

Another text with Nārāyaṇa's commentary is again.

tṛṣṇāṃ hitvā hetu-jālasya mūlam/buddhyā saṃcitaṃ sthāpayitvā tu rudre (AAS. 29, p. 17, lines 1-2)

The reading given in the Śaiva Upaniṣad is as follows :

tṛṣṇāṃ chittvā hetu-jālasya mūlaṃ buddhyā sancintyā sthāpayitvā tu rudra rudra ekatvam āhuḥ (p. 35, lines 1-2)

Now under such a curumstance, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the original and authentic reading of the Upaniṣad. However, even when we set aside the problem of textual criticism of the Upaniṣad, it seems above any doubt that the Pāśupata sūtras 5.35-38 have a strong affinity with the passage of the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad. Concerning the priority of one to the other, we are still not in a position to say anything definite, since the dates of these texts are still undetermined. Suggesting the possibility of postulating the existence of another source, from which these textual passages derive, we here present only a parallel.

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3. Text used here is that of Venkateśvara Edition.
4. Cf. R. C. Hazra : *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Custom*, p. 63-64 1940).
5. Text used here is that published from Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (No. 18, Poona 1924).
6. *agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma*..(B. Tubini ed. p. 4, lines 6ff.) We shall discuss this verse later in the section 3 in this paper.
7. Though we have the words *āśramam antyam* in Raghuvaṃśa 8.14 and *antyam āśramam* Daśakumāracarita 10 (Nirnayasagara Ed. p. 205 line 8, Bombay 1951), it might be *atyāśrama*, which appears in Kaivalya Upaniṣad 2.1; 1.4-5 (cf. M. Winternitz : *Zur Lehre von den Āśrama*, Festschrifit Hermann Jacobi pp. 217 ff. Bonn 1926),

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Mahābhārata 12.285. 194 (Bombay Ed.) and also Kauṇḍinya and Pāśupata Sūtra (p. 4, line 1, p. 8, line 12).

8. Vāyu Purāṇa 23.115 ff. (Bibliotheca Indica Text), Kūrma Purāṇa 1.53.3 ff. (Venkaṭeśvara Ed.) Liṅga Purāṇa 1.24.13 ff (Venkateśvara Ed.)
9. Cf. D. R. Patil : *Cultural History From the Vāyu Purāṇa* p. 61 (Poona 1946)
10. Kūrma Purāṇa, Vāyavīya Saṃhitā and Liṅga Purāṇa.
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13. D. R. Bhankarkar : *Lakulīśa* (Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1906-7 p. 183.) According to a native tradition, it is called western Benares (cf. U. P. Shah and R. N. Mehta : *A Few Early Sculptures from Gujarat* (Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda 1951 pp. 43 ff) and located 15 miles south of Baroda (H. D. Sankalia; *The Archaeology of Gujarat* p. 144, note 9, Bombay 1941). Cf. also M. R. Majumdar : *Antiquities in Kārvaṇ* (Journal of the University of Bombay 18 part 4, 1950) pp. 43 ff and *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat* p. 204 (Baroda, 1960).
14. G. Bühler : *Cintra Praśasti of the Reign of Sāraṇgadeva* (Epigraphia India 1 pp. 271-287, Bombay 1890).
15. J. F. Fleet : *Śiva as Lakulīśa* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland 10, 1907) pp. 419 ff.
16. The inscription reads as follows :
    itaś ca bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-lakulīśa-mūrttyā tapaḥ-kriyā-kāṇḍa-phala-pradātā(14)avātarad viśvam anugrahītuṃ devaḥ svayaṃ bāla-mṛgāṃka-mauliḥ anugrahītuṃ ca ciraṃ viputrakān ulūka-bhūtān abhiśāpataḥ pituḥ (15) lalāṭam urvyā iva lāṭa-bhūṣaṇaṃ sametya kārobaṇam adhyuvāsa yaḥ (16)
17. D. R. Bhandarkar : *An Ekliṅgji Stone Inscription and the Origin and History of Lakulīśa Sect* (Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society 22, pp. 151-165 Bombay 1908)
18. The inscription, dated 971 A.D., reads as follows.
    8. ..śaptaḥ purā mura-bhidā bhṛgukaccha (nā)....
    9. vitāna..(/) cakre bhṛguḥ saha ga..sādhikena toṣonmukham giri-sutāpaṭim aprameyam// (9)majjal-lāṭa-vadhū-ghana-stana-tatottaṅga-ttaraṅgottaraṅgottarā yasmin mekala-kaṇ (=n) yakā....(/)
    10. ....śeṣa-viśuddhaye kim aparaṃ paryagrahīt taṃ muneḥ pratyakṣaṃ lakulopalakṣita-karaḥ kāyāvatāraṃ śivaḥ/ (10) kāyavarohaṇam ataḥ paṭubhedanaṃ tad-udv (=b) uddha-v (=b) akulāvali-puṣpa....(/) ma....kailāsa-vāsaṃ api na smarati smarāriḥ/ (11)
19. D. R. Bhandarkar : *Lakulīśa* pp. 180-183. It was originally published in Volume VII of the Bombay Gazetteer (p. 180).
20. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 15, pp. 37-55 (Baroda 1920).

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21. The place is mentioned eleven times. It is called *Kāyāvarohaṇa* (p. 46, line 29; p. 49, line 30; p. 51; line 8; p. 51, line 22; p. 52, line 9; p. 53 line 22) *Kāyarohaṇa* (p. 51, line 5), *Kāyāvaroharaṇa* (p. 52, line 2), which may be a contamination of *avarohaṇa* and *avataraṇa*, *Kārohaṇa* (p. 54, line 5; p. 54, line 8), and *Kāravaṇa* (p. 52, line 5). It is preceded by the adjective *śrīmat* five times (p. 46, line 29; p. 49. lines 30; p. 52, line 2; p. 52, line 5; p. 54, line 5) and is called *tīrtha* (p. 51. line 8; p. 52, line 5). There the God Śiva incarnates in order to favour the Bhṛgukṣetra (p. 51, line 9) and to establish the Dharma in Kali Yuga (p. 52, line 3).

22. Liṅga Purāṇa 24. 129-130 read as follows.

    bhaviṣyāmi tadā brāhmaṇḷ lakulī nāma nāmataḥ (129)
    kāyāvatāra ity evaṃ siddha-kṣetraṃ ca vai tadā
    bhaviṣyati suvikhyātaṃ yāvad bhūmir dhāriṣyati (130)

23. According to the Purāṇic passages, He entered into the dead body with no body to look after in a burning ground. Vāyu Purāṇa 23.220 says

    śmaśāne mṛtam utsṛṣṭaṃ dṛṣṭvā lokam anāthakam
    brāhmaṇānāṃ hitārthāya praviṣṭo yoga-māyayā

    It is almost the same as Liṅga Purāṇa 24.128, which has *kāyam* for *Lokam* of the Vāyu Purāṇa. As for the motif of entering other's body, cf. M. Bloomfield : *On the Art of Entering Another's Body* (Proceedings of American Philosophical Society 56 1917, pp. 1-43), M. Eliade : *Le Yoga, Immortalité et Liberté* (Paris 1954) p. 160 and p. 380.

24. P. Deusen : *Sechzig Upanisads des Veda* pp. 716-717. (Leipzig 1897).
    B. Tubini : *Atharvaśira Upaniṣad* (Les Upanishad, texte et traduction sous la direction de Louis Renou XI, Paris, 1952) p. 4.

25. The reading seems to be same as that of AAS. 29 p. 17, lines 3-6 with Tubini's amendation *tad etat pāśupataṃ* for *tadet pāśūpataṃ* (p. 17, line 6). ASS. text with Śankarānanda commentary reads as follows :

    iṣam ūrjaṃ tapasā niyacchata vratam etat pāśupatam (AAS. 29, p. 38, lines 1-2)..
    angirityādinā bhasma gṛhītvā nimṛjyāṅgāni saṃspṛśet tasmād etat pāśupatam paśu-pāśa-vimokṣāya (p. 39, lines 1-2)

    A reading in the Śaiva Upaniṣads (The Adyar Library Series No. 8, 1950) goes as follows.

    rudram śāśvataṃ vai purāṇam iṣam ūrjaṃ tapasā niyacchata/vratam
    etat pāśupatam/agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma
    sthalam iti bhasma vyometi bhasma sarvaṃ ha vā idaṃ bhasma mana
    ity etāni cakṣūṃsi bhasmāny agnir ity ādinā bhasma gṛhītvā vimṛjyāṅgāni
    saṃspṛśet tasmād vratam etat pāśupatam (p. 35, lines 14-18)

    Practically the same passage is found in various purāṇic texts :

    agnir ity ādinā dhīmān vimṛjyāṅgāni saṃspṛśet
    etat pāśupataṃ divyaṃ vrataṃ pāśa-vimokṣaṇam (Saura Purāṇa 45.72, ASS. 18, p. 171, lines 9-10)

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agnir ity ādinā samyag gṛhītvā hy agni-hotrakam
so'pi pāśupato vipro vimṛjyāṅgāni saṃspṛśet (Saura Purāṇa 45. 75, ASS. 18. p. 171, lines 15-16)
mad-ātmā man-manā bhasma gṛhītvā tu āgnihotrikam (21.11.65 cd)
tenoddhulita-sarvāṅgam agnir ity ādi-mantrataḥ
cintayet svātmanīśānam paraṃ jyotiḥ svarūpiṇam (2.11.66)
eṣa pāśupato yogaḥ paśu-pāśa-vimuktaye (Kūrma Purāṇa 2.11.67 ab)

26. As to the concept of ashes as containers of magical power, cf. J. Gonda : *Four Studies in the Languages of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage 1959) pp. 89-90. For the etymology of bhasman "der Ort wohin man blasst (um das nachts darunter schlafende Feuer wieder anqufachen", cf. P. Thieme : *psu* (Festschrift W. Schubring Hamburg : 1951) p. 8.

27. Kauṇḍinya speaks of the potency of the ashes.
saṃsarga-jāś ca ye doṣā ye cānye pitṛ-mātṛ-jāḥ
anna-pāna-kṛtāś caiva saṅkarā deham āśritāḥ
sarvāṃs tān dahate bhasma asthi-majjāgatān api (TSS. 143 p. 29 lines 13-15)
Keśa-kīṭopapannāni duṣṭānnāni ca yāni vai
bhasmanā spṛṣṭa-mātrāṇi bhojyāny āhur manīṣiṇaḥ (p. 29, lines 17-18)
madyam pītvā guru-dārāṃś ca gatvā steyam kṛtvā brahma-hatyām ca kṛtvā bhasmoddhvasto bhasma-rāśau śayāno rudrādhyāyī mucyate pātakebhyaḥ (p. 29, lines 20-23)

Also Saura Purāṇa says (45.76-78) :
bhasma-channo dvijo vidvān mahā-pātaka-saṃbhavaiḥ
pāpair vimucyate satyaṃ lipyate ca na saṃśayaḥ (76)
vīryam agner yato bhasma vīryavān bhasma-saṃmataḥ
bhasma-snāna-rato vipro bhasma-śāyī jitendriyaḥ (77)
sarva-pāpa-vinirmuktaḥ śiva-sayujyaṃ āpnuyāt
ity uktvā bhagavān brahmā stutvā devaṃ samaprabhuḥ (78) (ASS. 18, p. 171, lines 17-22).

28. Kauṇḍinya ad Pāśupata Sūtra 1.2 (snāna-śayanānusnāna-kṛtya-bandhutvān niṣparigrahatvād ahiṃsakatvād utsṛṣṭam eva śuci prabhūtaṃ grāhyaṃ sādhanatvāt TSS. 143. p. 8, lines 22-23).

29. Kauṇḍinya ad Pāśupata Sūtra 1.6 (evam ihāpi yad etat pāśupata-yogādhikaraṇaṃ liṅgam ity āśrama-prativibhāga-karaṃ bhasma-snāna-śayanānusnāna-nirmālyaika-vāsādi-niṣpannaṃ svaśarīra-līnaṃ pāśupatam iti laukikādijñāna-janakam tat. TSS. 143, p. 12, lines 5-8).
The Pāśupata ascetics, covering their body with ashes, are met often in Sanskrit Literature. For examples,
namnā vāmaśivo bhasma-pāṇḍuromāvṛttākṛtiḥ
vidyutpiṅga-jaṭā-jūṭo maheśvara ivāparaḥ (Kathāsaritsāgara 97.23)
dhavla-bhasma-lalāṭikābhir akṣa-mālā-parivartana-pracala-kara-talābhiḥ

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pāśupata-vrata-dhāriṇībhir....(Kādambarī, Nirnaya Sagara Ed. 1928, p. 371 lines 6 ff. Cf. J. Gonda : *Religionen Indiens* II, p. 217, note 16, Stuttgart 1963)

te ca daṇḍa-dharāḥ prauḍha-kaupīna-paridhānāḥ kambalika-pravṛttā jaṭā-dhāriṇo bhasmodhūlana-parā....(Tarkarahasyadīpikā, Text given in Archaeological survey of India 1906-7, p. 190 lines 3-4).

It should be noted that Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra defines the use of ashes as a sign of the mad man, together with other practices of Pāśupata followers.

unmādo nāma : iṣṭa-jana-viyoga-vibhāva-nāśābhighāta-vāta-pitta-ślesma-prakopādibhir vibhāvair utpadyate/tam animitta-hasita-ruditotkruṣṭāsaṃbaddha-pralāpa-śayitopaviṣṭotthita-pradhāvita-nṛtta-gīta-paṭhita-bhasma-pāṃsv-avadhūlana-tṛṇa-nirmālya-kucela-cīra-ghaṭa-kapāla-śarāvābharaṇa-dhāraṇopabhogair anekaiś cānavasthitaiś ceṣṭānukaraṇādibhir anubhāvair abhinayet (GOS, 36, 2nd Ed. p. 372, lines 1 ff.)

For this crazy practice of Pāśupata, cf. Daniel H. H. Ingalls : *Cynics and Pāśupatas* (Harvard Theological Review Vol. LV. Number 4, pp. 281 ff.)

vedāt ṣāḍ-aṅgād uddhṛtya sāṃkhya-yogāc ca yuktitaḥ
tapaḥ sutaptaṃ vipulam duścaram deva-dānavaiḥ
apūrvaṃ sarvato-bhadram viśvato-mukham avyayam
abdair daśāha-saṃyuktaṃ gūḍham aprājna-ninditam
varṇāśrama-kṛtair dharmair viparītam kvacit samam
gatāntair adhyavasitam atyāśramam idam vratam
mayā pāsupatam dakṣa yoyam utpāditam purā (Mahābhārata XII. 285.192-4, Bombay Ed.) (Poona Critical Edition, vol. 16 pp. 2072-3)

aham matakṣa yac chāstrād aṃśān nānā-vrata-kulāt
abhūt pāśupatākhyaṃ tat paśu-pāśa-vimocanam (Ahirbuddhnya Saṃhitā 11. 61-62) ..

Cf. also 11.43, 12.39-41.

nirmitaṃ hi mayā pūrvaṃ vratam pāśupatam śubham
guhyād guhyatamaṃ sūkṣmaṃ veda-sāram vimuktaye (Kūrma Purāṇa 2.38. 137)

vrataṃ pāśupataṃ yogaṃ kapalam yoga-nirmitam
pūrvaṃ pāśupataṃ hy etan nirmitam anuttamam (Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 2. 27. 116)

30. B. Tubini reads here..Jālāsya..(p. 3, line 25) But this should be jālasya.

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वामनपुराण के अनुसार शैव सम्प्रदाय

लेखक

स्व० डॉ० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल

शैव मत के अनुसार शिव के दो रूप हैं--एक लिंगरूप है और दूसरा पुरुषविग्रह है। लिंग शुक्र या रेतस् का प्रतीक है, क्योंकि उसी से बीजवपन होता है, उसी से विश्व की माता जिसे प्रधान, प्रकृति या विराज् कहते हैं, गर्भित होती है। शिव बीजप्रद पिता हैं और प्रकृति महायोनि है जिसे महद् ब्रह्म भी कहते हैं। यह मातृतत्व की ही विशेषता है कि उस रेतस् या बीज को महत्, अहंकार और पंचतन्मात्राओं के सप्तांग शरीर में परिवर्तित करती है। ये भौतिक रूप यद्यपि स्वायम्भुव पुरुष उसी रेतस् से जन्म लेते हैं किन्तु मातृ-कुक्षि में पुरुषविग्रह का निर्माण होता है। वही शिव का भौतिक रूप है। शिवकला में शिवलिंग और पुरुषविग्रह दोनों पाये जाते हैं। लिंगकारण और पुरुषमूर्ति उसका कार्य है। लिंगरूप की संज्ञा स्थाणु भी है। लिंगरूप की विशेषता यह है कि इसमें इन्द्रियों का विकास नहीं होता। अथवा यह कहना भी समीचीन है कि लिंग की गोल आकृति में बिन्दु-बिन्दु पर समस्त इन्द्रियाँ विद्यमान रहती हैं। लिंग या रेतस् में कोई भी इन्द्रिय स्फुट नहीं होती यद्यपि समस्त इन्द्रियों की शक्ति उसमें व्याप्त रहती है। रेतस् या शुक्र के लिए ही विश्वतो-मुखः, विश्वतश्चक्षुः, विश्वतोबाहुः इत्यादि विशेषण दिये जाते हैं। उसे ही वृतौजाः कहा जाता है। अर्थात् उसका ओजस् अन्तर्मुखी रहता है किन्तु मातृ-कुक्षि में आधान के बाद समस्त इन्द्रियों का पृथक्-पृथक् विकास हो सकता है। उस भौतिक संस्थान को 'पुर' कहते हैं और उसमें रहनेवाले प्राण को पुरुष कहा जाता है। वही शिव का पुरुषविग्रह है। वामन-पुराण में शिव के लिंगरूप और पुरुषविग्रह का जो वर्णन है, उसका यही रहस्य है। अन्यत्र भी यही कथा कई रूपों में प्राप्त होती है। शिव स्वयंभू पुरुष और उसकी नारी प्रकृति है, दोनों के सम्मिलिन से अर्धनारीश्वर स्वरूप बनता है। जहां तक प्राणमयी सृष्टि है, वह अर्धनारीश्वर है अर्थात् स्त्री और पुरुष मिथुन-भाव से सम्मूर्त्त होते हैं। इसे ही अन्यत्र 'नर-नारी-मय वपु' कहा गया है।

चार शैव सम्प्रदाय--वामनपुराण के लेखक ने शैवों के चार सम्प्रदायों का उल्लेख किया है। (१) शैव (२) पाशुपत, (३) कालदमन और (४) कापालिक। कालदमन सम्प्रदाय की पहचान कालमुख शैवों से जान पड़ती है। उनका यह नाम इसलिए पड़ा कि वे काल के रूप में शिव की उपासना करते थे। शिव का काल या मृत्युञ्जय रूप उनका उपास्य था।

इन चार सम्प्रदायों की उत्पत्ति में कुछ एतिहासिक तथ्य दिए गए हैं। शैव सम्प्रदाय की उत्पत्ति वसिष्ठ के पुत्र शक्ति से कही गयी है, क्योंकि वसिष्ठ-पुत्र शक्ति को शिव का अवतार कहा गया है (शक्तिर्नामा वसिष्ठस्य सुतः स्वयं शिवो बभूव--वा० पु०, ६.८८)। शक्ति के शिष्य का नाम गोपायन था जो शैव सम्प्रदाय के एक प्रमुख आचार्य थे।

यदि कालमुख सम्प्रदाय का नाम कालदमन था, तो वे शिव की मृत्युञ्जय या भवान्तक रूप में उपासना करते थे। सम्भव है उज्जयिनी के महाकाल शिव से शैव सम्प्रदाय का अधिक सम्बन्ध रहा हो। शिव के मृत्युञ्जय रूप की कथा का सम्बन्ध मार्कण्डेय ऋषि से कहा जाता है जिनकी रक्षा भगवान् शिव ने काल के पाशों से की थी।

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कालदमन, कालमुख और कालान्तक नाम के विषय में और अधिक अनुसन्धान करने की आवश्यकता है। कालमुख सम्प्रदाय का विकास विशेषतः दक्षिण भारत में मध्यकाल में हुआ जिसके सम्बन्ध में शिलालेख में बहुत सी सामग्री पाई जाती है। यशस्तिलक-चम्पू में भी इस सम्प्रदाय के सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रकूट युग के कई उल्लेख हैं। दक्षिण भारत के लेखों में कालमुखों को व्रतिन् और महाव्रतिन् कहा गया है। त्रिविक्रमभट्ट के नलचम्पू (१०वीं सदी) से भी इसका समर्थन होता है। त्रिविक्रम ने कालमुखों को महाव्रत सिद्धान्त का अनुयायी कहा है।

ज्ञात होता है कि कालमुख लकुलीश आचार्य को अपना आदिगुरु मानते थे। पाशुपत सम्प्रदाय के संस्थापक लकुलीश ही थे। सम्भवतः पाशुपत सम्प्रदाय के इतिहास के आदिकाल में ही कालमुख उनसे पृथक् हो गए थे।

पाशुपत और कालदमन दोनों को ही साहित्य में और लेखों में महाव्रतिन् कहा गया है जो कि उनके पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध का सूचक है। उससे यह भी विदित होता है कि कालदमन कठिन व्रतों का पालन करने के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि आचार्य लकुलीश के सम्बन्ध में जो बीभत्स क्रियायें बतायी जाती हैं वे बाद में उत्पन्न हुई हों। बाण के हर्षचरित में महाव्रती परिव्राजकों का उल्लेख है। पाशुपत आचार्य को महाव्रती कहा गया है।

वामनपुराण में पाशुपतों को शैव सम्प्रदाय के अतर्गत कहा गया है, किन्तु लिंगपुराण से विदित होता है कि लकुलीश के चारों शिष्यों के अनुयायी माहेश्वर या पाशुपत कहलाते थे। इन शिष्यों के नाम वहाँ गर्ग, कुशिक, मित्र, कौरुष्य कहे गए हैं। पाशुपत सम्प्रदाय के लोग शिव की पूजा पशुपति के रूप में करते थे। उनका विश्वास है कि सब प्राणी पशु हैं और वे सांसारिक पाशों के बन्धन में बंधे हैं। इन्हें शिव की पूजा तथा दूसरी ओर साधना से मुक्ति मिल सकती है। लकुलीश का मूल स्थान महाराष्ट्र में कायावरोहण तीर्थ था और वहीं से पाशुपतों का उद्गम हुआ, किन्तु शीघ्र ही उन्होंने मालव प्रदेश में होते हुए धर्म का प्रचार उत्तरभारत में कर दिया। इनकी साधना बड़ी कठोर थी और गरुचर्या में इनका अधिक विश्वास था। ये पारिव्राजक रूप में अपने आचार्यों के आदेशों का पालन करते हुए, अनेक केन्द्रों में छा गए। और इन्होंने मथुरा में अपना बहुत बड़ा केन्द्र बनाया, जैसा वहां से प्राप्त चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य के राज्यकाल के प्रथम वर्ष के स्तम्भ-लेख से ज्ञात होता है।

सम्भव है कि वामनपुराण में जिन सम्प्रदायों का उल्लेख है वे लकुलीश के चार शिष्यों द्वारा स्थापित किए गए थे। इस बात का कुछ समर्थन मथुरा के उक्त लेख से होता है, क्योंकि उसमें लकुलीश की ही शिष्यपरम्परा की दसवीं पीढ़ी में होनेवाले आचार्यों को पाशुपत कहा गया है। जैसे कुशिक से चला हुआ सम्प्रदाय पाशुपत नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ वैसे ही यह सम्भावना है कि और तीन सम्प्रदाय भी शेष तीन शिष्यों के द्वारा संस्थापित किए गए हों। संभवतः गर्ग का सम्प्रदाय शैव, मित्र का कालदमन और कौरुष्य का कापालिक कहलाया, जैसा नाम से प्रकट है। कापालिकों का सम्बन्ध कपालिन् शिव या उनके भैरव रूप से है जब उन्होंने हाथ में कपाल लेकर भिक्षाटन किया। जैसा यहां कहा है विष्णु की कृपा से और वाराणसी के कपालमोचन तीर्थ में स्नान करने से शिव को कपाल से मुक्ति मिली।

वामनपुराण में यह कहा गया है कि भारद्वाज नामक कोई महापाशुपत आचार्य थे। इनके शिष्य सोमकेश्वर नामक राजा थे। इसके अनुसार पाशुपतों की परम्परा क्षत्रिय राजाओं में विशेष रूप से आगे बढ़ी। पुराण के इसी वर्णन में लिखा है कि कालदमन या कालास्य सम्प्रदाय जो कालमुख का ही पर्याय था, ऋषि आपस्तम्ब से चालू हुआ, जिनके शिष्य का नाम क्राथेश्वर था। क्राथेश्वर नाम का संकेत विदर्भ देश के राजा की ओर है। गुप्तकाल में विदर्भ की संज्ञा क्रथकैशिक प्रसिद्ध थी।

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चौथे कापालिक सम्प्रदाय का उदगम महाव्रती धनद नामक आचार्य से कहा गया है, जिनके शिष्य का नाम अर्णोदर था जो शूद्र जाति का था।

इस प्रकार शिव की आराधना इन चार सम्प्रदायों के रूप में प्रचलित हुई और इस व्यवस्था से प्रसन्न होकर ब्रह्मा अपने स्थान को चले गए। शिव ने भी अपने लिंग या शक्ति का संग्रह करके चित्रवन में एक छोटे लिंग की स्थापना की और फिर पूर्ववत् पृथ्वी में भ्रमण करते रहे। इस अवस्था में कामदेव ने उन पर आक्रमण किया। किन्तु शिव ने अपने तृतीय नेत्र से कामदेव को भस्म कर दिया। काम के धनुष् से पञ्च पुष्पों का जन्म हुआ जो उसके पञ्च शर हुए, यथा—चम्पक, बकुल, पाटल, जाति, मल्लिका (वा० पु०, ६।९१–१०२)। इसके बाद शिव हिमालय में तप करने चले गए।

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MURALĪDHARADĀSA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ŚĀṆḌILYA BHAKTI SŪTRAS

By

LATE G. H. BHATT, BARODA

Muralīdharadāsa (M), a disciple of Śri Viṭṭhalnāthajī (1516-1586 A. D.), the son of Śri Vallabhācārya, the exponent of the Śuddhādvaita Vedānta, has written a Commentary on the Bhaktisūtras of Śāṇḍilya, published in 1917 in Bombay. He has also written in Sanskrit the life of Vallabhācārya which was published in 1915 in Bombay. His commentary on the Śāṇḍilya Bhakti-sūtras shows that he has also written another work called Gītā-vivaraṇa which is unfortunately not available at present.[1] He has interpreted the Bhakti-sūtras as teaching the Maryādā-Bhakti, as the Puṣṭi-Bhakti can be enjoyed only by the Grace of the Lord.[2]

The sūtras are generally interpreted by M. on the basis of the Gītā, the Brahmasūtras, the Bhāgavata and the other Purāṇas. He mainly quotes from the Bhāgavata and sometimes from the Upaniṣads, Gītā, Brahmasūtras, Skandapurāṇa and Viṣṇupurāṇa. He thinks that Śāṇḍilya, like Vallabhācārya, accepts Brahman, which is both Sākāra and Vyāpaka.[3] It is interesting to note that he does not refer to the popular Bhāṣya of Ācārya Svapneśvara (Sv.) on the Śāṇḍilya Bhaktisūtras. Sv. happens to be the son of Jaleśvara who is again the son of one Sārvabhauma.[4] Sārvabhauma is considered to be a contemporary of Śri Caitanya Mahāprabhu and was also his teacher.[5] Howerer the relation of the teacher and the taught between Sārvabhauma and Caitanya Mahāprabhu is questioned by some.[6] At any rate Sārvabhauma seems to be a contemporary of Śrī Caitanya Mahāprabhu (1486-1533 A. D.). Sv., the grandson of Sārvabhauma, might have, therefore, flourished in the second half of the 16th century. In that case M., who might be a contemporary of Sv., might not have seen Sv.'s commentary on the Bhakti-sūtras, mainly because it was either not written or it did not reach M. on account of its being fresh.

This may account for M's silence on Sv. Sv. also does not refer to M. in his commentary. It is remarkable that Sv. quotes a verse from the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (Uttarakāṇḍa, 108, 36) which is found in the Southern recension and not in the North-East and North-West recensions, although he belongs to the Gauḍa,[7] which included the modern states of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

It is not possible to decide the question of the priority of M. and Sv. in the absence of any definite evidence. The printed text of M's Commentary is based on one Ms. The Mss. of his commentary are rare and it is not quoted by subsequent writers. The Mss. of

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Sv.'s commentary is however, found in many places. It is again quoted very freely by posterior writers and referred to with respect by Bhavadeva Paṇḍita, the Commentator on the Śāṇḍilya Bhakti-sūtras.[8]

This circumstance leads us to believe that M.'s commentary could not reach far and wide and was possibly superseded by Sv.'s commentary which now enjoys unique reputation. Sv. does not appear to be a follower of Śrī Caitanya's school as he is leaning to the Upādhivāda of Bhāskara (C. 9th cent. A. D.). Aufrecht[9] mentions ten commentaries on the Śāṇḍilya Bhaktisūtras including those of Sv., Nārāyaṇatīrtha (N)[10], Bhavadeva and others. But the list does not include the commentary of M. This fact also shows that M.'s commentary has not enjoyed wide circulation.

M.'s commentary shows that the text of the Bhaktisūtras of Śāṇḍilya has appeared in different versions. The sūtras differ in many places when M. is compared with Sv. and N. The following tabular analysis will support this :—

12	दर्शनेन फलम्	दर्शनफलम्
14	तद्भावात् (also N.)	तदभावात्
15	साहचर्यात्	साहाय्यात्
25	तस्याङ्गत्वे च	तस्यां तत्त्वे च; श्रद्धाङ्गत्वे च
26	. . . भक्त्यै . . .	. . . भक्तौ . . .
27	. . . ०प्रपत्तिरा . . .	. . . ०प्रवृत्तिरा . . .
34	वैराग्यैश्वर्ये	ऐश्वर्यम्
35	पारमैश्वर्यम् (N. परमैश्वर्यम्)	परैश्वर्यम्
36	सर्वामृते (also N.)	सर्वानृते
39	मिथ उपेक्षणात् (M. however reads मिथोऽपेक्षणात् rightly)	मिथोऽपेक्षणात्
46	प्रादुर्भावेषु सा	प्रादुर्भावेष्वपि सा
54	वृष्णिश्रेष्ठो न तत्	वृष्णिषु श्रेष्ठ्येन तत्
55	. . . एवं सिद्धेषु च	एवं प्रसिद्धेषु च
56	. . . गौण्यः	. . . गौण्या . . .
62	अप्रयोगाणां यथाकालं संभवो (also N.)	अत्राङ्गप्रयोगाणां यथाकालसंभवो . . .
63	ईश्वरतुष्ट्यै एकोऽपि . . .	ईश्वरतुष्टेरेकोपि . . .
64	. . . मुख्यम्	. . . मुखम्
66	मद्याजी पूजायामेव प्रयुक्तः	तद्यजिः पूजायामितरेषां नैवम्
73	(No Sūtra and no Com.)	बहिर तस्थमुभयमवेष्टिसववत् (N. reads ०रन्तस्थमु०)
76	०मपरशब्दहानाद्	सर्वं० (also N.)
77	. . . खले खादिवत्	. . . खले वालीवत् (also N.)
79	अविपक्वभावनापि . . .	अतो ह्यलिपक्वभावनामपि . . . (also N.)

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80 शेषात्	०शेषाच्च (also N.)
89 ...श्रुतिश्च...	...श्रुतीश्च (also N.)
92 ...तथा हि दृष्टम् (also N.)	...तथा दृष्टम्
93 ...मुपाधितो न वस्तुतः	...मुपाधियोगहानादादित्यवत् (also N.)
94 पृथगेवेति...	पृथगिति...
परेण संबन्धात्...	परेणासंबन्धात्...(also N.)
95 न विकारस्तु	न विकारिणस्तु...(also N.)
100 अतस्तिरोभावविकाराश्च स्युः...	आविस्तिरोभावाविकाराः स्युः...
	N. reads आविस्तिरोभावविकाशा स्युः

Bhavadeva also reads several sūtras differently. A critical edition of the Bhakti-sūtras of Śāṇḍilya in the light of representative Mss. of the Bhaktisūtras and of the commentaries thereon is a desideratum.

Although both Nārada and Śāṇḍdilya appear in the Vedic literature,[11] and are, therefore, equally old, the tradition of the Pāñcarātra school shows that Śāṇḍilya is the pupil of Nārada. The present Bhaktisūtras of Śāṇḍilya appear to be older than the Nārada Bhaktisūtras in point of both form and matter. Śāṇḍilya does not mention Nārada but Nārada mentions Śāṇḍilya in the list oı the Bhakti-Ācaryas.[12] It should be noted that the view attributed to Śāṇḍilya in the Nārada Bhaktisūtras is not found in the extant Śāṇḍilya Bhakti-sūtras.[13] The fact that some of the sūtras of Nārada have bodily crept into the works of Vallabhācārya is also significant.

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2. For the concept of Puṣṭi and Maryādā, cf. Vallabhācārya's Aṇubhāṣya on the Brahmasūtras, II. 3.42; III. 3.29; III. 4.46; IV. 1.13; IV. 2.7; IV. 4.9 and his Siddhāntamuktāvali, V. 18.
3. M.'s commentary on the Bhaktisūtras, p. 11.
4. Cf. the concluding verse in the Bhāṣya of Svapneśvara.
4. Cf. MM. Gopīnāth Kavirājā : "History and bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature," the Princess of Wales Sarasvatı Bhavana Studies' Vol. IV, pp. 62-68.
6. Cf. S. K. De: "Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal," p. 89 fn. 1, 1961.
7. Cf. the concluding verse of his commentary on Bhaktisūtra, 44, p. 27 (Dr. Ballantyne's edition, second edition, Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1925).
8. The commentary called Abhinavabhāṣya of Bhavadeva is not published as yet. There are two Mss. of the commentary in the Mss. Library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, ACC. No. 4561 and ACC. No. 12527 respectively. The first Ms. bears the date 1755 śaka (1833 A. D.) while the other is undated. The present writer is preparing a critical edition of the Commentary.

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9. Cf. C. C., p. 640.
10. The commentary of N. edited by MM. Gopīnātha Kavirāja and Paṇḍita Ananta Shāstri Phadke is published in the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No. 9. pt. 1 (1924), No. 60, pt. 2 (1936), No. 9 pt. II (1938).
11. Cf. Vedic Index Vol. I, p. 445; Vol. II, pp. 371-72.
12. Cf. Nārada Bhaktisūtras, Sūtra, No. 83.
13. Cf. Nārada Bhaktisūtras, Sūtra No. 18.

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OMNISCIENCE (SARVAJÑATĀ) AND METAPHYSICS OF KNOWLEDGE (ADHIGAMA) IN JAINISM

By

H. M. BHATTACHARYYA, CALCUTTA

My choice of the above subject for an article to the Commemoration Volume in honour oi Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kaviraj, perhaps the greatest living Savant of India, has a reason behind it. The reason is that there still hangs many a misgiving about the proper significance of Omniscience and metaphysic of knowledge in Jainism, and for the matter of that an unfortunate misinterpretation has been thrust upon Jaina metaphsics from very respectable quarters.[1] My unbiased endeavour in this article has been to remove those misgivings and to put the knowledge-theory of the Jainas on its proper footing.

Omniscience as conceived by the Jainas is otherwise known as *Sarvajñatā*. It is equivalent to *Kevalajñāna*. Kevalajñāna, Omniscience, is the rare and exclusive acquisition of the Arhats and the Tīrthaṅkaras who, by cultivation of the intellectual,emotive and conative powers in the superlative degree, become eligible for the highest state of existence. These superlative degrees of intellectual, emotive and conative powers are designated by the Jaina as Samyagjñāna, Samyagdarśana and Samyakcāritra. This highest state of existence for the jīva is his state of liberation or *mokṣa*, the *summum bonum* of life. Samyagjñāna, Samyagdarśana and Samyakcāritra are thus the means to the end of liberation. The Tīrthaṅkaras, the liberated souls, are also called Kevalins or those who have acquired this unique knowledge or Omniscience.

Umasvati in the very first sūtra of his great work *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtram* has expounded the Jaina doctrine of liberation, and the means thereto are Samyagjñāna, Samyagdarśana and Samyakcāritra. The Indian systems of thought in general have the family likeness, as it were, in emphasising the fact that it is the purity of moral conduct that leads to the fineness, of perception oi things. The Jaina system seems a little more emphatic on this point. Every mundane (*saṁsārin*) individual jīva is embodied, and exists in combination or bondage with Karmic matter, which causes all limitations, limitations of body and limitations in jñāna, knowledge, and limitation in darśana, faith. By a life of continued practice of good qualities (*puṇya*), the *ghātiya* or knowledge-obstructing *karmans* are shed off, and the soul attains the state of purest effulgence; for at this state it is completely free from its partnership with Karmic matter. At that completely free state, it attains self-absorption or *Svasamaya* and for ever enjoys its own qualities of infinite conation, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss (*ananta-catuṣṭaya*). The late Justice J. L. Jaini in his short commentary on the first sūtra[2] compares the path to liberation to a ladder with its two sidepoles and the central rungs forming

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the steps. The side-poles are the *Samyag-darśana*, right faith, and *Samyagjñāra*, right knowledge, and the steps are the gradually purified stages of conduct *caritra*. We can go up the ladder of life only when all the three are sound. The absence of any one makes ascent impossible. The concurrent pursuit of right faith, right knowledge and right conduct is here very carefully and insistently enjoined as the means to liberation, the *summum bonum* of human existence.

Now in the conception of Omniscience, the elements of Samyag-darśana and Samyag-jñāna play the most important role, and in fact they form the very essence of Omniscience, though we have already noted the element of *caritra* or conduct as the practical condition of the theoretical essence of Omniscience. This perfect form of knowledge is termed *kevala-jñāna*, because it is unique and free of all limitations, and covers within its grasp all things at once, both individually and collectively as here and now. In Jainism the insistence on the inseparable character of samyag-darśana and samyag-jñāna brings out the further fact that the darśana or faith here is never blind, but is always illumined with Jñāna or knowledge. Sarvajñatā or Omniscience as achieved by the liberated soul is never unintellectual faith or intuition. It may very well be compared to the Intellectual Intuition of Spinoza of Western Philosophy. It is very often designated as *Ananta-vijñāna*[1], i.e., unlimited knowledge.

Now, from the above brief account of the nature of Omniscience, it is clear that it is the rare privilege of the liberated soul. Our special point of philosophical importance here is the question whether Omniscience does or does not determine the whole field of the metaphsics of knowledge. The affirmative answer to this question alters the professed dualistic or rather pluralistic metaphysics of the Jaina, who bases his position on the bedrock of common sense and experience; such an answer reduces it to spiritualistic monism of absolutist logic. Such should have been the conclusion, if Omniscience of the Jaina were really foundational to all that is and is known. But the Jaina account of Omniscience does nowhere imply its foundational character determining the existence and knowledge of the entire Universe as the absolutist logic of spiritualistic monism does. The Jaina account of Omniscience at best tells us that it is the achievement of the few perfected individual jīvas in their aspiration to liberation, who cease to have all logical relation to the contents of Lokākāśa after this achievement.

The two more convincing points in Jainism that confirm the dualistic or rather pluralistic metaphysics are :

1. Its emphatic distinctinon and separation between two worlds, Lokākāśa anp Alokākāśa. Lokākāśa is the realm of mundane existence where the saṁsārin or ordinary individual souls move and have their being, and with their experience and common sense, build up their knowledge of things and minds which are a plurality, and develop their own standard of knowledge and its validity. To Alokākāśa belong the liberated, and of this Alokākāśa we have no definable knowledge

2. Its emphasis on what it repeatedly declares as *Adhigama* or logical and metaphysical knowledge of the contents of its experience; and the means to that knowledge are pramāṇas and *Nayas*. *Pramāṇa-nayair-adhigamaḥ*, as its repeated declaration goes. Its logical and metaphysical knowledge, in fact, its entire philsophy consists in this Adhigama, in which

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the unliberated ordinary jīvas are directly concerned. The entire Lokākāśa, the world of *jīvas* and *ajīvas*, is known and judged by Adhigama. In his conception of knowledge in relation to object the Jaina throughout maintains quite consistently his dualistic or rather pluralistic approach. And he is also emphatic in his view that Omniscience or kevalajñāna accrues to the liberated few who have become *siddha* only when they have become denizens of Alokākāśa after crossing over the realm of Lokākāśa, the world of mundane experience to which alone his theory of knowledge and metaphysics is applicable.

It is clear from the above short analysis that the Jaina is ever alive to the nature of Omniscience, but by logical necessity always keeps up the distinction between Omniscience and Adhigama, and his philosophical position is clear from his definition and explanation of Adhigama. Omnisicne, a rare privilege of the liberated few, seems to have no determining relations with the knowledge and being of the contents of the world. Absolutist logic of spiritualistic monism which, it thrust upon Jaina metaphysics, as has been done in some important quarters, will, it is apparent, be a mere gratuitous superimposition having no tangible relation with realistic and relativistic logic of the Jaina. With the data of common sense and experience, he has developed a realistic metaphysics and his Syādvāda is a well-grounded challenge to any view of Absolute Truth and Absolute Reality.[3] He has reasoned out the alternative and relative character of truth and has put forward an effective check to dogmatism and scepticism alike. Spatial limitation forbids us to show elaborately how the Jaina has established his relativistic view of truth and reality and what a great contribution he has made in this direction. His entire logical activity is a healthy reaction to the orthodox absolutist logic, and reminds us of the realistic reaction in modern European philosophy against the speculative bias of spiritualistic monism.[4]

In conclusion I would like to point out that the onerous duty of a modern interpreter of any ancient Indian system of philosophy lies in presenting it in its true perspective with utmost candour and sympathy and with perfect freedom from the bias of orthodoxy. Omniscience or Kevalajñāna in the Jaina system is not the Omniscience of the Absolute Spirit which is foundational to all knwoing and being, and to utilise it as the spring-board of criticism that the Jaina metaphysics, instead of yielding us relativistic theory of knowledge and truth and a pluralistic realism, should have ended in Monism and Absolutism in the light of kevalajñāna or Omniscience, is to indulge in a palpable travesty of truth and to betray, even on the part of very great thinkers, the lingering susceptibility to what Lord Bacon called *idola tribus* of the human mind.

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THE BHUSUNDOPAKHYANA AND ITS ESOTERIC DRIFT

By

LATE SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA, CALCUTTA

I

While the Purāṇas[1] in their account of creation speak of the animals and birds—the *tiryaksrotas* pattern thereof—as enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, insensible and ever tending to the wrong track, they know also of a certain species of theirs, generally, birds, that are endowed with knowledge, including the insight of yogic intuition. The philosophical attitude with respect to them has been that they are conscious in their inner essence (*antaḥ-sañjñā*) but encased in the sheath of ignorance which has been the legacy of their past actions. Sampāti, the elder brother of the vulture, Jatāyu, is introduced in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] as one whose wisdom has not faded with his growing years, though his physical prowess has been curbed by age. He remembers the Prajāpatis of old, the stories of the Daityas and the Ādityas, and of the old traditions of the Krauñcas, swans and parrots. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*[3] tells its account of important legends like that of King Hariścandra and his bountifulness through birds, who were *yogins*, endowed with ethical and spiritual insight and are, in reality, the cursed sons of the inspired sage Droṇa. We are told that Mārkaṇḍeya the great, wise and longlived sage uses instruction imparted to his own self through birds by the sage Jaimini reminding one of similar things in *brahmavidyā* instruction in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* through a swan, a *madgu* fish as well as a white dog. The folklore literature of India as in the encyclopaedic *Bṛhatkathā* of *Guṇāḍhya* which has, like the two epics, inspired and instructed the people of Bhārata, narrates the tales from birds, that remembered their past lives as *jātismara*. One well known story of Sumanas or Sumānasa handed down in Kashmir tradition[4] in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* has been the source of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's story in the *Kādambarī* told through reminiscences of the parrot Vaiśampāyana who is a *jātsmara* and is versed in all the śāstras. The *Br. K. mañj.*[5] names the minister, belonging to his own tribe of a king of the crows as *cirajīvin* who has a fund of long and surprising experiences to his credit. Thus, whether in mythical literature, in folk-lore or in the classical romance as well as in the early philosophical speculations, birds have distinguished themselves as good interlocutors, wise counsellors and capable teachers, and they have been held in high rank as adept *yogins*.

The story of the crow Bhuśuṇḍa known for long as the longlived and farsighted (*dīrghadarśin*) realist, who had attained the culmination of what is their tribal pedigree in the latter capacity, is entertaining and engrossing. The accounts in the Purāṇas associate sage like Nārada, Sanatkumāra and the like with the activities of the *cirajīvins* (longlived ones), the

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foremost and the commonest among whom is this crow. Later Upaniṣads (lik Bṛhajjābāla and the *Rudrākṣajābāla*) mention Bhuśuṇḍa as one who is intensely Śaivite (as in Sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 of the former) by religious affiliation and has from Śiva himself as Kālāgnirudra instructions on the texture and use of the rosary garland as well as on bath in sacred ashes (*bhasmasnānavidhi*) and on its five names which serve as protection (*rakṣā*) to drive away all transgressions and lapses (*agha*) and accidents from malevolent spirits like *bhūtas*, *pretas*, *piśācas* and *brahmarākṣasas* and the no less cruel excruciating diseases like epilepsy or loss of memory (*apasmāra*). His story has been utilised to form a code of life, that will help everybody in aspiring to reach real greatness. It is a symbol of the bird that soars and soars and is never attached to his small nest and never mourns what he has been deprived of (*ārūḍhacyuta*). The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*[8] envisages experiences of the bird, who leaves his favourite accustomed nest and realises the goal of safety and security, i.e. of *Kṣema* or of *Yogakṣema*, which awaits also the ascetic who is ever seeking peace and tranquility. Perched on sublime heights, he does not indulge in the flights peculiar to the common run of crows, who exhaust their energy and shorten their life by ceaseless efforts of aimless flying of various types, (*ḍīna*, *uḍḍīna*, *avaḍīna*, *praḍīna*, *niḍīna*, *saṇḍīna* and *tiryagḍīna*), described in the story of the *Kākolūkakathā* in the Karṇaparvan of the great epic. Scholars have indulged in speculations about the appositeness of his name. He is one who roams (*ḍa*) at pleasure (*śaṁ sukhaṁ*) in all worldly spheres (*bhū*). This moral has been forced on us by his lifestory as represented in tradition. He is no fossil or relic of by-gone ages only to test our intellect but is an all-time organism charged with the spirit or essence of life and its virulent maintenance and is destined to suffer no defeat or ignominy through the toils and tribulations in the rough scuffle of the elements.

II

This Bhuśuṇḍopākhyāna is one of the many important episodes in the *Yogavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* which have their bearing on its main theme, viz., that of securing immunity from the dangers of unregulated worldly life. It has been broached in the course of a dialogue between Rāmacandra and his preceptor, Vaśiṣṭha, one of the foremost of sages. It is told out in chapters 14-27 of the *Nirvāṇaprakarṇa*, the sixth and the last *prakaraṇa* in the encyclopaedic work, and contains more than five hundred verses. In the *Lāghu-Yoga-Vāśiṣ.* or *Y.-V.-Sāra*, which is its popular and widely read substitute, being excerpts from the original work, this is narrated in the first section of the *Nirvāṇa* in 193 verses. The relation between the two works is not that which subsists between an original work and its adaptation in literature. It is that between a work[8] and its in-toto summarisation in own words. We shall generally for convenience's sake utilise the latter for our review of the *upākhyāna*—the body of which relates to the habitat, the parentage (genealogy) and the characteristic of the crow Bhuśuṇḍa and to the relevance of the story of his long life to the context, which is both edifying and wonder-provoking. As the adage goes, what indeed is not useful to those that need it and have made up their minds for it (*mukhamiṣṭārthasaṁsiddhau kim hi na syāt kṛtātmanām*). To those who seek to be amused only—this will also repay their labour; for wonder is what attracts everybody

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and what can be more wonderful than the experience of a long life as the *Br. Ka. Śloka-saṅ.* puts it (*ciraṁ jīvadbhirāścaryam pṛthivyāṁ kiṁ na dṛśyate*).

Once Vaśiṣṭha, who had heard before of the crow Bhuśuṇḍa, in the assembly of the gods, goes to Meru, the golden mount, their reputed abode, and finds him perched in a nest (*Vihagālaya*) on the top of the wishing-tree (*Kalpataru*) in a hollow which is encircled by golden creepers. By him were seated numerous birds of different varieties, amongst whom there were good many long ravens (*kākola*) swans, vehicles of the great Brahmā, chanting *Śāmans* or vedic litany, herons, parrots and the like. Vaśiṣṭha who was offered respectful cordial welcome by the birds was captivated by the nice atmosphere there. It is significant that while most other birds reputed in epics and in Puranic mythology have their nests on earth at the top of hills (like the Vindhya), Bhuśuṇḍa lives pereniallyⁱ[9] in the region of the golden mount which is believed, in tradition, to be beyond the bounds of death and decay. The Saṁsāratarаṇī commentary on the Laghu Yoga Vāśiṣṭha or Y. V. S., Nirvāṇa I. 65 (Y. V. R., Nir. XIV. 4-7) clarifies this by saying that the twentyone heavens are all placed at the top of mount Meru. Some of the younger brood of the bird, we are told, had been absorbed in the exalted eminence (*pada*) of the lord Śiva and had attained intimate union (*Sāyujya*) with that deity, an honour and privilege denied even to the *yogins* of the earth, who have to be born again to exhaust the remnants of the fruits of their activities in previous births.

The story of his manifestation here and of his parentage[10] is interesting reading. Amongst the retinue of the great lord Śiva, there are the head-groups (*nāyikā*) amongst the sixtyfour wellknown Divine Mothers (*mātṛs*), like Jayā and Vijayā. One of them Alambuṣā by name, has a crow Caṇḍā as her vehicle. In a religious congregation, in the midst of a festival celebration, absorbed in a fit of ecstasy, a female swan, vehicle of the *mātṛs*, enjoyed herself in the company of this crow, to whom she was bound by nuptial ties with blessings of the Lord Śiva and the Devī Umā. The goddess Sarasvatī absolved her from her service. They roamed in the aerial region at their sweet will, meeting occasionally on the *Kalpataru* where they had their nests, in regions free from all obstruction all the while observing the vow of silence. Bhuśuṇḍa is born of the crow Caṇḍa from that female swan, and has inherited the exalted position at the top of the wishing tree, thus enabling him to command a long and unperturbed vision and has derived the store of unending knowledge from his mother. It may not be irrelevant to remember in this connection that Naravāhanadatta, the far-famed Vidyādhara hero of the cycle of stories in the *Bṛhatkathā*, is descibed as having sprung from this Alambuṣā who is born as Vidyādhara princess Mṛgāvatī by name because of a curse, and has achieved unperishing fame presumably because of her being the mother of Uadayana, the hero of the cycle of legends. (*Br. Kathā-mñj.* pp., 35-37) associated with him.

We have this account from the sage Vaśiṣṭha the great teacher of Rāma in the Y.V.R. He has his fixed habitation in the Ursa Major (*saptarṣimaṇḍala*), which is regarded as a part of the twentyone heavens. His role as world-teacher makes him indulge in outings in different parts of the worlds including the *terra firma*. One of these adventures takes

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him to *Mahācīna*, after he had sojourned over for obtaining old texts relating to his favourite subject, the Himālayan regions round about Kailāsa the haunt of Lord Śiva and is described in another context (in 1. *V.*, *Nirvāṇa.*, Ch. 29) as is natural to him. Vaśiṣṭha's visit to the crow Bhuśuṇḍa has been actuated by his curiosity which has been evoked by his desire to do good to the world. We are told that Vaśiṣṭha wanted to beguile himself by listening to the reminiscences of the long and varied life during the four different aeons (*yugas*) of the bird and was particularly interested in the secret of his longevity. We learn from him *yoga* relating to the control of the working of the vital functions (*prāṇa-spanda-vibhāga*). These are hidden from the view of the shortsighted beings. In the case of Bhuśuṇḍa such a control has conferred on him freedom from worries and troubles incidental to such beings. Vaśiṣṭha's question—how can one be free from them, remain hale and hearty (anāmaya) and be the friend of everybody is the problem of humanity throughout the ages. The Vedic ṛṣi has found its answer in the precipitation (cessation) of the *buddhi* (*Kaṭha.-Up.*, VI. 10-11) and the rigid regulation of our physical functions. (*sthirā indriyadhāraṇā*).

The characterisation of Bhuśuṇḍa-what he is and how he fares,[11] furnishes the clue to his exalted position as the longlived one who remembers everything connected with the creation, preservation and dissolution of the world as also with everybody from the great Brahman to the tiny clump of grass. Ever upright, steady in purpose and contented, neither exalted nor dejected, the quintessence of wisdom and discretion, he is no victim to temptation or to the tricks of exorbitant expectations. Though bereft of antenatal impressions (*nirmanaska*), he is ever full-minded (*paripūrṇamanas*), harbouring good intention for every body. The blasts and elemental nature in the form of tornadoes and hurricanes or of the diverse mental disturbances do not move him. When dissolution (*pralaya*) visits this world, then and then alone he leaves his nest. When again creation begins, he takes to it. He is thankful for the course of happenings and the inscrutability of nature (*niyati*). To him things decaying, shattered, slovenly, slipping and loose are as welcome as those that are fresh, compact and evergreen, which are things of beauty for ever. None is particularly his friend nor is anybody his foe. In the midst of his physical movements, whether seated, standing, resting or asleep, he does not think that his body is he. In the prosperity of others he feels tranquil, in their adversity he has sympathy for them. He is the emblem of the teaching in the *Mbh.* 'Everything that is crooked is what constitutes death, everything that is straight and upright is the great Brahman' (Commentary *Tāt-prak.* on *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. 26, V. 25). He recounts his marvellous experiences [12] such as the direct visualisation of the churning of the ocean, the growing of the feathers in the body of Garuḍa, and such important incidents as the emergence of the Vedas, and of their different redactions, the twelve forms of manifestation of the *Rāmāyana* story, one after another, the seven evolutions of the *itihāsa* known as the *Mahābhārata* and the multifarious variants (*pāṭha*) of the Purāṇas.

This account of himself by Bhuśuṇḍa is referred to poetically with *double entendre* in the *Y. V. R.* as *ātmodanta*[13] and as *bhūṣanaṁ śruteḥ*, the obvious meaning being that it is his

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own account which is pleasing to the ear. This is a mannerism which is met with in the case of other *upākhyānas* as well, e.g., *śravaṇabhūṣaṇa* (*Y.V.R.* III. 2..1) or *śrutirasāyana* (*Y.V.R.*, I. 33.24). The other sense-account of the soul or the Being *per se* and not *per accidens* in the way of an embellishment or welcome appendage to the Veda (its *upaniṣadic* essence)—is no less manifest in and through the length of the section. Like the Upaniṣadic *ātman* he is free from the bounds of decay and death and endures till the end of time (*Śāśvata* and *purāṇa*). The *Y.V.R.* claims to be recognised as the *śāstra* of all *śāstras* (*śastrāṇam paramam śāstram*) (III. 8.8), the most pre-eminent (*sāra*, III.8.9) among *itihāsas* and the repository of all esoteric knowledge (*samasta-vijñāna-śastrakoṣa*, I.V.8.12). This claim is substantiated not so much by its academic or its dialectic approach, as by its richness in *upākhyānas*, stories which cover untrodden ground and furnish a new angle of vision to the understanding of familiar and effete legends narrated in the epic and the Purāṇas. The present *upākhyāna* is certainly one of the best, if not the very best of such and has impressed later writers and supplied them with a new tackling of its age-old issue, as would be clear from a later paragraph.

The one unending theme, the burden of the instruction in the Y.V.R. is indicated towards the end of the work by the sage Bharadvāja (V.Y.R., VI. 128, 57, 58). Rāma's mastery of *Yoga* lies in his application of the teachings of Vaśiṣṭha to the issues of practical life, his shaking off of lethargy and engaging himself in the welfare of all. Life to him is no longer a dull routine of dreary drudgery—and there lies the moral of Bhuśuṇḍa's story in a nutshell. That is living life when one gets what he strives for and has nothing to be sorry for. Do not trees and beasts and birds live and carry on their physical functions ? But that is not life. He lives who lives with a purpose and through exercise of thought (*manana*). Bhuśuṇḍa typifies the *jīvanmuktas* and *Siddhas*[14] who have been off and on held as models in the Y.V.R. With his intellect quiescent (*pariviśrānta-dhī*), with his inner spirit active, revolving in the whirl of the supreme bliss (*paramānandaghūrṇita*), with all his functions withdrawn to his inner self (*antarmukha*), imbedded in his real self (*svastha*), and ever concentrated in his efforts (*samāhita*), as if he was another Brahmā—such is he. With all instinctive impulses submerged and reduced to non-entity he carries on and sustains his vital function. Erasing of all impressions (*nirvāsanībhāva*) or the subduring the mind (*manolaya*)[15] or the crushing of all sensibility with respect to pleasure or pain (*manonāśa*) the realisation of life's aim in the expression of the Y.V.R., in his characteristic. This is ideal life—and is long life as well, for life is measured by its fruitfulness and not by mere length, though length means much when it is properly regulated.

The term *Yoga* in the Y. V. R. is taken to mean application to deliver oneself from the shackles of worldly existence (*saṁsāra*). The one trend—the more difficult way—therefore is knowledge of oneself (*ātma-jñāna*), the other—easy for many—is what goes by the term *Yoga* (Y. V. R., *Nir.*, Ch. 14.3-12; Y. V. S., *Nir.*, I. 58-62), which simplifies the other way, i. e. of *ātmajñāna*. This *Yoga* is attended with multifarious *siddhis* or *vibhūtis* and consists in proper attention to the movement (*gati*) as well as to practical exercises in an apt adjustment of the two vital life forces, *prāṇa* and *apāna*, residing in the hollow of the body (*dehaguhāśaya*).

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As indicated in the early Upaniṣads like the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Praśna*[16] the observation of this view is enjoined to ensure long life and is the way to salvation. Life is breath, breathing in (*prāṇa*) and breathing out (*apāna*)—so declares the *upaniṣadic ṛṣi*. The Y. V. specifies Bhuśuṇḍa story—as the most surprisingly effective on that score. Bhuśuṇḍa specified this concentration on the vital force (*prāṇacintā* or *prāṇasamādhāna*) as the root cause of extirpation of all worries and miseries and conducing to all good fortune and welfare. These two courses graduated (krāma) according to the position of the *sādhaka*, should form the programme of one who seeks the due objective of *manolaya*, essential for him. The *Yoga-sūtras* of Patañjali[17] speak of *vibhūti* (powers) due to breath control (*saṁyama*), the very thing presented by Bhuśuṇḍa in an elaborate poetic manner in the Y.V.R., Nir., Ch. 23. 5-17, ending with emphasis on *samādhi*, which Yogi-Yājñavalkya expresses, in another phraseology, to be harmonious tuning of the individual music of the soul to the Supreme being. The three *angas* of *Yoga*, viz., *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā* and *samādhi*, when integrated, form according to Patañjali, *Saṁyama* and when one achieves this stage, he is endowed with all *siddhis*. The *prāṇa* and *apāna* have been described in the Y.V.R. as the two wheels of the car of the mind, which is the lord of the body. Following another Vedic analogy used in another text, *prāṇa* is also described as the sun and *apāna* as the moon. The scheduled course of *prāṇāyāma* with its three types *kumbhaka*, *pūraka*, *recaka*—the *sina qua non* in a course of *prāṇa-cintā* or *prāṇa-samādhāna* on which harps the issue of longlife, is what Bhuśuṇḍa recommends for achieving long life and supernormal *siddhi* and is the way to the worship of the *cidātman* within us, which the middle end of the *prāṇa* and the *apāna*, a way which has been almost similarly assessed in the accredited *Purāṇas* and in the popular Tantras.[18] We should know that it is no big jump from the treatment of the nature of the self (*ātman*) to the characterisation of the *jīvanmukta* and we have it in the Y. V. R. in more than one *upākhyāna*[19] Nor is there any incongruity in the knitting of these two with the means for achieving such a temperament in one pattern, for we have the same line of treatment in rigid philosophical discourse (as in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. II.).

There is one important point vouchsafed in the information furnished by Bhuśuṇḍa, which needs close attention. The feathered tribe that forms his routine includes pea-fowls (*Barhin*), adept in the Śaiva system of philosophy, which has been their tribal heritage, because of their being the vehicles of Skanda, who is counted amongst the early *siddhas* in the Śaiva creed. As we have shown elsewhere, the Kashmir Śaiva philosophy is the accepted creed in the Y. V. R. The mention of the *matṛs* the pre-eminent of whom is Alambuṣā, whose vehicle is Caṇḍa, father of Bhuśuṇḍa, is just after the listing in the Kashmir Śaiva texts. The emphasis on *samatā*, retierated almost in every context in the characterisation of the crow —and for the matter of that, the *jīvanmukta* in general—also points to that direction. This *samatā* is what is described as the *sāmarasya* (which is of the Śaiva *trika* mould) and distinguishes the so called *cittaviśrānti* type of *nirvāṇa*, which according to the *Saṁsārataraṇī* is to be sought through the control of the vital functions (*prāṇavṛtti*) in the coordinated course of Yoga practices[20], which has been held out to be the object lesson of Bhuśuṇḍa's life. This emphasis

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on the relevant creed is met with in very many contexts and in connection with other episodes as well.

IV

The story told by Bhuśuṇḍa to Vaśiṣṭha about a relatively longlived (*Sucirajīvita*) Vidyādhara, a dry calculating fellow, who after drinking the wine of life to the dregs, and then as a counter, taking recourse to privations and ascetic courses, was ultimately disgusted with life, is narrated in the latter half of, rather in the supplement of, the *Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa* (Chs. 5-16). It is tuned to a different key and is not found in the *L. Y. V.* That this half is a later interpolation[21] has been known before and we have adduced reasons for its not being a part of the genuine text of the Y. V. R., in spite of the late (18th century) commentator Ānandabodhendra Sarasvatī commenting on it and introducing this supplementary story in a chapter-by-chapter summary by a clever device (*śastraṁ jitendriyasyaiva saphalam netareṣviti*) of tagging it to the original story. Vaśiṣṭha puts a query to Bhuśuṇḍa—Do you remember anybody who was a longlived one, who was duped to a wrong way and did not know his own self ? (Ch. 5., V. 6.). The Vidyādhara in his statement says, "I have experienced on and on the pleasures of the sense (Ch. 6., 1.26); but the world appears to be dry and devoid of pleasure. Please explain what I am to do (v. 27). This is not merely my experience, it is the experience of those that are deemed as great and noble specimens of humanity" (Ch. 6, V. 41). The gist of Vaśiṣṭha's instruction to him is that it is *saṁkalpa* (desire) that is at the root of everything. It is what makes the unreal real. All this, you, I, and the world are mere appearances; the world does not exist apart from the *Brahman* (Ch. 8, 10-12). Whatever forms the sphere of sensual knowledge is sheer non-being (*avidyā*)—this stream of nescience is flowing for ever. The error of mistaking the unreal for the real is due to *abhimāna* which has to be shunned by all means. It is almost certain that this is an interpolation by the later dialecticians who exploited the *māyāvāda* of the pro-Śaṅkara type, and made it a plan of *advaita* thought, which, in many quarters is regarded as the cardinal text of the whole work. Bhāskaranātha's commentary on the Y. V. R., which is meant as a revolutionary to this view, emphasises Śaivite presentation.

Bhuśuṇḍa (the name appears sometimes as *Bhaśuṇḍa* and then as Bhaśaṇḍi), with his character as a *cirajīvin* or *cirajīvita* and as an acme of wisdom, figures prominently in the latter of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmacaritamānasa*[22] of Tulasīdāsa which like the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki recounts and assesses the already told story of the earlier sections and lights upon the divine nature of Rāmacandra. The crow is described as a religiously disposed, wise *jīvanmukta*, conversant with the nature of *brahman* and pre-eminently a devotee of Rāma. Just in the manner and spirit of the Y. V. R. story sketched above, he is described as *muni* Bhuśuṇḍi, who has his sequested abode on the top of a golden peak of Mt. Meru on the branch of a heavenly tree, which is beyond the operation of illusion (*māyā*), ignorance (*moha*) and sensuality (*kāma*). The all-powerful Brahmā has assured him that Rāma is the Supreme Lord. One day the great devotee Garuḍa comes to hear from Bhuśuṇḍa the exploits of the glorious life of Rāma, which are often discussed in the assemblies of the birds gathered

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round him. As a result his devotion to Rāma is heightened. One is taught to discard egoism (*abhimāna*), which is at the end of the cycle of rebirths. There is insistence on the plurality of worldly beings (*jīvas*) and on the Lord being one. The Lord has got to be worshipped and pleased before one can expect any security from worldly miseries. The inspired poet preaches thus the glory of Rāmacandra. He reminds us that it is the grace of Rāma that can secure everything worth having. The human *guru* is also to be sought for, for it is he who can help one to attain the mercy of the Lord. We are told further that the great sage Lomaśa (*vide*, the *Mahābh.* story of his pilgrimage told out in *Vanaparvan*, Chs. 91-114, pp. 524-548, Gita Press Edn.) who is known as one of the itinerant sages out on his mission of helping the world, had instructed Bhuśuṇḍa on the worship of the *saguṇa* Lord, a process hinted at elsewhere (in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*) for ordinary mortals. This is the sum and substance of the practical advice of Bhuśuṇḍa to Garuḍa.

The episode of the quarrel between an ageold female vulture and an old decrepit owl is told out towards the fag end of the *Uttarakāṇḍa* in the standard Bengali classical *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa.[23] The vulture complains to king Rāmacandra, seated in his judgment-seat, against the owl, of dispossessing her of her ancient nest at the top of a tree; and the owl defends his case by saying that he had taken his shelter to that tree only when he was incapacited by age after living for a long time in the forest. At the end, the case was decided by King Rāmacandra in favour of the owl and the vulture was awarded the punishment of death. The gods intervene immediately in an appeal to Rāma for mercy to the vulture, saying that he was none other than a good and a munificent king who had been cursed to be born as a vulture because of an accidental lapse in the matter of the food offered to a Bhrāhmaṇa-guest, whereupon was pronounced a curse by him. On the appeal of the penitent king, the Brāhmaṇa assured him of delivery from the effect of the curse only when he is to be touched in person by Lord Viṣṇu born as the king Rāma in Ayodhyā. Rāmacandra does accordingly and the punishment is lightened. Rāma's divine mission is thus declared.

The role of the *jīvanmuktá*, which is the pivot round which almost all the *upākhyānas* of the Y. V. R. turn and which has been the unending theme of many a philosophical tract like the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* has been admitted in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.[22] This is, in all probability, a late mediaeval post-Rāmānuja work. Vālmīki advises Kuśa, the prince reared up in his hermitage as an ascetic lad to finish up his education by learning about the causes of bondage which is the lot of mortals and of delivery therefrom. He reminds him that the submerging of desires (*saṅkalpa*) is only way to attain the security from the clutches of death. The Y. V. R. through its many episodes has tried to impress this virtue,[25] the fundamental basis of the constitution of a *jīvanmukta*, on the minds of readers and has claimed a distinct place for itself because of its concretely visualising a truth through revision of old legends which have caught for ages the fancy of the Indian reader and set him rethinking in terms of service to humanity which has been proclaimed to the lot of noble souls alike in the Purāṇic and the Buddhistic lore. This has been the lesson of many a legend like the Bhuśuṇḍa Upākhyāna in Indian literature, old and mediaeval.

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1. *Viṣṇu Pur.* I. 5. 9. So also in the *Śruti* cited by Ratnagarbha in his commentary on the *Viṣṇu Pur.* I. 5. 9.—अथैषां पशूनामशनापिपासे एवाभिज्ञानम्। न विज्ञातं वदन्ति न विज्ञातं पश्यन्ति न विदुः श्वस्तनं न लोकालोकौ।

2. *Rām.* III. 14.6 (पूर्वकाले महाबाहो ये प्रजापतयोऽभवन्। तान् मे निगदतः सर्वानादितः शृणु राघव॥) 7-33; Rām. IV. Ch. 56.2; Ch. 58.3; 22-28; Ch. 59.4-6; 29-30. इहस्थोऽहं प्रणश्यामि रावणं जानकीं तथा। अस्माकमपि सौपर्णं दिव्यं चक्षुर्बलं तथा॥

3. *Mārk. Pur.* Ch. 4.1-2. एवं ते द्रोणतनयाः पक्षिणो ज्ञानिनोऽभवत्। वसन्ति ह्यचले विन्ध्ये तानुपास्व च पृच्छ च॥ इत्यृषेर्वचनं श्रुत्वा मार्कण्डेयस्य जैमिनिः। जगाम विन्ध्यशिखरं यत्र ते धर्मपक्षिणः। The birds carry the thread of the story up to Ch. 44., i.e. to one-third of the whole work. The मैथिल recension (of which one Ms. was available to the Editor Rev. K. M. Bannerji of the Bib. Ind. Ed. Calcutta, 1862) winds up the whole Purāṇa with the birds (*vide* App., pages 657-658 of that edn.) what we are told, were delivered of their course and restored to their former status by the sage Jaimini.

4. *Br. Kath. Mañj.* (N. S. edn., 1902) pp. 35-36, vs. 28-30. मृगावतीकथा देवस्मिताऽऽख्यायिका p. 63. vs. 217-220. सुमन आख्यायिका p. 555-560. vs. 182-251.

5. *Kath. Sari. Sāg.* (N . S. 4th edn.) विद्युत्प्रभाऽऽख्यान p. 114 verses 219-231; सुमन आख्यान. pp. 304-308, vs. 22-171 specially verses 33-34. शडको शापाच्छुकीभूतः पूर्वर्षिः कोऽप्ययं प्रभो। जातिस्मरो धर्मवशात् पुराऽधीतं स्मरत्यतः॥ p. 312- vs. 147 देशद्रष्टाऽत्र वायसः।

6. *Bhāg. Pur.*, IX. 7.64-74. गृहेषु खगवत् सवतस्मारूढच्युतं विदुः, IX. 14.7-14 (vs. 8. देहस्थोऽपि न देहस्थो विद्वान् स्वप्नाद् यथोत्थितः। vs. 14. यस्य स्युर्वीतसंकल्पाः प्राणेन्द्रियमनोधियाम्। वृत्तयः स विनिर्मुक्तो देहस्थोऽपि हि तद्गुणैः॥)

7. The *Saṁs. Tar.* on *Nirvāṇa Pur.* I. 66. भुवनेषु सर्वेष्वपिशं सुखं डयते विहरतीति भुशुण्ड इति प्रसिद्धः। The short *ū* (from भू) is irregular here. There are other forms of the name including भशुण्ड and भशण्डि, as we shall see later on.

8. *Vide* our paper on the *Emergence of an Adhyātma Śāstra* read in the World Congress of Orientalists, Paris, 1948. (*vide* I. *H. Q.*, Sept. 1948, pp. 201-212).

9. *Y. V. R.*, *Nirv.*, Ch. 14-314 vs; Ch. 15. vs. 11-29; Ch. XVI, 1-18; Ch. vs. 15-25; *Y. V. Sāra*, *Nir.*, I. vs. 62-93, 132-140.

10. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XVIII. vs. 1-24; Ch. XIX. vs. 1-22; Ch. XX. vs. 7-10 (=*Y. V. Sāra.*, *Nir.*, I. 94-131). For references to names of the devatās in the Śaiva Tantra many of which are as well names of different nāḍis in the different Tāntrika systems noted in texts like the *Nandi Śikhā*. *Vide* P. C. Bagchi's paper on '*Studies in the Tantras*' (C. U. Jour. of Arts, 1939).

11. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XVII. vs. 1-6; Ch. XXI. vs. 1-27 (=*Y. V. Sāra.*, *Nir.*, 1-94, 132-144).

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12. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XXI. vs. 28-52; Ch. XXII. v. 1-53 (especially vs. 8. मुने ते ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य जन्माष्टकमिदं किल। संस्मरामि...... vs.20. एकार्थानि समग्राणि बहुपाठानि मेऽनघ। पुराणानि प्रवर्त्तन्ते प्रसूतानि युगं प्रति ॥ vs. 25. वाल्मीकिनाम्ना जीवेन तेनैवान्येन वा कृतम्। एतच्च द्वादशं वारं क्रियते विस्मृतिं गतम् ॥ vs. 27. व्यासाभिधेन जीवेन तेनैवान्येन वा कृतम्। एतत्तु सप्तमं वारं क्रियते विस्मृतिं गतम्।) *Y. V. Sāra.*, *Nir.*, vs. 145-174.

13. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XXI. v. 19-41 (=Y. V. Sāra, Nir. Ch. I., 124-125) Ch. XXII. vs. 15-23=7. *V. Sāra*, Nir., 133-139.

14. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XVII vs. 1-6 (*Y. V. Sāra.*, *Nir.*, I. vs. 65-88 and 94) *vide* our paper on *The Siddhas in Indian Culture* (M. N. Sarkar Jayanti Vol. 1951), pp. 91-112. *Y. V. R.* I. 14,10, 11. प्राप्यं संप्राप्यते भयो येन न शोच्यते। पराया निर्वृतेः स्याद् यत्तज्जीवितमुच्यते॥ तरवोऽपि हि जीवन्ति, जीवन्ति मृगपक्षिणः। स जीवति मनो यस्य मननेन हि जीवति॥

15. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XVIII. 14-15 (*Y. V. Sāra.*, *Nir.*, I. vs. 103-104); Ch. XXI. vs. 19-23, 32-36; vide also our paper on the *Manolaya or The Loga Vāśiṣtha Way to Ideal Life* in the *Brahmavidyā*, Vl. XXI., pp. 1-2-. Adyar.)

16. *Br.*, *Ā. Up.*, I. 5.23. तस्मादेकमेव व्रतं चरेत् प्राण्याच्चैवापा याच्च। नेन्मा पाप्मा मृत्युराप्नुवदिति। यद्यु चरेत् समापिपयिषेतेन 13, एतस्यै देवतायै सायुज्यं सलोकतां जयति। *Pr. Up.*, ;;;. 12. य एवं विद्वान् प्राणं वेद न हास्य प्रजा हीयते अमृतो भवति। तदेष श्लोकः—उत्पत्तिमायतिं स्थानम् विभुत्वञ्चैव पञ्चधा। अध्यात्मस्येव प्राणस्य विज्ञायामृतमश्नुते। *Kau. Br. Up.*, III. 2. स (इन्द्रः) होवाच—प्राणोऽस्मि प्रज्ञात्मा, तं माम् आयुरमृतमित्युपास्व। आयुः प्राणः प्राणो वा आयुः तद्धैके आहुः एकभूयं वै प्राणाः गच्छन्ति। and *Bh. Gītā* IV. 24. अपाने जुह्वति प्राणं प्राणेऽपानं तथाऽपरे। प्राणापानगती रुद्ध्वा प्राणायामपरायणाः।

17. *Yogasūtra.*, III., 4.-5—त्रयमेकत्र संयमः and तज्जयात् प्रज्ञाऽऽलोकः and व्यासभाष्य threon:—यथा। यथा संयमः स्थिरणदो भवति तथा समाधिप्रज्ञा विशारदी भवति, and the तत्त्ववैशारदी III. I. अत्रापि पुराणम् (II. 7. 45.) प्राणायामेन पवनैः प्रत्याहारेण चेन्द्रियैः। वशीकृतैः ततः कुर्यात् स्थितं चेतः शुभाश्रये। (This leads to the *Saguṇa bhakti* aspect which is relevant as will be submitted in a subsequent section of the paper).. योगियाज्ञवल्क्य says: समाधिः समता या स्यात् जीवात्परमात्मनोः।

18. e.g., the ब्रह्मयामलतन्त्रः रेचकं पूरकं त्यक्त्वा सुखं यद् वायुधारणम्। प्राणायामोयमित्युक्तः स केवल इति स्मृतः। Note also the सांख्यप्रवचनभाष्य of विज्ञानभिक्षु on *Yog.*, *Śūtra. II.* 49. तस्मिन् सति श्वासप्रश्वासयोर्गतिविच्छेदः प्राणायामः। ननु...प्राणायामस्तु विज्ञेयो रेचकपूरककुम्भकैरित्यादिवाक्योक्तं व्याहन्येत इति चेन्न रेचकं पूरकं त्यक्त्वा सुखं यद् वायुधारणम्। प्राणायामोऽयमित्युक्तः। स वै केवलकुम्भक इति वाशिष्ठसंहिताऽदौ। केवलकुम्भकस्यापि प्राणायामत्ववचनात्।

19. *Y. V. R.*, *Nir.*, Ch. XV. vs. 13-28 (v. 13— तस्य कच्छेषु कुञ्जेषु लतापत्रेषु पर्वसु। पुष्पेष्वालयसंतुलान् विदगान् दृष्टवानहम्। गौरीकवरबर्हौघान् कौमारान् वरबर्हिणः। स्कन्दोपन्यस्तनिःशेषशैवविज्ञानकोविदान्॥) vide our paper on the *Cardinal Tenets of the Y. V. and Their Relation to the Trika Philosophy of Kāśmīra* (A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXXII Poona) Cf. समता

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Ch. XV. vs. 28 समतया मतया गुणशालिनाम्। *Y. V. R., Mumukṣupr.*, XV. 20,....Ch. IX. v. 6....परिपूर्णमना मानी समसर्वाङ्गसुन्दरः मनो समरसं कृत्वा सानुसन्धानमात्मनि।

20. So remarks *Sam. Tar.* पूर्व (भूशुण्डोपाख्याने) प्राणवृत्यनुसन्धानात् चित्तविश्रान्त्या निर्वाणमुक्तम् इदानीम् (in देवपूजोपाख्यान Nir. II.) The *Tāt. Pra*-holds प्रस्तुत प्राणायामादियोगक्रमम् भुशुण्डोक्तिप्रपञ्च-नेन वर्णयिष्यन् भूशुण्डाख्यायिकामारभते। (introducting of com. on Ch. XIV.)

21. Vide, our Conclusion in the *Yoga. Vās. Rāmāyaṇa—Its Date and Place of Inception* (A. I. O. C. Madras, 1924 pp. 546-554,) and the *Emergence of an Adhyātma Śāstra* (I. H. Q., Sept. 1948, pp. 204).

22. *Rāma. carita-mān* pp. 555-590 (Gita Press, middle size edn. Saṁvat 1954). तुम्ह जो कही यह कथा सुहाई। कागभुशुण्डि गरुड़ प्रति गाई। धर्मसील विरक्त अरु ग्यानी। जीवनमुक्त ब्रह्मपर प्रानी। सुन्दर बन गिरि सरित तडागा। कौतुक देखत फिरउँ बेरागा। गिरि सुमेर उत्तर दिसि दूरी। नील सैल एक सुन्दर भूरी। तासु कनकमय शिखर सुहायौ॥...तिन्ह पर एक विटप विसाला। बट पीपर पाकरी रसाला।...तेंहि गिरि रुचिर वसहु खग सोई। तासु नास कल्पान्त न होई। बरतर कह हरिकथा प्रसंगा। आवहिं सुनहि अनेक विहंगा। रामचरित विचित्र विधिनाना। प्रेमसहित कर सादर गाना॥... तब बोले विधि गिरा सुहाई। जान महेश राम प्रभुताई। गयउ गरुड जहँ बसई भुशुण्डा। मति अकुण्ठ हरिभगति अखण्डा।...गयउ मोर सन्देह सुनेउँ सकल रघुपतिचरित। भयउ रामपदनेह तव प्रसाद वायस तिलक।...ग्यान अखंड एक सीतावर। मायावस्य जीव सचराचर॥ परवस जीव स्ववस भगवन्ता जीव अनेक एक श्रीकन्ता। ऐंतेहि हरि बिनु भजन खगेशा। मिटई न जीवन केर कलेशा...राम कृपा बिनु सुनु खगराई। जानि न जाइ राम प्रभुताई।... मुनि भुशुण्डि के वचन सुहाये। हरषित खगपति पंख फुलाये। ....and p. 589 मेरुशिखरवट काया मुनि लोमस आसीन। देखिचरण सिरु नायउ वचन कहेउ अति दीन। तब मैं कहा कृपानिधि तुम्ह सर्वग्य सुजान। सगुण ब्रह्म अवराघन मोहि कहउ भगवान्॥...

23. *Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 678-880, (4th edn. Chakravarti Chatterjee and Co. 1949. अगस्तेर वाढी यान राम दिव्यरथे। पक्षिर कन्देल राम शुनिलेन पथे। गृधिनी पेचके द्वन्द्व वासार लागिया, गृधिनी कहिछे पेंचा छाड़ मोर वासा। परधरे रहिवे केमनेकर आशा। पेंचा बले कोथा हइले आइले गृधिनी। एककाल वासा मोर तोरे नाहि चिनि, गृधिनीरे कर राम सभार भितर। कतकाल हइते तोर एइ वासा घर॥गृधिनी कहिछे शुन वचन आमार। विष्णुनाभिपद्ममूले ब्रहमार उत्पाति। तखन अवधि वासा ए डाले आमार। पेंच वले वृक्षेर उत्पत्ति हइल धरणी उपर। तार पर उत्पन्ने हइल यत डाल। एहरूपे वनमध्ये जाय कलकाल। उडिते अशक्त हैनु हैल वृद्धदशा। तारपरे यह डाल करिलामवासा।...देवगर कहे राम करि निवेदन स्वाभाविक गृधिनी जन्म नहे एइ जन। बले हे गृधिनी अधि हय ब्रह्म शापे।...रघुवंशे जन्मिबेन विष्णु येइ काले। शाप-मुक्त हवे तुमि तारे परशिले।

24. *Adhtyātma-Rām. Uttara Kāṇḍa*, Ch. VI. vs. 40-55 (esp. verses 41-42....तथैवाचर भद्रं ते जीवन्मुक्तो भविष्यसि। देह एव महादेह मे देहस्य चिदात्मनः॥ तस्याहंकार एवास्मिन् मन्त्री तेनैव कल्पितम्। देहगेहाभिमानं स्वं समारोप्य चिदात्मनि।...verses 51-52. सवाह्याभ्यन्तरार्थस्य संकल्पस्य क्षयं कुरु। पातालस्थस्य भूस्थस्य स्वर्गस्थस्यापि तेऽनघ, नान्यः कश्चिदुपायोऽस्ति संकल्पोपशमादृते।

25. *Y. V. R., Mumukṣu.-pr.*, XVIII. 32....शास्त्रसुबोधमेवेदं सालंकारविभूषितम्।...XVIII. 52 एवं सति निराकारे ब्रह्मण्याकारवान् कथम् दृष्टान्त इति नोद्यन्ति मूर्खवैकलिपकोक्तयः; XVIII. 60.... मोक्षोपायकृता ग्रन्थकारेणान्येऽपि ये कृताः। ग्रन्थास्तेष्वेयमेवैका व्यवस्था बोध्यबोधने।

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MATTER ACCORDING TO THE SĀNKHYA SYSTEM OF THOUGHT

By

TAPO NATH CHAKRAVARTI, CALCUTTA

A study of external nature does not necessarily involve an enquiry as to how cosmos evolved out of chaos. A careful study, of all material objects and things in nature as they reveal themselves to us, is also found to be very often indispensable for the discovery of many scientific ideas and philosophical thoughts. Thus, the human organism presents a complex problem with its defensive mechanism and its ingrained process of repair. The inter-relation of mind and body, the creative working of the life-force in the embryo, the building up of the body from a single cell in the fertilised ovum and the unique work of conservation through the repeated process of repair are alike interesting and mystic like an enigma.[1]

We are accordingly concerned in our present discussion with an analysis of the data of external nature, or with the forces which are in operation and are working themselves in nature. These forces, as a result of their interaction, tend to the creation of matter, its conservation and eventual destruction or transformation. Matter may, therefore, be looked upon as being a veritable storehouse of energy. The potential energy, which remains latent in matter, thus becomes kinetic when it asserts itself in different manifested energies in the forms of pressure, heat, attraction, repulsion and vibration. The combined operation of these forces brings about the disruption of matter, which is reduced in consequence to molecules and atoms. The fundamental ingredients or the constituent elements are in this way brought into space.

According to the cosmographic account given by early Indian thinkers, roughly speaking, earth, water, fire, air and ether are the five known primary states or the innate elements of matter. These are regarded as forming or as constituting the ultimate realities behind all forms of matter, which are known to exist. Each of these elements has its own distinctive character and its own special and characteristic virtue. But the idea of Pañcabhūta or the five fundamental elements in nature like kṣiti, ap. tejas, marut and vyoman, as conceived by early Indian thinkers, can, in no way, be indicated by pointing out merely that these basic elements as viewed by ancient Indian metaphysicians are embodied in nature as earth, water, fire, air and ether respectively. The idea of Pañcabhūta seems in reality to be something like a mystic figment of abstract philosophical thought.

Behind all forms of matter we are thus to suppose the existence of certain primitive forces and the presence of certain elements in potential form. Like the primitive forces of

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nature, the ingredient elements in nature are themselves fountains of energy. The first and foremost of the elemental states in nature is technically known in early Indian philosophy as kṣiti or the earth. The idea of earth took its shape in the mind of man from the day when he had his first experience of solid ground on the surface of this earth. But the metaphysical concept of kṣiti is quite distinct from the mere idea of solid ground. It is not at all a vague notion of a clod of earth or of a lump of clay. The word kṣiti is derived from the root 'kṣi' implying kṣaya or a process of gradual decay as a result of the inherent natural processes of erosion and corrosion. It thus indicates the presence in it of an innate tendency of gradual decay and destruction, which inevitably presupposes the existence of two other processes concerned with construction and conservation.

According to Sir Archibald Geikie, the surface of the earth, on which we live, is constantly affected by a slight tremor. As a result of this perpetual trembling some parts of the globe are elevated and some are depressed. The soil of this earth is being continually wasted or consumed by the flow of torrents from rain and glaciers and the draining toll of rivers and seas. But in spite of this unceasing work of destruction, dry land persists on the surface of this earth. This is due to the upheaval of the lower strata of the earth and the reformation of fresh grounds in consequence of alluvial deposits and the silting up of the beds of rivers and seas.[2] The ways of nature are, therefore, inscrutable and the wisest man very often finds himself unable to divine their secrets, being perplexed at every stage by their mystery because none of the component elements in nature is found to live alone as a separate entity. Beneath the surface of the solid crust of this earth we find in consequence the presence at certain levels of liquid water just as we find below the fathomless depth of oceans the existence of beds of solid ground. The greatest depth, moreover, which man has examined, when compared with the diameter of the earth, is after all only, as it were, a mere scratch.[3]

Fire, in the form of latent heat is thus curiously found to be present in the liquid water beneath the hard solidified surface of rivers and seas during winter months in cold regions on the surface of this globe. Ether or a sort of gap is similarly strangely found as a zone of non-combustion or non-ignition inside the burning flame of a lighted candle. Similarly oxygen, one of the main inherent properties of the air which we breathe, is found to be present as a component part of the solid crust of this earth as well as of liquid water in nature. Thus, the average properties of the earth's solid crust, so far as it has been penetrated by man, have been found to be as follows :—(1) Oxygen (44.0 to 48.7), (2) Silicon (22.8 to 37.2), (3) Aluminium (6.1 to 9.9), (4) Iron (2.4 to 9.9), (5) Calcium (0.9 to 6.6), (6) Magnesium (0.1 to 2.7), (7) Sodium (2.4 to 2.5) and (8) Potassium (1.7 to 3.1)

If we turn our attention to the ideas current in early days in Europe, we notice that the first clear expression of the notion of an element is found in the teachings of the Greek philosophers beginning with Thales (640 to 546 B. C.), who taught that all things arose from water. Anaximenes (560 to 500 B. C.) thought that the air was the primary substance. Herakleitos (536 to 470 B. C.), impressed by the constant change of the material world,

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regarded the ever-varying fire as the fundamental principle. It was Empedokles (490 to 430 B. C.), who then introduced the ideas of four 'roots' of things : fire, air, water and earth, and two forces, attraction and repulsion, which joined and separated them. Later on Aristotle (384 to 322 B. C.) summarised the theories of earlier thinkers and developed the idea of a primary matter, called 'hule,' on which a specific form (*eidos*) could be impressed. According to him, the same primary matter can receive different forms, just as a sculptor can make different statutes from the same block of marble, altough Aristotle preferred to think of the form evolving from within, as in organic growth. The forms can be removed, and replaced by new ones, so that the idea of transmutation of elements arose. Aristotle's elements are really fundamental properties of matter, for which he chose hotness, coldness, moistness and dryness. By combining these in pairs, he obtained the four elements, fire, air, water and earth. Water is the type of moist and cold things; fire of hot and dry; and so on. To the four material elements a fifth, immaterial one, was added, which appears in his later writings as the quintessence or the ether.[4]

Side by side with the cosmic process of gradual decay and decomposition or destruction we thus find the glaring evidence of the existence in nature of the processes of reconstruction and preservation. Had there been no such processes of reconstruction or reclamation and preservation in nature, dry land would have disappeared long ago from the surface of this earth. The reputed geologist Sir Archibald Geikie has accordingly correctly drawn our attention to an important phenomenon in nature which takes place on account of the natural processes of gradual decay and decline inherent in the earth element. A careful analysis of the cause responsible for producing the constant tremor of the solid crust of this earth shows that it is due to the resultant action of certain forces like adhesion, cohesion, tension and vibration. There can, therefore, be no doubt about the fact that as an element kṣiti is a fountain or a mighty source of several forces or energies in nature. As a gross element, kṣiti is present in some form or other in all material bodies. It is supposed to be the first or the primary element in the chain of elements which produce organic matter.

In ancient Indian philosophy, kṣiti has generally been regarded as a base or as a gross element present in nature. It supplies the main ingredients or properties of skin and flesh in animal and human organisms. It is thought to be a base or a gross element simply because it has in it no other energy superior to and subtler or finer than cohesion, adhesion, vibration and tension. As its derivative meaning indicates, the presence of kṣiti or the earth element leads to the gradual decay and decomposition of organic matter because its innate energies like adhesion, cohesion, vibration and tension are veritable agents of decay and destruction. As an element, however, kṣiti is not a mere storehouse of destructive energies alone for it has in it creative and saving energies as well. Thus, cohesion, one of the fundamental energies of kṣiti, may also be looked upon as a creative energy. Adhesion is also concerned with the work of preservation while vibration plays its dual function as an agent of preservation and destruction as well. But tension is out and out a destructive energy. The combined operation of all these energies produces in the long run decay and destruction. Every element in

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nature is thus a storehouse of the threefold energies inherent in the universal processes of creation, conservation and destruction or eventual transformation.

The preponderance of the earth element in the forms of skin and flesh in some organic bodies in nature naturally hastens their process of decay. The more the earth element or kṣiti is present in a human or an animal body, that is to say, the greater is the quantity of skin and flesh in such an organism, the more rapid will be its rate of gradual decline and decay. Hence invertebrate organic beings are, in comparison with vertebrate beings, earlier victims of physical decay and death. All organic beings are ultimately reduced to dust on account of the presence in their own organisms of the earth element or of kṣiti in some form or other. In his treatise on Physiology, Halliburton accordingly points out that natural death in the case of human beings is generally produced by the devastating effects on their own physical organisms of one or more disease, by which term is generally meant a kind of accident found to happen in nature. Nevertheless, death due to the gradual decay of the human organism caused merely by the enfeebling and decadent influence of old age, though rare, cannot be regarded as being simply impossible. With age, the eye loses its sight and the hair becomes grey, the skin seems to present a dry and wrinkled appearance, the bones calcify and the physical body thus becomes more and more weak and exhausted and loses its power of resistance and ultimately becomes the victim of some disease that brings death as an inevitable result. With the gradual decay and ebbing away of the inherent processes and forces sustaining life in a human or an animal organism, death comes as natural consequence of the wasting causes working within for a long time.

As kṣiti or the earth element remains an integral part in all human and animal organisms, so they imbibe the innate energies of kṣiti like cohesion, adhesion, vibration and tension. The presence of these gross energies is accordingly responsible for producing the gross instincts or the base irrational impulses, which we find among human and animal beings. Thus, cohesion, as its name indicates, tends to bring things together. As a linking energy, it is at the root of all kinds of attachment, which are found among both human and animal beings. The gregarious instinct of many animals may be said to be due to their innate force of cohesion. Adhesion is by far a cementing energy. It tends to supplement the uniting work of cohesion by cementing the alliance and makes the fusion stronger and more intense by checking the tendency towards separation. Vibration, the resultant energy produced as a kind of reaction caused by adhesion, is the thrilling force par excellence that gives the magic stir. It foments the erotic impulse, which springs primarily from adhesion. When vibration reaches its limiting coefficient on account of utmost exertion, the action of vibration becomes intensified and tension appears as a form of reaction. With the appearnce of tension, a human or an animal organism is stirred to its inmost core and strained to its utmost limit. The frequent experience of intense vibration and its reaction in the form of tension produces a state of decay and exhaustion and consequent relaxation of the constitutent particles of a human or an animal organism.

The crude self-seeking tendencies, the occasional out-bursts of frenzy and fury, the

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promptings of blind impulses like love and affection for one's own mate and children and many other cravings for carnal pleasure and the satisfaction of one's own ego are largely the outcome of the element kṣiti in the forms of one's own flesh and skin. Three-fourth of a man may be regarded as being, in a nutshell, a product of his own flesh and skin. The earth element of kṣiti is, thus, at the root of the majority of human feelings and inclinations. In the case of human beings, cohesion plays its part as the guiding energy behind man's social instinct. As we find in the case of animals, man has his own ethnic bonds and as such his attachment for the members of his own species. The desire to perpetuate one's own race on the surface of this earth serves as an incentive to the physical effort prompted by the innate mating instinct for the procreation of one's own children. Side by side with the social instinct, there is among human beings a natural inclination that seeks to establish the ascendancy of one's self over the members of one's own class and the sovereign position of one's own species over the members of other species. The social instinct of man and his attempt to group himself with the members of his own class may, therefore, be deemed as being a natural corallary of his inherent crude attachment for the members of his own species. To a mother, her child is the flesh of her flesh and the skin of her skin. The intense depth and the warmth of affection for her baby naturally foment the outflow through the nipples of her own breasts for her sucking baby of the milk of her own body. It is the call of flesh that prompts the sex-hunger of animals and human beings alike.It is the mating instinct that fosters the physical union of the father and the mother. Adhesion then continues to tighten their bonds by its own binding and cementing influence. The mother continues to attract the father more and more by giving him repeated chances for the enjoyment of the sweetness of conjugal union. Vibration then produces its magic influence so as to make the father share the joys and sorrows of his beloved lady. The mother fondly embraces and kisses her son in the presence of his father and gradually the father becomes attracted in consequence towards his son, being prompted to do so more and more by the affectionate attitude of the mother. From the crude physical level, kṣiti or the earth element, thus spreads its subtle influence to the psychic or the metaphysical level. The diverse intricate and manifold subtle influences produced by vibration accordingly create an infinite variety of complications in the case of rational beings like men and women.

A study of the simple behaviour of mammals and many other animals found in nature shows that their inherent energies like adhesion, cohesion, vibration and tension often play their part in a more crude and simple way and as such we seldom come across endless intricacies and complications, which are found in the behaviour of human beings. Thus, the simple nest-building instinct that guides the skilful activities of some birds and animals may be said to have developed among human beings in such a way as to produce elaborate works of constructive engineering and architecture. The gregarious instinct, so common among many animals, may be said to have developed among human beings in such a way as to lead to the foundation of organizations like the U.N.O. and the recognition of the principle of the universal brotherhood of man. Similarly, some crude inclina-

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tions or tendencies, which are found among some members of the animal kingdom, namely, the bee's love for its honeycomb, the spider's attempt to secure the safety of its home by making its impenetrable cobweb and the liking of the mother-bird or her nest where she lays and hatches her eggs, may be said to have their echo in man's love or his own motherland.

The vastness and the subtle depth of the early Hindu metaphysical conception of kṣiti as a fundamental element innate in all forms of matter that have been revealed to us by nature, cannot, therefore, be fully indicated or even broadly denoted by the simple idea of a clod of earth or of a lump of clay. The early Indian concept of the element 'ap' is similarly so subtle and abstract from the standpoint of natural philosophy that it can never be properly elucidated by holding before us the idea of liquid water in nature. The presence of the element called 'ap' is not merely indicated by the existence in nature of water covering three-fourth of the total area found on the surface of this earth for this element is inherent in all organic and inorganic objects and things in nature in the form of some kind of *rasa* or some kind of liquid or semi-liquid matter or as something producing moisture and as such softness or coldness or lack of rigidity. The tongue or the palate is aptly called 'rasanā' because this organ is the centre of *rasa* in the form of saliva which comes out when we chew objects with our teeth. This organ is also used for tasting the bitterness, the sweetness, the acidity or the sourness, etc., of the taste of objects which we consume as food and drink. Rasanā or the tongue is also important as the vital organ used for uttering speech. By uttering suitable and dexterous words and expressions different kinds of *rasas* or sentiments may be produced and brought into play in the minds of men and women. A poetical composition is accordingly defined as being a '*rasātmaka vākya*' or a clever combination of apt words and fine expressions meant to evoke our poetic sentiments, feelings and emotions. The idea of the element 'ap', as conceived by early Indian philosophers, is, therefore, somehow or other associated with the ancient Indian view of *rasa-tattva.*

The world of matter or the material universe as revealed to us has, according to early Indian thinkers, its unending store of five different kinds of charms called 'pañca-tanmātras', which are technically denoted by the words rūpa, rasa, śabda, sparśa and gandha, meant for the enjoyment of the five main sensory organs of more especially rational human beings. Rūpa, or the sight of the external appearance of all kinds of material objects, has thus its appeal meant exclusively for our eyes. Rasa has similarly its characteristic appeal intended primarily for the tongue or the palate. The word 'śabda' is commonly used to denote audible waves or vibrations of different kinds of sounds indicated by the Sanskrit words nāda, dhvani and pratidhvani which we experience every now and then through the instrumentality of the auditory nerves of our ears. Cakṣuṣ or our eyes thus give us visual impressions of visible things and objects around us. The karṇa or our ears make us conscious of the waves of audible sound, which are produced every now and then around us. Our sensory organ called 'jihvā' or the tongue similarly plays its own part by making us aware of the tastes of objects, which are consumed as food or drink. The 'tvak' denoting the physical

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body as a whole with all the limbs and organs of a sentient organic being, feels the bracing contacts or the sparśa of material things and objects around. The word 'sparśa' has, therefore, been used in a generic sense to denote all kinds of touching experiences produced by various types of tactile sensations. The nose or the nāsikā gives us in its turn our experiences of the smell or the 'gandha' of all material things or objects with which we come in contact. The air is called 'gandhavaha' because it conveys to our nose the impressions of various kinds of smell of diverse material objects around us. The air is not merely found to be often laden or charged with the smell of objects with which it comes in contact, it is also found to work in nature as a medium through which waves of sound are found to travel from one place to another.

Though invisible to our eyes, we can, neverthless, feel with the skin of our bodies the touching sensations produced by the hot or the cold wind blowing around us. As the life-giving energy causing the circulation of blood through the operation of the respiratory process even when we are asleep, vāyu or the air, is universally considered as being in the form of the breath of life, a veritable embodiment of the life-giving force in nature. Hence, the 'breezy call of incense-breathing morn', the cock's shrill clarion and the echoing green give fresh energy and a new lease of life, as it were, when we begin our journey of life at daybreak. The element called 'marut' or 'vāyu' is accordingly characterised as being the 'prāṇavāyu' or the veritable life-energy of living organic beings. As cyclone or as typhoon or as 'prabhañjana', the same vitally essential element 'marut' very often produces havoc on the surface of this earth and thus carries on its work of destruction in nature. By fanning a burning flame, a strong gale or a gusty wind often causes conflagration. Marut thus helps the element 'tejas' when it takes the form of a devastating burning flame and carries on its accustomed work of destruction in nature. The term 'tejas' has a very wide connotation and a deeper philosophical meaning and we can do no more than roughly indicate its underlying idea by using the imagery of burning fire, which we see on earth.

According to the ancient Greek legendary account, fire is said to have been stolen from heaven and brought down to earth by Prometheus, for which Zeus chained him to a rock for being eaten by vultures. Fire has been conceived by some of the early Indian thinkers mainly in three different forms as (1) celestial fire symbolised by the fiery disc of the sun and the flashes of lightning from clouds in heaven, as (2) terrestrial fire in the form of the burning flame with its heat and light which we find on the surface of this earth and lastly as (3) 'vāḍavānala' or submarine fire probably in the form of the innate latent heat of natural water. Fire is also found in the form of heat inside the bowels of this earth, especially in volcanic regions. Fire is sometimes found in the form of heat without light in nature. As phosphorescent light without heat, fire is also found on the abdomen of glow-worms. As the latent bodily heat of human and many other animal organisms in nature and also as their innate 'jaṭharāgani' or their power of digestion, 'tejas' may be regarded as being one of the most useful elements in nature for it sustains life on earth. The fifth element commonly known as 'vyoman' is generally thought to be indicated by ether. In a

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broad sense, the element 'vyoman' indicates the existence in some form or other of one or more empty spaces inside the structure of the material bodies of both organic and inorganic objects in nature. Though no longer considered by many scientists nowadays to be an indispensable natural element, ether is generally supposed to be in the nature of a medium that helps the transmission to the surface of the earth on which we live of the waves of light coming from far off luminous heavenly planets, satellites and stars.

The original idea of the five inherent fundamental elements in nature has now become a thing of the past on account of the progress through ages of scientific thought and the consequent discovery of many other elements in nature. The total number of elements from Hydrogen to Uranium has now been recognised as being ninety-three. Mendeleeff regarded the ether as an inactive element having an atomic weight of about 10.-[6] The existence of the ether, no longer assumed in modern physical theories. Modern theories of atomic structure exclude the existence of atoms lighter than those of Hydrogen or with weights between those of Hydrogen and Helium.[5] Although all elements are probably composed of smaller primary particles, yet in all ordinary chemical changes they behave as simple distinct forms of matter.[6] With the gradual progress of science, the atoms of the elements began to be regarded as condensations of the primary matter. This was the beginning of the modern electrical theory of matter. Burkla and Kaye (1909) found that a solid element when bombarded by a sufficiently rapid stream of cathode rays emits a characteristic X-radiation. This may be resolved into a spectrum by reflexion from a crystal. Moseley (1913-14) used a crystal of potassium ferrocyanide and photographed the spectra of various elements.[7] The substances known as the rare earths are the basic oxides of metals. They occur in rare minerals usually in the form of silicates. Not only are some of these elements present in small amounts in the crust of this earth, they are also found to differ from such rare elements as Lithium, which are widely diffused in a few special localities. Crookes concluded that the elements contained in the rare earths might be mixtures of closely related elements. He called these meta-elements and supposed that many of the ordinary chemical elements might be of similar constitution, Modern X-ray spectra of the rare earths have, however, placed their individuality on a satisfactory basis. Minerals containing the rare earths occur in relatively few localities and each mineral usually contains a number of these earths.[8]

According to the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy, prakṛti is said to be the ultimate cause of the universe. In its primary stage it is held to be unmanifested, undifferentiated, ubiquitous, undecaying and unconscious. Prakṛti has been conceived as having in it its three constituent 'guṇas'. We are not in a position to determine exactly the reasons for which the three inherent attributes of 'prakṛti' have been called 'guṇas'. The philosophical idea about prakṛti and its three constituents called 'guṇas' is very subtle and has a far-reaching depth. From the evidence of the Yuktidīpikā,[9] it may be stated that these 'guṇas' are infra-atomic quanta of reals, rather forces than substances.[10] We learn from the author of the Yoga-bhāṣya that the outstanding characteristic features of these guṇas are that they

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are always in a state of flux.[11] Their varying permutations and combinations produce all sorts of collocations which we find manifested in the world of objects. In reality, all material objects and things that we find manifested around us do not essentially differ from the guṇas from which they are said to have emanated, because the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy strictly maintains the view that the cause is immanent in its effects. We perceive through the instrumentality of our sensory organs and nerves the manifested objects and things that reveal themselves to our experiences. But the substratum behind the manifested world of phenomena always remains far beyond the range of our perceptual experiences.

The author of the Yoga-bhāṣya[12] has quoted in this connection a verse from some old and authoritative work of Sāṅkhya philosophy in which we find the statement that the real nature of the guṇas is far beyond the range of perceptual experience. What comes within the range of vision is nothing more than a mere illusory appearance.[13] It is evident, therefore, that in their original state the guṇas are extremely subtle and it is only their effects, which reveal themselves to our perceptual experiences. The author of the Yukti-dīpikā[12] accordingly declares that even the revered sage Kapila, the propounder of the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy, cannot do anything more than merely have his experience of only the effects of the guṇas and hence even he himself is not in a position to unravel the mystery of the guṇas when they are in their potential state for the simple reason that these guṇas are imperceptible when they are in a crude state. According to the well-known theory of the conservation of energy as propounded by modern thinkers in the field of natural philosophy, the total energy of any body or system of bodies is a quantity which can neither be increased nor diminished. The Sāṅkhya system of philosophy also maintains more or less a similar view with regard to the world of matter. It is evident from the Sāṅkhya doctrine of causality and its corollary that the sum of effects potentially exists in the sum of causes. The careful analysis of the causes of the material universe shows that these causes are ultimately nothing else than the guṇas themselves. In a time series the effects are called future, present and past accordingly as they are in their potential state or actualised or absorbed into the primary cause.[15]

The material world or the world of matter with its diverse contradictory processes at work, its mystic innate elements and inherent or constituent forces in the form of guṇas and its five different kinds of stimuli evoling five different types of bodily sensations or sensory experiences in the forms of rūpa, rasa, śabda, gandha and sparśa, is like a vain and deceptive, quickly changing kaleidoscopic panorama. However minutely we may observe and however deeply we may study the phenomena taking place around us in nature and try to analyse the variegated experiences produced by the world of matter with its appearance of reality, we shall never be in a position to determine the ultimate reality in the shape of these latent guṇas. The guṇas are neither increased nor reduced, though the material universe, in which they are immanent, is always found to have its own unending changes. What happens in the case of these guṇas is that some of them become manifested while others remain unmanifested. The totality of the guṇas nevertheless, always remains

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constant if we take into account the manifested and the unmanifested guṇas. The question of the origin of matter has thus been determined and explained by the philosophers of the Sāṅkhya school from a metaphysical standpoint rather than from a purely scientific angle of vision.

Judged from the standpoint of the Sāṅkhya conception of matter, it may be pointed out that in the ever-changing material universe everything is always in a state of flux and has as such a fleeting and a deceptive appearance. There is, therefore, nothing in this material world that we can regard as something avikṛta or as immutable, as something permanent or in an unimpaired and undeterred original real character. Whatever comes within the range of our perceptual knowledge or sensory experiences, must accordingly have some sort of deceptive or a *vikṛta* appearance and hence we are bound to have nothing more than a vague idea about the real state of things. In other words, unless we know the noumena, we cannot properly understand the real nature and the precise character of the diverse phenomena that happens around us every now and then in nature. Whether a solid or a liquid or a gaseous substance, everything seems to have somehow or other a sort of defective or a *vikṛta* and as such an unreal and vain appearance. Under the broad heading of vikṛta or unreal and as such shadowy objects and substances in nature, we may also include two other special varieties or forms of matter, one of which may be called the 'vidagdha' form while the other variety may be said to have a sort of 'viddha' or a molested and as such a damaged appearance. Thus, water, as we find it in its original state in nature, may be regarded as having in reality a vikṛta or an unreal appearance because as a chemical compound it may be said to have originated from a certain kind of combination of two gaseous substances, namely, hydrogen and oxygen. All chemical compounds like copper sulphate, copper nitrate, potassium choloride, etc., may accordingly be looked upon as being vikṛta substance formed as a result of a particular type or types of chemical combination of two or more substances in nature. Thus, copper sulphate has in it neither the original form nor the original properties of either copper or sulphur. Chemical by-products like naphthalene or a white greyish substance obtained by the distillation of coal-produced by coal gas, saccharin, milk of magnesia, etc. may also be treated as being vikṛta or as being secondary objects, which have lost their former primary or original characteristics. In his *Universe of Light*, Sir William Bragg has drawn our attention to the fact that many plant sugars, plant vitamins, etc. may through a process of the analysis of the ultimate reality be said to be produced in nature mainly through the influences of sun's rays and chlorophyl, the substance that gives the green colour to trees, plants and creepers and makes nature verdant and serene with its endless varieties of green vegetation and moss. In the category of vikṛta objects or substances in nature, we may for the same reason put the plant sugars and plant vitamins simply because they do not from their superficial appearance easily reveal to us the original substances and influences from which they have been produced.

The coal, whose gas produces the coal-tar, may be said to be a glaring example of the 'vidagdha' form of vegetable matter. Geologists have discovered unerring evidences

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showing that carboniferous substances like the hard and solid remains of skeletal trees and plants lying under-ground for ages far beneath the hard surface of the earth on which we live have in course of time, through the combined influences of the heavy downward pressure of the solid land and rocks on the surface of our globe and the burning subterranean heat of the interior of this earth, been gradually converted into and transformed as coal. The original vegetable matter has thus assumed an entirely different kind of a 'vidagdha' or a burnt appearance. The mineral oil called petroleum, may similarly be looked upon as being another glaring instance of a 'vidagdha' form of matter found in nature. According to the organic theory upheld at present by many scientists, pre-historic remains of small and tiny marine plants and animals lying buried for ages beneath the surface of this earth produce in the long run, on account of the downward pressure of the ground above and the heat of the burning interior of this earth, hydrogen and carbon, which combine together in such a way as to form petroleum. Ghee or clarified butter obtained by applying certain amount of heat to a lump of butter, the almost infinite varieties of fried or boiled food and drink which we consume and the potteries produced by burning objects made of clay are common examples of the 'vidagdha' types of matter. A person, whose heart seems to be burning on account of his or her pangs of love, is figuratively described as being 'vidagdha' or burnt and consumed, as it were, by the fire of the anguish of his or her own mind.

An object is said to be 'Viddha', when through some sort of adverse influence it has been so much affected that it has lost its own original integrity of character. Thus a piece of cloth is commonly said to have become 'viddha', when we find it pierced through in one or more ways by a needle or by something else. A garment may also become tattered being simply struck and smitten by the ravaging influence of time alone. All material objects may, therefore, be said to be 'kālena viddha', when they become worn with age on account of the wearing and tearing effects of time. It may be noted here that milk loses its simple original character and becomes 'viddha', when it is affected by the contaminating influence of some vitiating liquid substance. Posset, curd, casein, etc. may accordingly be considered as being different forms of 'viddha' milk. According to the Sāṅkhya school of thought, all material objects are somehow or other affected and as such vitiated by 'māyā' and hence they always reveal themselves to us in a 'māyāviddha' state or in a state in which they seem to have an unreal or a false, fleeting and deceptive appearance. There are, moreover, many things in nature, which we cannot perceive by using our own sensory physical organs. Thus, light, which reveals its own source and by its illuminating effect reveals also to our eyes all other material objects, is itself invisible and is thought to behave sometimes as corpuscles and sometimes as waves.[18] We have, in consequence, no clear-cut and precise idea about the exact nature or character of the light energy, which is thought to be the most important energy in nature. Our ideas about the real nature of light and darkness are alike vague. Darkness is generally supposed to be a state produced by the absence or the negation of light. But we fail to understand why we feel a sort of coloured halo, when we rub the corners of our eyes with our fingers in a dark room. More-

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over, we often find to our utter surprise that darkness makes its appearance just at the moment when we put out a burning lamp in a dark room. The illuminating influence of an active source producing light energy seems accordingly to hide darkness by spreading over it a sort of superimposed covering having a bright and glaring appearance. We are, therefore, not in a position to determine the darkness that remains hidden in the background beneath the glitter of light. Many optical illusions like mirage and phantasmagoria are often produced by the action of waves of light on our retina. Blinding pressure of waves of strong light also makes as virtually blind. Darkness produced by the absence of light also makes us blind for all intents and purposes, although some night-birds like owls and some wild animals like tigers and cats are able to see things on account of their special powers of vision even amidst the darkness of night. Greater light is also found to drown, as it were, by its illuminating effect, weaker lights. Hence the light of the burning lamp becomes dim and almost useless when the sun is up in the sky.

Everything in nature is, moreover, subject to a slow and steady process of changes, decay and decompsotion or transformation. Physicists have now been led to think that on account of a radical change in the structure and composition or in the position of the constituent protons, neutrons and electrons, gold may in course of time change itself to mercury and mercury may in the same way assume the character and the appearance of gold. A metal, once it has assumed in this way the character and appearance of lead, will have, as it has been revealed to modern physicists, no further change. There is, therefore, nothing stable or permanent in nature. With the limited scope of our perceptual experience we only feel the infinite diversities and subtleties of nature and the vast immensity of the problems which confront us and baffle our understanding on account of their mystic and inexplicable nature. In his *Mysterious Universe*, Sir James Jeans accordingly declares, being conscious of our inability to grasp the underlying reality, that we are like prisoners kept chained inside a dark cavern with our backs turned towards the mouth of the cave and we see on the wall in front of our eyes in this cave merely shadows of reality. So we see the shadow and not the substance that is hidden as underlying reality behind nature. The ever-changing fugitive colours in nature and every individual colour represented in the series called 'vibgyor' has endless varieties of light and dark shades, which are no less puzzling to us than the infinite number of colours, which are thought to exist both in the infra red and the ultra-violet regions. There are thus many things beneath heaven and earth which philosophers and men of letters cannot contemplate. The gorgeous colours on the wings of butterflies and the grandeur of hues in the plumage of the peacocks and the kingfisher are things that attract and bewilder our gaze. The wonders of the blue dome of heaven and the marvels of the surging deep, the richness of colours displayed by the rainbow and the fleecy floating clouds charged with the rays of the sun and the moon, the twinkling little stars in the distant sky, the milkyway and the nebula in the firmament of the vast space above the earth on which we live, the Aurora Borealis and the Aurora Australia, the unknown and the unknowable number of asterisms in the sky and the unexplored infinite

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number of marine plants and animals living beneath the water of seas and oceans are things that seem to remain beyond the utmost bounds of human thought. Scientists and philosophers, are, therefore, alike engaged in taking a stock of their knowledge or of the little known and the vast unknown. Man's eternal quest for the ultimate truth and reality is, therefore, something like the desire of the moth for the moon. He is often baffled and perplexed in his quest by the will-o' -the-wisp or the vain deluding veil of mystery produced by 'māyā'. So the tiniest speck in the form of a minute sun-mote and the meanest flower very often bring thoughts that lie too deep for tears. Within the compass of vast and infinite time and space,[17] man accordingly continues his endless search for truth and beauty with his finite and limited powers of vision and understanding like a sinking star through the ages.

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PROBLEMS OF ABSTRACT THINKING

By

CHINMOY CHATTERJEE, LUCKNOW

India, it is claimed, surpasses other countries of the world in Abstract Metaphysical thinking. Her Vedantic literature propagating thought relating to the Absolute still remains unassailable.

For many thousand years our country had run after this achievement with great arduousness, utmost caution and skill, because the path leading to the goal of Self-Realisation, which is described in scriptures, as to be one with the Absolute, is beset with multifarious difficulties. It is like treading on the edge of a sharp razor (*kṣurasya dhārā niśita duratyayā*—Kaṭh. 3-14). The impact of this pursuit on the masses was intangible and the people suffered from imbalances in various spheres of human activities. They failed to maintain an equilibrium between the bicameral polarity of spritual life and mundane existnce.

There was no dearth of mystics in this sacred land of ours, so much so that we are called today—the sons of the Ṛṣis. They endeavoured to bring the Absolute within easy reach of the masses through their teachings in comprehensible language avoiding jargons, but the latter could not catch up with the "escape velocity" of the upward trek of the Spirit and were drawn back again and again by the gravitational pull of the allurements of worldly existence. The effect on the people in general, which is most tangible even today is that they have become inert of their surroundings and apathetic to progress and prosperity. Because, for centuries, they were taught to think that material pursuits were not conducive to spiritual growth and their evolution along the line of consciousness as Bergson has put it, had a stunted growth.

The vital defect in our spiritual pursuits had been the attitude of summary dismissal of our surroundings and closing up our eyes from things around us, whereas this is an unnatural phenomenon in Upaniṣadic thinking.

The thinkers of the Vedantic age accepted Nature as the eaboratory, natural objects surrounding man as aids for analytical study, and his mind as an instrument for reaction tests. They called a spade a spade and accepted the gross Universe of ours which we see, feel, and touch and gave the mind of an aspirant a drift towards fine, finer, and finest elements pervading his whole being. In the Uddālaka Āruṇi and Śvetaketu episodes in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find that Āruṇi explains subtle essence (aṇimānam) of gross bodies and establishes the preponderance of the Absolute to Śvetaketu with the help of Nyagrodha tree, common salt, sick-man, and hot hatchet (Ch. 6-11-13; 6-15-12). Parables and allegories were introduced by teachers for easy comprehension (sukhāvabodhārtha) and for conveying

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certain truths through them (Śaṅ. Com. 1-1-1). Similarly, in the Sanatkumāra-Nārada story, we find how Nārada was led by and by from Manas to Saṅkalpa and ultimately to Bhūmā (Infinite) by an analytical process accepting the stage where he was before the attainment of the supreme knowledge. Today why should we not take Science and Technology and our surroundings as aids to spiritual practices ? Because this may develop a scientific outlook for our philosophical problems and help us in abstract thinking.

Science tries to collect facts into bundles by means of scientific laws says Bertrand Russel : "These laws, rather than original facts, are the raw material of philosophy. Philosophy involves a criticism of scientific knowledge, not from a point of view ultimately different from that of science, but from a point of view less concerned with details and more concerned with the harmony of the whole body of special science." ("*Outline of philosophy*" by Bertrand Russel page 2). I think for the correction of imbalances of spiritual and material pulls and gradual transformation of mundane polarity into spiritual one, we should use "the raw materials of philosophy" for explaining its ultimate goal.

Let us leave aside, for the present, the doctrine of Māyā enunciated by Śri Śaṅkara. Can we ignore today the fact that the old conception of matter as indestructible substance has vanished after the theory of relativity and doctrines about the relativity and doctrines about the structure of atoms? A chair or a table which we see today is not a chair or a table but "a vast system of electrons and protons in rapid motion with empty space in between." If this is the change in the physical world, our perception should naturally be correlated to it. We are also changing according to given stimulus and reactions, because our perceptions are very largely concerned with form and shape or structure (Outline of philosophy—Gestalt psychology). Even the Sun is not the Sun as we perceive it.

It was natural for early men to regard the sun as a God. Indeed, it would have been strange if they had not done so, since we depend entirely upon the Sun for our light and heat, and, without it, no life on Earth could have ever developed. In the Sāvitrī Vidyā, which finds mention in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (5-14-1) it has been said "The Sun is the vital force (prāṇaḥ) : At another place, explaining the Sun (Ādityaḥ) as the father (pitaram). Conception of the Sun as father gained ground because of the fact that the Sun is the sponsor of everything manifested in this earth. Śaṅkara also at one place explaining the term Savitā said : "The Sun is called Savitā because it produces (prasavitṛtvāt). So far, there is no difference between the Truth established by Science about the Sun and the philosophical Truth propounded by Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad about it. The Upaniṣad uses this planet as an aid to meditation while science goes on a journey from the surface to the centre of the Sun and says that at the inner core of the Sun, the temperature is about twenty million degrees centigrade and the pressure is so tremendous that a man cannot even begin to picture it. The nuclear reactions caused there cannot be reproduced on the Earth.

Hydrogen, which is the lightest of the elements, is the most common substance in the Universe, and the Sun contains a high proportion of it. If hydrogen atoms can combine, the result is the formation of atoms of the next lightest gas helium—plus the release of a

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little energy. Inside the Sun, this process is going on all the time. Each second, 800 million tons of hydrogen are being changed into helium and the tiny amount of energy set free by each transformation is enough to keep the Sun shining. In time, of course, all the hydrogen will be used up. There is still enough hydrogen to last for at least another five thousand million years. James Jeans goes in for further details about the dying Sun. Now, if we correlate the scientific truth about the Sun with the philosophy of the Star, our thought process will naturally have a drift from the gross matter to energy, spirit and ultimately towards the Absolute. Does it not produce a helpful impact on our mind when we pause for a while, and think that even the Sun will disappear one day from the galaxy and be unicellular lost in the oblivion ?

In the above context when we think of man, we find he is just a helpless creature in Nature's laboratory trying to evolve along the line of consciousness. Biologically he is just a multi-cellular unit, each cell with its protoplasmic content enzymes and neucleic acid emitting tiny life energy like the emission of tiny amount of energy and lumination by each atom of Hydrogen and Helium, the sum total of one is the human energy and man and of the other is the solar energy and the Sun. So long life was unicellular there was no death when it became multicellular, death followed it. In biology Death is nothing more than disintegration of cells.

Man is really helpless because none of his propensities is strong enough to combat the onslaughts of other creatures or living organisms of Nature, may it be a tiny organism like bacteria or a ferocious animal like a tiger. In a horse we find the finest specimen of strength and energy whereas a man has neither sufficient strength nor energy like a horse. He is essentially weak. Bacteria have extraordinary resistance to face an inimical environment whereas a man has none. He has neither the ferocity of the most fierce animal in the world nor altruism of the highest order. He is an imperfect complicated being with comparatively well-developed consciousness. Therefore, the creative biologists feel that a man has to evolve only along the line of consciousness. Perhaps, on account of physical and mental imperfections of man, it has been emphasised in our philosophy, that he should try to know himself first. In that case he will know his limitation and his worthy possessions. It has been repeatedly said "Know thyself" with a view to explaining inherence of Pure Intelligence in everything (cinmātrānugamāt)—Śaṅ. Com. Bṛ. Up. 2-4-7). The great seer Yājñavalkya has taken the help of various analogies. The whole Upaniṣadic literature comes out with numerous prescriptions to lead a man from imperfection to perfection, from consciousness to Pure consciousness and from intelligence to Super-intelligence. Because this is just natural for a man who is so imperfect and helpless. When his growth rate of evolution hits up his intelligence, he becomes a genius, and when it unfolds his consciousness, he becomes a mystic. Both of them are important in respective spheres. The cardinal point is that a man has to evolve from within and intelligence and consciousness are his only helpful factors. In this context I should say a man's intellectual pursuits are most vital. Because, even Ātman or the Supreme Reality reveals itself not to all but is seen only by the

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seers through their pointed and subtle intellect. (buddhyā dṛśyate—Kaṭh. 3-3-12). The contention is not that the ancient seers or mystics of old and today followed the principles and the system of creative biology, perhaps the science as conceived today was not born at that time, but they fully realised the imperfections of man and the remedy was to accelerate the growth rate of intelligence and consciousness. Thus much in common will be found out in scientific and spiritual planes before the actual take-off of the mind to the outer exosphere of mundane existence and in the realm of spirit.

In the ēśāvāsya Upaniṣad we find a prescription for prayer at the time of death, where it has been enjoined for the dying man to remember his past actions from childhood till the end of his life and what were his desires (*Krato smara kṛtaṁ smara*—Īśāv. 17). The great commentator Śaṅkara has, however, not deviated from the traditional interpretation on the Śruti. But if these three terminologies—Kratoḥ, Kṛta and Smara are examined critically, a process for taking off the mind not only of the dying man but even of those living from the distractions of the world will emerge. These three words have multi-dimensional sense.

A man's distractions, apparently start at his birth. The experimental psychologists have different stories to tell; but, for the present, I am not concerned with them. At any stage of life if a man starts tracking his mind, in terms of his cherished desires since childhood and actually what percentage of them was fulfilled, it would be apparent to him and he would at once be faced with a hard reality that some force beyond his control guided his life which we call in common parlance the force of circumstances. Actually was it a force of circumstances or the inherent inperfections of man, or the stronger will of some other persons, or destiny or results of his past actions of previous life or God, we are not concerned with that for the present. The fact remains that all the desires of a man never get fulfilled in his life and he has to surrender to some force beyond his control.

Meditation on Kratuḥ (desire) and Kṛta (what is actually) will expose a man's imperfections and lead him to surrender himself to a power beyond his control. Memory plays an important role in this type of meditation. That is why the Śruti emphasises on the word "Smara" (Memory). But here the term particularly refers to retention and recall aspects of memory.

Memory has been exhaustively analysed and discussed by the psychologists. Generally it concerns four factors namely learning, retention, recall and recognition. We learn by doing and observing and we fix the incidents of our life and experiences in our mind. According to latest biological theory nucleic acid in billions of cells in our body holds our experiences in memory. When we try to remember a particular incident our cells get activised. Experiences of the remote past are not easily remembered as some of the cells helping memory have already been destroyed. The biological theory of memory is dependent on the physical existence of the man. It may have to meet a challenge, if the theory of remembering one's past life is scientifically proved. Dr. Ian Stevenson, Dean of the Department of Neurology and Psychiatry, Virginia University (U.S.A.), has already collected over

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three hundred cases for his research on the theory of rebirth and remembering of a man's previous births or birth.

Now, if we push back our memory and try to recall our past, and meditate on our desires and efforts actually made to achieve them, it will be evident that some uncontrollable power standing behind us had moulded our actions. The man will have a spontaneous feeling that his existence of today is not fully of his own likings. There has been the free play of his own will up to a certain limit; but to a greater extent he was compelled to follow the dictates of some power beyond him.

To realise this all-pervading power beyond him, a man has to follow a code of life and attain the stage of detachment and for this, renunciation is the first prescription according to the Śruti.

The Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad says, "The Supreme is to be pursued by leaving (tyaktvā) aside the great fortune (mahatīṁ śriyam—1.4). It is because fortune, pomp and power go together. They will distract the mind of a man and pin him down to material world.

In the Īśāvāsya Upaniṣad it has been said, "Whatever is subject to change (implied in the term *jagat*) in this Universe is all-enveloped (vāsyam) in one who is the Ruler of this Universe (Īśa). By the renunciation of the world alone, enjoy thy inner self" (1-1) Śaṅkara commenting on the word "tyaktena" states "This changeable (vikāra-jātam) world of name and form seems identical with the Absolute Truth (paramārtha satya)—the Self (Ātman). Consequently that conception has to be discarded." Elucidating the point further he says, "One who thinks that this world is permeated by the Cosmic Spirit and it is reflected in him also leaves the desire (eṣaṇā) for sons, wealth and heaven."

The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad speaks of "sannyāsa" as a means to attain the Supreme knowledge (3-2-6). It says : "All the Yatis (those who have most heedfully restrained their senses) who are established in the knowledge of Vedānta (vedāntavijñāna) whose soul is purified through the practice of saṁnyāsa, get absolute emancipation."

The primordial factor involved in the spiritual pursuit is complete detachment of the mind from the pulls of worldly life. This is possible only when a man has either reached the saturation point in material achievements and wants to enjoy something beyond them or received violent shake-up in wordly life which has shattered his attachment for anything or he has some inborn distaste for anything concerning this ephemeral world and he wants something beyond this. Apparently there does not seem to be any fourth factor which may serve as a propelling force for a man's spiritual take-off.

In our country the people in general had none of these factors and the movement for the attainment of the highest spiritual knowledge never gained momentum in the masses, because the whole approach to spirituality was truncated from their material life. The basis of spirituality was individualistic and subjective; so the collective effort had no place in it.

The Vedic knowledge and Vedāntic philosophy preached by seers and scholars, who were the selected few, had a very little effect on the masses. The people learnt, of course,

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that there was something beyond material achievements, particularly when they faced adversities of life and met death, but its impact was not much. Whatever little effect was produced by the teachings of mystics who were born from time to time, and of the two epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata on the mind of the people, made them apathetic to material progress and they could not march forward with the highest ideal of spirituality. They learnt to neglect their surroundings. The intelligent section of the population suffered from imbalances and could not hold the balance between spirit and matter.

Now a time has come when we should establish correlation between Philosophy and Science and Technology and interpret our philosophical thoughts as scientifically as possible. Such attempts will not only make our philosophy intelligible to the common man but also correct the imbalances created today in advanced countries on account of the development of science and technology outstripping the ideals of humanity.

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THEISM AND EARLY VAIŚEṢIKA SYSTEM

By

GEORGE CHEMPARATHY, UTRECHT

It is a fact that the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, as they have come down to us, make no mention of Īśvara anywhere. It is an equally certain fact, that Praśastapāda in his compendium of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine mentions Īśvara as the lord of the universe (*sakalabhuvanapatiḥ*), on whose will the destruction (*saṃhāraḥ*) and creation (*sṛṣṭiḥ*) of the universe depend.[1] It is, therefore, important for the historian of the doctrine of Īśvara to investigate whether the original Vaiśeṣika system, as it was conceived by Kaṇāda in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, had perhaps implied the existence of Īśvara in its philosophic conception and explanation of the reality, or whether the doctrine of Īśvara was introduced into the system by a later exponent of the school, and if it was a later addition into the system, to inquire into the factors that led to this addition.

By "theism" we understand here that doctrine which accepts the existence of a supreme, personal being, usually called Īśvara, on whose will and guiding activity the origin, maintenance and destruction of the universe ultimately depend. With the term "early Vaiśeṣika system" we want to designate here that form of the system, which Kaṇāda, the author of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, gave it.

There are two methods at our disposal in attempting a solution to this problem. The first is to study the intrinisc evidence of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras themselves, namely to inquire whether the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, even if they do not make explicit mention of Īśvara, perhaps imply his existence due to the intrinsic necessities of the system, or whether the nature of the early Vaiśeṣika system is such that it excludes, or at least does not require the assumption of an Īśvara. An analysis of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, taken individually and as a whole comprising the entire system, can provide us with this intrinsic evidence. The second method is to investigate the extrinsic evidence with regard to our problem, namely in collecting and analysing the testimonies of authors other than that of the author of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras both within and outside the system. The earlier and closer to the author of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras this testimony is, the better it is for our purpose, since it carries a greater credibility with it. In studying the problem whether the early Vaiśeṣika system admitted an Īśvara or not—that is to say, whether the early Vaiśeṣika system was theistic or non-theistic[2]—we shall make use of both these methods hand in hand in order to be able to arrive at a greater certainty of conclusion.

I

The investigation of the intrinsic evidence concerning the theistic or non-theistic

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nature of the early Vaiśeṣika system is, however, not without its difficulties, and consequently the conclusions reached cannot be said to be absolutely certain. Hence, before entering into the investigation it is important to bear in mind the following facts :

Firstly, the most important condition necessary for such an investigation is that we possess the text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras as Kaṇāda formulated them. But unfortunately we are not at all sure, whether the text of the Sūtras, as we now have it, corresponds exactly, in the number of their Sūtras and in their formulation, to the Sūtras as Kaṇāda formulated them. With regard to the text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras we are thus in a less favorable situation than in the case of the Nyāyasūtras. While the Nyāyasūtras received a fixed and permanent formulation in the commentary of Pakṣilasvāmin at least as early as the first half of the fifth century A.D.,[3] the earliest text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras that we possess is handed down to us by Candrānanda, a commentator of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, who was at most a contemporary of, if not later than, Uddyotakara, whom he quotes by name.[4] It is true that there existed commentaries to the Vaiśeṣikasūtras even before him,[5] but their existence is known to us only indirectly through the mention of other authors, while these commentaries themselves have been lost to us. There are, no doubt, two works of the Vaiśeṣika system come down to us from the period before Candrānanda, namely the Daśapadārthaśāstram of Candramati or Maticandra[6] and the Padārthadharmasaṅgrahaḥ of Praśastapāda.[7] These texts, however, cannot help us to determine the reading of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, since they do not comment on individual Sūtras, as is usually done in commentaries,[8] but they are independent works, wherein the Vaiśeṣika doctrines are exposed in a systematic form. The work of Candramati cannot, in any case, serve as a reliable guide for us, since it shows fundamental deviations from the original doctrine of the Vaiśeṣika system such as in its conception of the Padārthas,[9] which renders its testimony in the question of the doctrine of Īśvara suspicious. It is, moreover, to be noted that the Daśapadārthaśāstram makes no mention at all of Īśvara. Nor can the Padārthadharmasaṅgrahaḥ serve us in our investigation, because it contains, as we said, no reading of the Sūtras and to investigate the theistic or non-theistic nature of the early Vaiśeṣika system we would require a text coming from an author as near in time to Kaṇāda as possible.

Secondly, comparing the reading of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras[10] as found in the Vṛttiḥ of Candrānanda with the reading given in the Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāraḥ of Śaṅkara Miśra,[11] we find that not only are the readings of some Sūtras different in the two texts, but also that one text mentions Sūtras which are absent in the other.[12] This fact suggests that there were various readings of the text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras between the period of Candrānanda and Śaṅkara Miśra. Such a process of adding new Sūtras or changing the reading of the Sūtras is only to be expected even before the time of Candrānanda. It is on the basis of such unsure material that our investigation is carried out, and consequently the conclusions we are going to draw from the consideration of the intrinsic evidence will have to be strengthened by other means, such as extrinsic evidence.

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Coming now to the consideration of the intrinsic evidence, the first thing that strikes us in the text is the fact that there is *no mention of Īśvara* in any of the Sūtras. Already this fact inclines one to think that in the philosophic system of the early Vaiśeṣikas, Īśvara had no place. The non-mention of Īśvara cannot be attributed to the terse nature of the Sūtras; for they mention and enumerate in rather long lists the different categories, substances, qualities, actions, etc. and give us even in the Sūtra-form a complete picture of the entire philosophic system. If Īśvara had a place in the system it is only natural to suppose that He be mentioned somewhere, especially since we have to imagine that He would have been alloted an important place in the system.

Secondly, we notice that there was another factor in the early Vaiśeṣika system which made the assumption of Īśvara *impossible or at least superfluous*, namely Adṛṣṭam. The early Vaiśeṣika ascribed to Adṛṣṭam certain phenomena, for which no natural explanation could be found. Thus, the movement of the gem towards the robber (VS. V, I, 15), the approach of the needle towards the loadstone (VS. V, I, 15), the extraordinary movements of the earth, such as earthquake (VS. V, 2, 2), the extraordinary falling of rain (VS. V, 2, 4), the ascent of the water or sap in the trees (VS. V, 2, 8), the upward flaming of the fire, the horizontal blowing of the wind and the first movement of atoms and the Manas (VS. V, 2, 14), the exit of the Manas from the dead body, the entrance of the Manas in another body, the union of food and drink as well as the conjunctions in the formation of the embryo (VS. V, 2, 19), extraordinary feelings of love (VS. VI, 2, 15-16)—all these phenomena, for which the early Vaiśeṣika system could not assign a visible cause, were ascribed to the invisible causality of Adṛṣṭam, which was conceived as an impersonal, omnipotent, mysterious force, produced by the good as well as the bad deeds of the living beings, and controlling the destiny of the entire universe. Such a factor makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the Īśvara to have a place in the system. However unsatisfactory their explanation of the phenomena may sound to us, for the early Vaiśeṣikas, who had a mechanistic conception of the universe, where every phenomena was accounted for by the movement of the already existing elements under the guidance of the Adṛṣṭam, such an explanation seems to have been satisfactory. Hence, they do not seem to have searched for an ulterior cause beyond the Adṛṣṭam until at a later stage, when the aboslutely mehanical explanation through the power of the Adṛṣṭam was felt to be unsatisfactory.

Thirdly, in the philosophic coneption of the system, considered as a whole, there was *no need* of an Īśvara. The atoms as well as the souls existed from all eternity[13] and consequently they did not need to be produced or created. Their union at the period of creation (*sargaḥ*) was brought about by mechanistic movements caused by the power of the Adṛṣṭam.[14] The ethical functions of remuneration of deeds or the attainment of salvation (*mokṣaḥ*) were fulfilled without any activity of Īśvara through the automatic causality of Adṛṣṭam.[14] Where the activity of an intelligence superior to the human intelligence was required the special powers of knowledge of the Ṛṣis offered a satisfactory explanation.[15] Thus, the system had given an explanation to those phenomena of facts, where Īśvara's

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activity would be expected, with the help of other causes, especially the Adṛṣṭam, and thus there was no need of Īśvara in the system.[16]

An analysis of the individual Sūtras, which are theistically interpreted by the later commentators, would go beyond the aims of this paper. Only a few general remarks may be made here.

First of all, the Sūtras, which in the Vṛttiḥ of Candrānanda have been given a theistic interpretation, are : VS. I, 1,3; II, 1,18-19; VI, I, 1-4 and X, 21. Whether all these Sūtras formed a part of the original text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras of Kaṇāda is a problem, which cannot be definitely solved with the materials we have now. It is not impossible that some are later additions.

Secondly, assuming that these Sūtras were part of the original Vaiśeṣikasūtra text of Kaṇāda, there is still the question of their interpretation. One of the theistically interpreted Sūtras is, for example, VS. I, 1,3. The *tad* of this Sūtra has been interpreted in more than one way. While Candrānanda interprets the *tad* as standing for Īśvara, Śaṅkara Miśra mentions two interpretations of this *tad*, namely as standing for Īśvara as well as for *dharmaḥ*. The other theistically interpreted Sūtras can be understood as applicable to beings of superior powers of vision and knowledge, like the Yogins, whose existence and special powers of vision and knowledge have been admitted by the system. In VS. IX, 28, for example, we are told of the knowledge and vision of the Ṛṣis and the Siddhas as caused by *dharmaḥ*, that is to say, acquired through means other than the means of the ordinary human beings, such as contact of the object with the senses, or inference through the medium of a means of knowledge (*liṅgam*). The functions ascribed to Īśvara in these Sūtras could be undlerstood as applicable to the beings of superior intellectual powers. It is true that their appication to Īśvara would be logically more satisfactory, but that is when we judge them from the standpoint of the later Vaiśeṣika system with a theistic doctrine. At the non-theistic stage of the system the application of these Sūtras to the Yogins could be considered to have been satisfactory, in the same way as Adṛṣṭam was considered a satisfactory cause to explain the first movements at the period of creation.

I am aware that sufficient justice has not been done to the investigation of this intrinsic evidence of the system; but on the other hand, I think it unsafe to tread on unsure grounds, especially because we are judging the nature of the original Vaiśeṣikasūtras of Kaṇāda using a text which has come down to us from the hands of Candrānanda, who was at least three or four centuries after Kaṇāda, and who wrote after Praśastapāda, in whose work Īśvara had already assumed a place. In such a situation let us see whether extrinsic evidence will corroborate the conclusion we have drawn from the consideration of the intrinsic evidence.

II

In addition to the intrinsic evidence of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras we have also the testimony of authors of other schools which go to confirm the conclusion arrived at by the analy-

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sis of the intrinsic evidence. I have in mind espicially two authors; the unknown author of the Yuktidīpikā[17] and Śaṅkara, the author of the Śārīrakamīmāṁsābhāṣyam, commonly called Brahmasūtrabhāṣyaṁ.[18] The author of the Yuktidīpikā shows that Īśvara cannot be considered as included in any of the six categories (*padārthāḥ*), into which the Vaiśeṣikas had classified the entire reality,[19] and that consequently the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda had no place for an Īśvara. He states explicitly and endeavours to prove that, in the view of the Vaiśeṣikasūtrakāra, there is no Īśvara and that the doctrine of Īśvara in the Vaiśeṣika system is an invention (*upajñam*) of the Pāśupatas.[20] As I am dealing with this passage of the Yuktidīpikā in another paper soon to be published, let me pass on immediately to the consideration of the passage found in Śaṅkara.

In his Bhāṣyam to the Brahmasūtras Śaṅkara exposes and refutes the doctrine of the Vaiśeṣikas that the atoms are the cause of the universe (*paramāṇuvādaḥ*).[21] In his exposition of their doctrine we read :

"Their explanation is as follows : The atoms indeed remain for a time without producing effects, possessing colour etc. according to their nature[22], and spherical form. And thereafter *preceded* by (*i.e. set in motion by*) *Adṛṣṭam etc.* and aided by conjunction , they produce the totality of effects through stages of double-atoms (*dvyaṇuka*) etc.... .[23]"

A little later we read in another exposition of their doctrine :

"And that doctrine (namely *paramānuvādaḥ*) arises as follows : In ordinary life we observe that substances that have parts, such as cloth, etc., are produced by the substances like thread etc. with the help of conjunctions that follow them. On the basis of this general (observation), we conclude that everything, in so far as it is composed of parts, is produced by such and such substances with the help of those very conjunctions that follow them. That which lacks this distinction of parts and whole, is the atom which has reached the utmost diminution. And this entire universe (consisting) of mountains, oceans etc. is composed of parts. And since it is composed of parts, it has a beginning and an end. And since it is not possible that a product should come into being without a cause, it is the view of Kaṇāda that the atoms are the cause of the universe. As the four elements called earth, water, fire and wind are observed to be composed of parts, four kinds of atoms are assumed.[24] And when, there being no possibility of a further division due to their having (already) reached the extremity of division, the perishing earth, etc. are split up as far as the atoms, then is the period of destruction (*pralayaḥ*). Later *at the period of creation there arises in the wind-atoms a movement dependent upon the Adṛṣṭam.* That movement brings into conjunction the atom which is its support (*āśrayaḥ*) with another atom.[25] Thereupon comes into existence the wind (vāyuḥ) through the stages of double-atoms (*dvyaṇukam*) etc. In the same way (arises) fire, in the same way water, in the same way earth, in the very same way the body with the sense-organs. Thus, this entire universe comes into being out of atoms, and the colour (*rūpaṁ*) etc., which are in the double-atoms come into being from the colour etc., that are in the atoms, on the same principle as in the case of thread and cloth.[26] Sucb is the view of the followers of Kaṇāda."[27]

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I have quoted the entire second passage here in spite of its length, because it gives us a complete and vivid picture of the Vaiśeṣika conception of the destruction and origin of the universe—two phenomena, in connection with which Īśvara is usually mentioned in later Vaiśeṣika literature from the time of Praśastapāda.[28] A consideration of these passages of Śaṅkara easily allows us to draw the following conclusions regarding the Vaiśeṣika system as conceived by Kaṇāda and his early followers :

1. In their view the atoms of the four elements—wind, fire, water and earth formed the material cause (*upādānakāraṇam*) of the universe.

2. The efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇam*) of the universe, namely that which causes the first movement of the atoms leading to the formation of double-atoms (*dvyaṇuka*), triple-atoms (*tryaṇuka*), etc., and thus finally to the formation of the entire product of the universe, is Adṛṣṭam.

3. Since through the material causality of the atoms and the efficient causality of the Adṛṣṭam the universe was, for the Vaiśeṣikas, satisfactorily explained, there was no need of an Īśvara to explain the universe. The efficient casuality of Adṛṣṭam was accepted by them to be automatic, and consequently it did not need another cause to explain its activity.

It is true that in the first passage[29] Śaṅkara mentions that the first movement in the atoms leading to the formation of products is caused by Adṛṣṭam *etc.* (*adṛṣṭādi*). George Thibaut interprets this *ādi* to mean the activity of Īśvara. In a footnote explaining this passage he remarks : "The inherent (materials) cause of an atomic compound are the constituent atoms, the non-inherent cause the conjunction of those atoms, the operative causes the adrishta and the Lord's activity which make them enter into conjunction."[30] Such an interpretation of the *ādi* as implying the activity of Īśvara seems to me unjustifiable. For if Īśvara's activity were really meant, one would have expected Īśvara to be mentioned explicitly even before Adṛṣṭam since his role would have been considered more important than that of the Adṛṣṭam. Furthermore, if the efficient cause included also the "Lord's activity", as Thibaut interprets it, then the refutation of the Vaiśeṣika theory by Śaṅkara, after his exposition of their doctrine, becomes unintelligible; for Śaṅkara argues there against the Vaiśeṣikas that the Adṛṣṭam cannot be considered the efficient cause of the first motion of the atoms, since it is non-intelligent (*adṛṣṭasyācetanatvāt*).[31] If Īśvara's activity were included as part of the efficient cause of the first motion of the atoms, this argument of Śaṅkara would not have any value. It is also to be noted that in the whole refutation of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of the first motion of the atoms at the time of the creation of the world[32] Śaṅkara nowhere mentions or refutes the acitivity of Īśvara. which he would have done, if with the word *ādi* he had understood the activity of Īśvara, Finally, our view can be confirmed by the fact that in the second passage of Śaṅkara, which we quoted before,[33] the word *ādi* is left out and the entire movement at the time of the creation is ascribed to the Adṛṣṭam.

That the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda was non-theistic follows also from another remark of Śaṅkara. At the conclusion of his refutation of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of Para-

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māṇuvāda he observes : "Thus on account of the stringing together of very weak arguments, *on account of its contradiction with the sacred scripture (which teaches) that Īśvara is the cause (of the universe)* and since it was not accepted by the learned (teachers) like Manu, etc., who were well versed in the sacred scriptures, the greatest disregard should be shown to this doctrine of the origin (of the universe) from the atoms by those, who seek after spiritual welfare".[35] Here we have an additional testimony of Śaṅkara to the fact that the early Vaiśeṣika had not accepted Īśvara as the cause of the universe.

There is still another passage in Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyam to the Brahmasūtras, which bears witness to the non-theistic nature of the early Vaiśeṣika system. After mentioning the views of a theistic school of Sāṅkhya[37] and of the Pāśupatas,[38] who both considered Īśvara as solely the efficient cause of the universe,[27] Śāṅkara observes : "In the same way *some* Vaiśeṣikas, etc., *with some difficulty* ,following their own manner, explain that Īśvara is the efficient cause (of the universe)".[38] An analysis of this remark of Śaṅkara would lead us to the following conclusions :

1. It is only *some* (*kecit*) Vaiśeṣikas, who admitted Īśvara as the efficient cause of the universe. The limiting adjective "some" points to the fact that there were other Vaiśeṣikas, who did not accept this doctrine of Īśvara. We have to suppose that these *some* Vaiśeṣikas deviated from the original doctine of a system, according to which Īśvara was not the cause of the universe. Faithful to their original doctrine, those who did not follow this theistic branch must have still maintained that Adṛṣṭam was the efficient cause of the universe.

2. The expression of Śaṅkara "*with some difficulty*" (*kathañcit*) requires special attention.[40] It points to the fact that the introduction of the doctrine of Īśvara into the system as the efficient cause of the universe was not at all easy. Such a step had to be taken *in spite* of or *against* important tenets of the system. This difficulty can be easily understood. In a system, where every process of origin, maintenance and destruction was controlled by an automatically operating omnipotent force called Adṛṣṭam, not only would the introduction of Īśvara as efficient cause be superfluous, but even impossible, without making a fundamental change in the conception of Adṛṣṭam, which had assumed a very important role in the speculation of that period. That the introduction of Īśvara into the system was difficult can also be seen from the fact that, during the period immediately following the introduction of the Īśvara doctrine, the Vaiśeṣika exponents found themselves faced with the problem of adjusting the role of Īśvara and Adṛṣṭam, a problem that did not receive a satisfactory solution in the early stages.[41]

I have alluded in passing to the testimony of the author of the Yuktidipikā and dealt at some length with the testimony of Śaṅkara, both of which go to prove that the original Vaiśeṣika of Kaṇāda had no place for Īśvara in his system. Their testimonies can be confirmed by the testimony of an important Nyāya author, namely Uddyotakara, who lived most probably before Śāṅkara.[42] After refuting the view of the Sāṅkhya that Pradhāna is the efficient cause of the universe, Uddyotakara goes on to refute another school of thinkers, "who consider the atoms, directed by the Karman of the soul to be the (*efficient*) cause of the

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universe".[43] In my opinion, this is a school of Vaiśeṣika, which followed the original doctrine of the school, that the atoms are the material cause and the Adṛṣṭam (Karman is here another expression for Adṛṣṭam) the efficient cause of the universe. Comparing this statement of Uddyotakara with the doctrine of the Vaiśeṣikas as exposed by Śaṅkara, we see that both these authors have the same school in view, namely the Vaiśeṣika system. It is also worthy of note that just as Śaṅkara's refutation of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine is preceded by a refutation of the Sāṅkhya school, so also Uddyotakara's refutation of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine is preceded by a refutation of the Sāṅkhya doctrine.[44]

Thus, the testimonies of three authors belonging to three different schools—Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and Nyāya—lead to the same conclusion that the early Vaiśeṣika system had no place for Īśvara in its philosophic conception. As these authors are known to be reliable in other testimonies, we can consider them as reliable also in their testimony concerning the doctrine of Īśvara of the early Vaiśeṣika system.

III

We have seen from the analysis of the intrinsic and extrinsic evidences that the early Vaiśeṣikas had built up their philosophic system without any relation to Īśvara. On the other hand, we said that some time afterwards, in any case at least from the time of Praśastapāda, the doctrine of Īśvara was given a place in the system. It would, therefore, be interesting to try to trace the reasons that led to this important step in the development of the later Vaiśeṣika system. We have unfortunately no express testimonies, which would answer to this problem, but the process of the introduction of Īśvara into the system might have taken place in the following manner :

It is probable, as Hermann Jacobi has suggested, that the early Vaiśeṣika system is an offshoot from the school of materialism through the admission of eternal souls.[45] Kaṇāda must have given a definite and systematic form to this new branch by making the necessary additions and changes and composing in its final form the Vaiśeṣikasūtras. This was only one step in the formation and development of the system, and it is but natural, that Kaṇāda was neither aware of, nor could give satisfactory solutions, for, all the problems, which arose in course of time from the very nature of the system. Taking the doctrine of the elements from the mother-school of materialism and adding to it the doctrine of the existence of innumerable eternal souls, this school of Kaṇāda must have sought to explain the processes of the universe in a mechanistic manner with the aid of Adṛṣṭam, which was held to be the cause that sets in motion the processes of creation and destruction of the universe.

In course of time, however, this explanation was felt to be unsatisfactory, most probably on account of the objections of the opponents, who pointed out that the Adṛṣṭam, under whose directing power the government of the entire universe was placed by the Vaiśeṣikas, could not give a satisfactory explanation of the universe; for being unconscious (*acetana*), how could this Adṛṣṭam guide the processes of this universe, which, in spite of the existence of pain and evils, presupposed the guidance of an intelligent director (*adhiṣṭhātā*) ?

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The Vaiśeṣikas were thus compelled to seek a more satisfactory explanation by accepting an intelligent cause, namely Īśvara, without at the same time dispensing with the Adṛṣṭam. The adjustment of the roles of Īśvara and Adṛṣṭam was not easy at the beginning, but a satisfactory solution was then arrived at by making Īśvara the director (*adhiṣṭhātā*) of Adṛṣṭam and thus of the entire world-process.

In addition to this philosophic necessity there was another factor, whose influence in the introduction of Īśvara into the Vaiśeṣika system cannot be underrated, namely the impact of the religious movements of the time. Already in the early centuries of the Christian era, popular theistic movements were taking definite shape and slowly but steadily coming into importance with their conception of a single God, worshipped mainly under the titles of Viṣṇu and Śiva.[46] Apart from the popular religious movements there were also more or less developed philosophical systems, which had already included Īśvara into their systems. Such was the case probably with Yoga, but more especially with the Pāśupata system. As the author of the Yuktīdīpikā tells us,[47] it was probably under the influence of the Pāśupatas, who had considered Īśvara as the lord of all creatures (*Paśupatiḥ*) directing the origin, maintenance and destruction of the universe, that some Vaiśeṣikas took the step of introducing Īśvara into their system. The Pāśupatas seem to have played a very significant role in the development of the doctrine of Īśvara in the Indian philosophical systems, especially in the early stages. The appellation of "Pāśupatam" for the Vaiśeṣika system and "Pāśupatas for the Vaiśeṣikas,[48] as well as the fact that most, if not all, the Vaiśeṣikas were worshippers of Śiva" (=Paśupati)[49] might confirm the view that the theism of the Vaiśeṣikas came through the influence of the Pāśupatas.

The acceptance of Īśvara in the system must have probably required the introduction of some new Sūtras, or at least new interpretation of some of the already existing ones. While the theistic Vaiśeṣikas thus broke off from the original Vaiśeṣika school, the other followers of the system remained faithful to their original non-theistic doctrine. But in course of time this non-theistic section must have become gradually smaller and smaller. They seem to have continued up to the time of Uddyotakara and Śaṅkara, as we find references to them in their works,[50] but then we hardly hear of them any more. It was the theistic branch of Vaiśeṣika system that survived and later amalgamated itself with its sister school, namely Nyāya, to form the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school, which became in course of time the leading protagonist of Indian philosophical theism.

IV

It may not be out of place, in this connexion, to enquire into the historical data concerning the question, whether Kaṇāda, the author of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, was a believer in Īśvara or not. It is true that, from the point of view of the history of the development of the doctrine of Īśvara, the problem whether Kaṇāda—as a *person* and hence not as the founder of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy—believed in Īśvara or not, is of less importance than the problem whether the philosophical system, of which he is said to be the founder, and which

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exercised great influence on the development of later Indian philosophic thought, was theistic or non-theistic. The later development of the school and its influence on the other schools of Indian thought depended more on the doctrine that he embodied and exposed in his philosophical system then on his private attitude to Īśvara. But still it is of interest to inquire into the traditions concerning the attitude of Kaṇāda with regard to a personal God, especially since, as we have tried to show, there seems to have been no place in his philosophic system for an Īśvara.

The text of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras can tell us whether in his *philosophical system* Īśvara had a role to play or not. But it need not necessarily convey to us whether Kaṇāda as a *person* was a believer in Īśvara or not. As we said, Kaṇāda nowhere makes explicit confession or reference to the Īśvara in the Sūtras. In many or most cases we can come to know the favourite deity of the author from the opening lines of the work. But in a Sūtra-work, as is only to be expected from the nature of the work, we have not that means of deciding about the personal attitude of the author towards a particular deity, as it is not preceded by any lines of homage to a deity.

The non-mentioning of Īśvara in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, however, does not imply that Kaṇāda was an atheist or non-orthodox or irreligious. In our modern conception of a religious man belief in a personal God, who is creator and preserver of the universe as well as retributor of our actions, seems to be absolutely necessary. But at the period of the formation of the philosophical systems, with which we are now dealing, belief in a personal God was not the criterion for judging the religiosity or otherwise of a person or a system. The acceptance of the authority of the Vedas was at that time considered more important from the point of view of religious orthodoxy than belief in Īśvara. Kaṇāda accepted the authority of the Vedas in his Vaiśeṣikasūtras, and consequently his system conformed itself to the criterion of religious orthodoxy. The doctrine of a personal Īśvara was a later development in the philosophical thought brought about, as we said, mostly by the impact of religious movements. Judged by this norm Kaṇāda was an orthodox Hindu philosopher. The need for introducing Īśvara into the system, considered from the religious point of view, was probably not felt at that time, when belief in a personal God had not yet taken that place in the religious or philosophic speculation, which it took later on.

Further, it is very probable that Kaṇāda believed in and worshipped a personal God like Śiva. In any case there was a tradition in the school that he was a devotee of Śiva. The tradition that he was instructed by Īśvara in the form of an owl[51] may not stand the test of historical criticism, but there was most probably a kern of truth behind it. There are other testimonies which go to confirm the tradition that Kaṇāda was a worshipper of Śiva. The earliest historical testimony concerning the religious attitude of Kaṇāda known to me so far, is that of Praśastapāda, who in the concluding verse of this Padārthadharmasaṅgrahaḥ writes : "I pay my obeisance to that Kaṇabhuk (=Kaṇāda), who composed the Vaiśesikaśāstram *after having pleased Maheśvara* by an abundance of Yoga practices".[52] This testimony, coming from Praśastapāda, who, in all probability, was sufficiently informed

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of the older traditions of the school, should be considered to possess some historical worth. This tradition has been further kept up in the school, as is seen from the testimonies of the later commentators of the school such as Udayana,[53] Bhaṭṭavādindra[54] and Śaṅkara Miśra.[55]

The main results of our inquiry can be summed up as follows : Both the intrinsic and extrinsic evidences point to the fact, that the Vaiśeṣika system, as conceived and formulated by Kaṇāda in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras, did not have a place for Īśvara. The doctrine of Īśvara was introduced into the system at a later stage, chiefly through the influence of the religious movements especially of the Pāśupatas. Although Kaṇāda did not give a place for Īśvara in his philosophical system, the tradition of the school is that he was a devotee of Īśvara.

REFERENCES

1. PDS. p. 277, 27 ff. (The second number refers to the lines).
2. I have on set purpose avoided the term "atheistic", because it usually conveys the sense of a positive attitude of the person or the system said to be atheistic, with regard to God, by denying Him positively. Such a positive denial of God (Īśvara) is nowhere to be met with in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras of Kaṇāda. The term "non-theistic" is here employed to indicate that there is no positive affirmation of the existenee of Īśvara.
3. Cf. E. Frauwallner : *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Vo. II, p. 22. Therewere, no doubt, earlier commentaries to the Nyāyasūtras, but they have unfortunately not come down to us.
4. Cf. Candrānanda's Vṛttiḥ to VS. III, 2, 4; (p. 29, 2-4).
5. On the Vaiśeṣika works anterior to Candrānada, cf. E. Frauwallner : *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17; the Sanskrit Introduction of Muni Srī Jambuvijayajī and the English Introduction of A. Thakur to the Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda with the commentary of Candrānanda, pp. 5-11 (Sanskrit numbers) and pp. 9-16. Note that Candrānanda speaks of a *vṛttikāraḥ* in his commentary to VS. IX, 18 and VS. IX, 21.
6. Edited by H. Ui : *The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, according to the Daśapadārtha-Śāstra*, London 1917. According to E. Frauwallner, Candramati lived between 450 and 550 *A. D. Cf.* E. Frauwaller : *Candramati und sein Daśapadārthaśāstram*, p. 80 ff.
7. Prasaśtapāda lived about the second half of the sixth century *A. D.* Cf. E. Frauwallner : *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Vol. II, p. 16.
8. It is true that thePDS of Praśastapāda is commonly known as the Praśastapādabhāṣyam, as though it were a commentary of Praśastapāda to the VS. But it is not a commentary in the strict sense of the term, since its author does not comment each Sūtra, as is usually the case with commentaries. We know from Mallavādin's Dvādaśārṇavacakram that Praśastamati (=Praśastapāda) wrote a subcommentary on a Bhāṣyam

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of the VS. (Cf. Appendix VI of Candrānanda's Vṛttiḥ to the VS, p. 150, 17). Most probably that work contained a reading of the VS.

9. As the very title of his work "Daśapadārthaśāstram" indicates, Candramati taught ten categories (*padārthāḥ*), while the classical system of Kaṇāda taught only six. It is to be noted that in the reading of the VS, as found in the Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāraḥ of Śaṅkara Miśra, VS, I, 1,4 enumerates these Padārthas, while in the Vṛttiḥ of Candrānanda this Sūtra is missing. Praśastapāda, however, mentions these Padārthas cf. PDS. (ज) 20, 2-3.

10. In this paper I follow the reading of the Vaiśeśkasūtras (abbrev. VS) Jambuvijayajī's edition of Vaiśeṣikasūtra of Kaṇāda with the Commentary of Candrānanda.

11. Another commentary on the VS by Bhaṭṭavādīndra, called Vaiśeṣikasūtravyākhyā, which accoring to A. Thakur, is but an abridged version of the author's Kaṇādasūtranibandhaḥ, has been published by the Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Dharbhanga (Cf. Recension in *Journal of the Orietal Institute*, Baroda, Vol. IX, (1959/1960), pp. 114-116). As it is anterior to the commentary of Śaṅkara Miśra, it deserves special interest, but unfortunately the next has not yet been accessible to me for consultation.

12. Cf. Appendix I in Muni Śrī Jambuvijayajī's edition of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras with the Vṛttiḥ of Candrānanda, pp. 77-100.

13. Cf. VS. II,1,13; II,1,17; II,2,7; II,2,13; III,2,5; III,2,16; IV,I,1,; IV,1.5.

14. Cf. VS. V, 2,14.

14a. VS. V, 2,20; VI, 2, 19.

15. VS. II,1,18-19; VI,1,1-4 X, 21.

16. Thus I beg to disagree here from the view of G. Bhattarcharyya in his "Studies in Nyāya Vaiśeṣika Theism", that "the assumption of God is a metaphysical necessity" of the System (Appendix—A : Is Kaṇāda a Theist, p. 163). I find it also difficult to agree with his statement tha t "If we do not subscribe to the hypothesis that Kaṇāda is a theist, there is no end of difficulties" (p. 163). No doubt, it would be, philosphically looked at, better and more satisfying to us to explain the early Vaiśeṣika system with the supposition of an Īśvara, but that is from the viewpoint of the later development of the system, when the implications of the philosophical doctrines were better understood and the exponents became aware of the weakness of the system without an Īśvara.

Further, Kaṇāda's non-mentioning of Īśvara in the Vaiśeṣikasūtras cannot be attributed, as Bhattacharyya says, to the fact that "the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gotama unambiguously mentions God and the Vaiśeṣika shares the same view on many fundamental issues, because both the parties belong to the same school. One merely supplements the other. As Gotama has paid special attention to this porblem, Kaṇādā may pass it over assuming the conclusion of the sister-school, the Nyāya" (Ibid. p. 162). It is to be remembered firstly, that in the beginning stages, with which we are dealing, the two schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika independently pursued their aims. It was only later,

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and that too gradually, that the two systems began to accept more and more each other's doctrines and thus came to form the combined Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. In fact Guṇaratna in his commentary on the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaḥ tells us that the doctrines of both the Naiyāyikas and the Vaiśeṣikas are practically the same (Cf. ed. of L. Suali, p. 50, 16-19). Similarly Śaṅkara Miśra uses the expression *samānatantram* while speaking of the Nyāya (Cf. Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāraḥ, pp. 120, 16; 177, 13; 355, 9; 371, 9). But their statements are applicable to the system as it was during their time, namely in its combined form. We should not forget, that even after the process of amalgamation had started, there were differences between the two schools, as Haribhadrasūri points out in his Ṣaḍdarśanasmauccayaḥ, verse 59 (ed. L. Suali, p. 266, 3.) Hence a difference in their doctrines, especially in the earlier stages of the system, is only to be expected. Secondly, the Īśvara doctrine in the Nyāyasūtras themselves is as much problematic as the Īśvara doctrine in the early Vaiśeṣika system, as D.H.H. Ingalls ("Human Effort versus God's Effort in the Early Nyāya, (NS. IV, I, 1-9-21)" has shown, and hence Kaṇāda could not so easily pass over Īśvara in silence, relying on the doctrine of the sister-school.

As regards the theism of the Vaiśeṣikas, as testified to by Śaṅkara in his Bhāṣyam to the Vedāntasūtras, to which G. Bhattacharyya refers on p. 163, para 3, we should bear in mind that, in addition to these reference of Śaṅkara to the theistic Vaiśesikas, (Cf. Bhāṣyam to Sūtras I, 1, 5; II, 2, 37) we have other references in the very same work, which show that this theistic school of Vaiśeṣikas was but one branch of the Vaiśeṣikas, who had taken in a new doctrine of Īśvara into their system. For more details cf. the pages of this paper, where the extrinsic evidences are analysed.

17. Yuktidīpikā is an old commentary by an unknown author to the Sāṅkhyakārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa written about 550 A.D. Cf. E. Frauwallner : *Geschichet der indischen Philosophic*, Vol. I, p. 287.
18. The date of Śaṅkara is very probably before or about 700 *A. D.* Cf. P. Hacker : Zur Geschichte und Beuteilung des Hinduismus, in : *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 59 (1964), Nr. 5/6, col. 235.
19. Yuktidīpikā, p. 87, 14-23.
20. Ibid. p. 87, 23 : *tasmāt sūtrakāramate nāstīśvaraḥ*; *Ibid* : p. 88, 4-5; : *doṣasaṁvibhāgārtham idam ācāryasyāniṣṭam adhyāropyate, na tu matam asyaitat. evam kāṇādānām īśvaro' stīti pāśupatopajñam etat.*
21. ŚBh. p. 517, I—534, 9.
22. The term *rūpādi* refers to the qualities, colour (*rūpam*), taste (*rasam*), smell (*gandhaḥ*) and touch (*sparśaḥ*). Not all the elements possess all these qualities : earth (*pṛthivī*) possesses all the four; water (*āpaḥ*) possesses colour, taste and touch; fire (*tejaḥ*) possesses colour and touch; and wind (*vāyuḥ*) possesses only touch. Cf. VS. II, 1, 1-4.
23. ŚBh. p. 517-13-518, 1 :.... *te paścād adṛṣṭādipuraḥsarāḥ saṁyogasacivāś ca santo dvyaṇukādikrameṇa kṛtsnaṁ kāryajātaw ārabhante.*

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24. Although ether (*ākāśaḥ*) was accepted as a fifth element, it was considered to differ essentially from the other four elements. In contradistinction to the other elements, ether was considered to be one (VS. II, 1, 18) and all-pervading.
25. ŚBh. p. 522, 6-7 : *tataḥ sargakāle ca vāyavīyeṣu aṇuṣv adṛṣṭāpekṣaṁ karmotpadyate. tat karma svāśrayaṃ aṇum aṇvantareṇa saṃyunakti........*
26. The qualities of the cloth come into being from the qualities of the threads that are the cause of the cloth.
27. ŚBh. p. 521, 10-522, 10.
28. PDS. p. 277, 27, 279, 4; Vyomavatī, p. 297, 25-308, 7; Kiraṇāvali, p. 319, 13-332, 10.
29. ŚBh. p. 517, 14-15.
30. The Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa with the commentary by Śaṅkara, translated by George Thibaut, Part I, p. 382, Note 6.
31. ŚBh. p. 523, 2-5.
32. ŚBh. to sūtras II, 2, 12-17 (p. 521, 10-534, 9). It is true that Śaṅkara mentions and refutes the Īśvara doctrine of some Vaiśeṣikas in his Bhāṣyam to Sūtra II, 2, 37, but it is in another context, where he refutes particularly the theory of those who consider Īśvara as solely the directing cause of the universe : *idānīṁ kevāladhiṣṭhātrīśvarakāraṇavādaḥ pratiṣidhyate.*
33. ŚBh. p. 522, 6.
34. ŚBh. p. 534, 7-9 : *tad evam asārataratarkasṁdṛbdhatvād īśvarakāraṇaśrutiviruddhatvāc chrutipravavaṇaiś ca śiṣṭair manvādibhir aparigṛhītatvād atyantam evānapekṣāsmin paramāṇukāraṇavāde kāryā śreyārthibhir iti.*
35. ŚBh. p. 566, 14-15. Śaṅkara observes : "Some following Sāṅkhya and Yoga consider that Īśvara is the directr (*adhiṣṭhātā*) of Pradhāna and Puruṣa and solely the efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇam*) (of the universe); Pradhāna, Puruṣa and Īśvara are, they say, different from each other." This passage bears witness to the fact that the Sāṅkhya—at least one branch of the school—had taken a theistic trend at the time of Śaṅkara.
36. ŚBh. p. 567, 1-3.
37. In the view of Śaṅkara, Īśvara is not only the efficient cause (*nimittakāraṇam*), but also the material cause (*upādānakāraṇam*) of the universe. Cf. ŚBh. to Sūtras I, 1,3-4; II, 2, 37.
38. ŚBh. p. 567, 3-4 : *tathā vaiśeṣikādayo'pi kecit kathañcit svaprakriyānusāreṇa nimittakāraṇam īśvara iti varṇayayanti.* That some Vaiśeṣikas had accepted Īśvara as the efficient cause of the universe is stated by Śaṅkara also in another place. Cf. ŚBh. p. 197, 7-8.
39. Kwhēi-ci relates that there were eighteen schoools of Vaiśeṣika (Cf. H. Ui : The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, p. 8). Although we may not attach too much importance to the number 18, still there seems to be sufficient reason to believe that there were more than one school in the Vaiśeṣika system. Thus, though theism was accepted by one school of Vaiśeṣika (probably, by the greater part of the Vaiśeṣika system) during

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the time of Uddyotakara we know frrom his Nyāyavārttikam (p. 946, 19ff.) that during his time there was non-theist school of Vaiśeṣika.

40. G. Thibaut does not seem to have paid attention to the special significance of the word *kathañcit*; for he translates this passage as follows : "Similarly the Vaiśeṣikas and others also teach, according to their various systems, that the Lord is somehow the operative cause of the world."' (Cf. *Vedānta Sūtras*, Part I, p. 435).

41. Praśastapāda even after admitting the existence of Īśvara as the cause of the origin and destruction of the universe seems to have been still under the influence of the old doctrine of Adṛṣṭam as the cause of the first movement of the atoms. Cf. PDS. p. 671, 13-19.

42. The Nyāyavārttikam of Uddyotakara was written about 650 A. D. Cf. E. Frauwallner : *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Vol. II, p. 22.

43. Nyāyavārttikam p. 946, 19 : *ye paramāṇūn puruṣakarmādhiṣṭhitān jagataḥ kgraṇatvena varṇayanti,....*

44. ŚBh. pp. 501, 1-516, 14 and Nyāyavārttikam pp. 945, 15-946, 18.

45. H. Jacobi : *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, p. 41.

46. Cf. J. Gonda : *Die Religionen Indiens*, Vol. I, pp. 236 ff; Vol. II, pp. 115ff; 188ff. E. Lamotte : *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, pp. 431-438.

47. Yuktıdīpikā, p. 88,5 : *evam kāṇādānām īśvaro' stīti pāśupatopajñam etat.*

48. Cf. Guṇaratna's commentary to Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaḥ, p. 51, 6-8.

49. In his Ṣaḍdarsanaṇasmuccayaḥ Haribhadra mentions, at the beginning of his treatment of each system, the deity worshipped by its followers. Concerning the Vaiśṣeikas he remarks that there is no difference in the matter of deity between the Vaiśeṣikas and the Naiyāyikas (verse 59, p. 266, 2-3). Earlier, while dealing with the Naiyāyika doctrine, he had mentioned that in the view of Akṣapāda the deity is Śiva, who is the cause of the creation and destruction of the universe. Cf. Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaḥ, verse 13, (p. 51, 11-12).

50. Cf. the passages of Śaṅkara and Uddyotakara, which I have mentioned in the analysis of the extrinsic evidence.

51. Cf. Guṇaratna's commentary on the Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaḥ (Ed. L. Suali) p. 266, 7-8; H. Ui : The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, p. 6; A. Thakur : Bhaṭṭavādīndra—the Vaiśeṣika, p. 28.

52. PDS. p. 698, 1-2.

53. Kiraṇāvalī, p. 30, 2-3; *smaryate hi, kaṇādo muniḥ maheśvaraniyogaprasādavadhigamya śastram Praṇītavān.*

54. A. Thakur : Introduction, in Muni Śri Jambuvijayajī's edition of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras with the commentary of Candrānanda, p. 10.

55. Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāraḥ, p. 18, 6-7 : *śrūyate hīśvaraniyogaprasādavadhigamya kaṇādo maharṣiḥ śāstram praṇītavān iti.*

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THE THREE QUALITIES OF SĀṄKHYA SYSTEM[1]

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This paper presents the study of the nature, characteristic and function of the three qualities, vie., *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas* or the substantive entities recognised as the constituents of Prakṛti. The qualities are technically called *guṇa* in the Sāṅkhya system. According to Vijñānabhikṣu they are termed as *guṇa* because they create the *mahattattva* etc. of the nature of threefold qualities which bring the Puruṣa in bondage.[2] The concept of guṇa as recognised in Sāṅkhya system is entirely different from the concept of guṇa of Vaiśeṣika system. In the Sāṅkhya system they are of the nature of substance (*dravya*) because there is conjunction and separation and they are of the nature of the lightness etc. qualities.[3]

The heterogenous universe is produced out of homogeneous prakṛti and to prakṛti it returns. The whole physical and psychical pehnomena or the material structure of the universe is created by the three universal tendencies known as the guṇas of prakṛti. The sattvaguṇa is the harmonizing and gravitating tendency which harmonizes by controlling self for higher forces with the centre of moral and spiritual. There is no friction and irritation in this state. It is full of tranquillity and peace. The rajoguṇa is the individuating and isolating tendency related to self-centering, self-predominating and consisting of selfish struggle. It is the state of ahaṅkāra. In this state a false centre is created, around which one moves and becomes a subject of constant friction and irritation. Inevitably he causes friction both to himself and others. Friction causes irritation. Irritation increases passion and restlessness. Finally he revolves in the wheel of action and reaction, change of daily routine and irregularity. The tamoguṇa is the chaotic and disorganizing tendency. It is self-confounding by perfect submission to lower forces. In this state there is always depression and torper. It leads to apathy and ignorance.

The three guṇas of Prakṛti are of the nature of happiness, unhappiness and stupefaction. The happiness includes uprightness, gentleness, modesty, contentment, faith, forgiveness, compassion, tranquillity and discrimination. The unhappiness includes passions, aggressive activity, jealousy, mischief, envy, blame, humiliation, pride, arrogance and greediness. The stupefaction includes deceit, fear, infidelity, crookedness, ignorance, laziness, inertia and factors of obstruction.[4]

Ācārya Pañcaśikha attaches innumerable shapes to happiness such as tranquility, lightness, detachment, delight and forbearance. The unhappiness includes sorrow and grief, while the delusion includes infatuation, laziness and sleep.[5] The inclusion of these various shapes is based on the word ādya in the aphorism of Sāṅkhya (Prītyaprītiviṣādādyair guṇānām

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anyonyaṁ vaidharmyaṁ). In this way the qualities are adapted to intellect and illumination, activity, and dullness or restraining agency in the form of obstruction to cover intellect and activity.

The functional activity of the qualities, in connection with the method of their operation, is fourfold[6] :

(i) The first kind of activity is *anyonyābhibhavavṛtti.* It means mutually over-powering. Each quality overpowers in its turn the other two and attains the fullness of its own vṛtti. Whenever a quality becomes more powerful, the remaining qualities naturally become weak. When *sattva* is predominant, it overpowers *rajas* and *tamas,* pervades its inherent nature of clamness in the form of happiness and attains the peaceful state. When *rajas* is dominating the frightful aspect appears. When *tamas* dominates, delusion and attachment take place.

(ii) The second kind of activity is known as *anyonyāśryavṛtti.* It means inter-dependence of one upon another. Here the primary meaning of the word āśraya in the sense of ādhāra is not accepted. The secondary meaning in the sense of *sahakāri* seems more appropriate. In fact, each quality has to depend for its manifestation on the other two qualities. For instance, the *sattva* depends on *pravṛtti* and *niyama,* the effects of *rajas* and *tamas,* but at the same time *sattva* helps the other quality through its own effect *prakāśa.* This process is likewise applicable to *rajas* and *tamas.* Thus each quality takes the help of the other qualities for its activity.

(iii) The third kind of activity is *anyonyajananavṛtti.* It means mutually producing the material structure of the universe. Here the word *janana* is not used in the sense of effect which did not exist before, otherwise we will fall in the trap of the *asatkāryavāda* of the logicians. Therefore, the word *janana* should be explained as *pariṇāma,* in the sense of *pradhāna,* where there is always equilibrium of the three qualities. It leads to tautology because there is no difference between *āśrayavṛtti* and *jananavṛtti.* In both the cases one quality has to depend on the remaining two. This objection may, however, be rejected by accepting two kinds of Pariṇāma; first the sadṛśapariṇāma and second the vi-adṛśapariṇāma connected with *janana* and *āśraya* respectively.

(iv) The fourth kind of activity is known as *anyonamithunavṛtti.* It means mutual union like that of man and woman. This term has been explained by Vācaspati Miśra in the Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī as *anyonāśrayavṛtti* or *avinābhāvavṛtti.*

It is clearly stated in the Devibhāgavatapurāṇa that *sattva,* increased by the study of scriptures, leads to detachment. In this state, mind is completely established in righteousness and desires more and more of religious bent. At this time, there is no desire for the objects connected with *rajas* and *tamas.* Similarly when *rajas* is increased, it forces one to abandon the righteous path and religious duties. In this state the wordly prosperities and objects of pleasure increase. When *tamas* is increased, one does not admit the authority of the Vedas and scriptures. Malicious thought dominates due to anger and one desires to be unrestrained.[7]

In the state of profound repose, *tamas,* of the nature of *āvaraṇa* or covering, is predominant, because all the objects of the universe are covered. In the state of dream both *rajas*

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and *tamas* are prominent. Now, there is always misapprehension because the real objects are covered by *tamas*. The mind becomes unsteady and desire, anger, fear and jealousy appear due to *rajas*. In both these states, the *sattva* remains in a very insignificant quantity and no effect of *sattava* can be directly experienced. It may be noted in this connection that even in the waking state the *rajas* and *tamas* do exist. The apprehension of *rajas* is proved by its effects. It is true that in the waking state, the major part of *tamas* is destroyed, because the covering is removed from the mind by the direct perception of objects. However, the presence of *tamas* must be accepted on account of subtle covering in relation with prakṛti and puruṣa or the distant objects. Thus, in the waking state *sattva* is always mixed with *rajas* and *tamas*.

The *sattva* is of two kinds, *i.e.*, *malina-sattva* and *miśrita-sattva*. In both the kinds *mala* is always present in the form ot *rajas* and *tamas*. Bhagvatpāda Śaṅkarācārya has stated in the Vivekcūḍmaṇi that the traits of mixed *sattva* are absence of pride (*amānitā*), *yama*,[8] *niyama*,[9] faith, devotion, desire of liberation, divine tendencies and turning away from evil.[10]

It is a well known fact that in *vivekakhyāti*, Ātman is perceived as different from mind. The acitivity of mind of a yogin is very slow when he comes to the waking state ((vyutthā-narūpajāgradavasthā). This slow activity of mind is also caused by *rajas* and is compared with the movement of a snake, cut into two pieces. To illustrate this, an example may be given of a person who is well versed in the science of incantations such as Gāyatri and Gopāla. Whenever he is distracted, there is a possibility of error in the repetition of the incantation, but there is no possibility of a covering of *tamas* on the incantation. The mistake is caused by *rajas* which agitates the mind of the yogin. Thus, it is obvious that there in no *tamas* in *vivekakhyāti*. The *sattva*, mixed with *rajas*, splashes in the mind of yogin when he comes back to the waking state.

The activity and effects of the mixed *sattva* are possible only in the state of *sādhana-bhakti*. In the state of *parā-bhakti* there is no *rajas* because the mind of the devotee becomes perfectly controlled. Similarly, in *parā-bhakti*, there is no *tamas*. The most subtle, *vyavahita* and distant objects become perceptible, and pure *sattva* alone exists.

It may be observed that ordinarily in the waking state the children, animals and birds are dominated by *rajas* and *tamas*. They have very little quantity of *sattava*. The religious persons and devotees have comparatively lesser degree of *rajas* and *tamas* and higher degree of *sattva* even in the state of *sādhana-bhakti*.

This gradation of the *Sāṅkhya* qualities is manifold or of infinite number on account of the difference of *saṁskāra* and *prārabdha* of Jīvātman. For example, when we come across many effects of *tamas* such as sleep, ignorance, doubt, negligence, laziness and drowsiness, there is obviously more intensity of *tamas*, *i.e.*, when *tamas* dominates in the state of profound repose (*suṣupti*) all the objects of the universe are completely covered by *tamas* and only ignorance prevails. When we find more effects of *rajas*, such as unsteadiness of mind, desire, anger, pride, violence and harshness, there is definitely more of rajas.[11] It may be further noted

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that no limb of the body can move in the absence of *rajas*. The desire appears only when, *rajas* is manifested in mind. On one side the activity of mind is based on desire, on the other the activity of mind produces the activity of senses and body. When there is more and more activity of the senses and body, there is more and more anger, pride and desire. It is only in the state of abstract meditation (*samādhi*) and *parā-bhakti* that pure *sattva* prevails and *tamas* is removed from the mind of the yogin and devotee.

The qualities of Sāṅkhya are beyond senses and therefore never perceptible. It is only the *vikāra* of the qualities which is perceived. The *vikāra* is due to illusion and subsequently insignificant.[12]

The characteristics of the qualities have been very precisely dealt with in the Sāṅkhya-tattvakaumudī of Vācaspati Mśira. The *sattva* is of the disposition of lightness (laghutva) and illumination (prakāśkatva), the *rajas* of exciting (preraka) and activity (sakriyatva), and *tamas* of sluggishness (gurutva) and covering (āvaraṇa).[13] Kapila has rightly declared in the Sāṅkhyasūtra that the similarity and dissimilarity of the qualities are due to their respective characterisitcs.[14] All the three qualities are present in every thing, but one quality pre-dominates, i.e. *sattva* predominates in sunlight, *rajas* in an erupting valcano and *tamas* in a granite.[15] When all the limbs and senses become light and illuminating, the mind being purified—is not at all attracted towards sensuous objects, it is the state of the increase of *sattva*. When there is more activity, the agitated and distracted mind desires to move from object to object, place to place and to dispute more and more, it indicates the increase of *rajas*. When all the limbs and senses are heavy and the empty mind does not want to sleep, it is the increase of *tamas*.[15]

As a matter of fact, the senses are light by their inherent nature because they are capable to illumine the objects. This can be proved by the following inference :

The senses are light because of dexterity. Those, which are not light are not endowed with dexterity, e.g. in utter darkness the senses like eyes or the objects like jar.[17] The lightness of *sattva* functions in various ways. It keeps the flame of fire burning upwards, moves the air in slanting direction and causes activity and agility of the beings. Whenever the light of *sattva* decreases and the heaviness of *tamas* increases, the senses lose their power to a great extent to perceive the objects distinctly and precisely.

It is interesting to note that by nature there is no activity in *sattva* and *tamas*. They are made active by *rajas*. The activity of *rajas* is overpowered and stopped by *tamas*. An example is frequently given of a swift horse which is instantly checked or spurred by the rider.

Now the question arises that the attributes endowed with contradictory properties would counteract and instead of cooperating for a single purpose might cause utter destruction. The answer is given in the Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī by the following illustration[18]:

(i) The oil and the wick—each by itself is opposed to fire but they cooperate in the contact of fire and jointly act for one purpose to give light and illumine the objects.[19]

(ii) In the Āyurveda, wind, bile and phlegm are opposed to each other being possessed of contrary properties but jointly cooperate to suppose the body.

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In the same manner the three qualities of Sāṅkhya system are mutually opposed to one another so far as their nature and characteristics are concerned, but jointly cooperate towards a single purpose. The antagonism does not preclude their acting together.[20]

It leads to another difficulty. The Sāṅkhya system admits that all the existing objects (bhāvapadārtha) are of the nature of happiness, unhappiness and delusion. It does not seem possible that one object could become the cause of happiness, unhappiness and delusion simultaneously. Otherwise the soft touch and fragrance of the garland of flowers, the besmearing of sandal paste, and the biting of a snake will not cause happiness and unhappiness. On the other hand it is a universal experience that the different objects cause different experiences. This question has been thoroughly discussed by Vācaspati Miśra in Bhāmatī. He argues that when all the objects are of the nature of happiness, unhappiness and delusion, the cold sandal paste should give pleasure even in winter because the paste does not cease to be paste in winter. A thorn—the cause of joy to a camel—should also give joy to human beings. Finally, he concluded that the objects such as sandal paste and thorn become the cause of happiness and unhappiness due to time and space.[21]

The mutually contradictory nature of the qualities agrees with the objects because they are mutually related with abhibhāvya bhibhāvaka-bhāva-sambandha. It is illustrated by an exmaple of a beautiful young married woman who is the source of delight to her husband, pain and jealousy to co-wives and women who are not beautiful and stupefaction to a lustful man who is unable to get at her.[22] It proves that all objects can produce, three self-contradictory results. The notion is supported by the following inference; 'All the effects are of the nature of happiness, unhappiness and delusion, being the cause of happiness, unhappiness and delusion, like a woman.[23] Here the logical reason 'being the cause of happiness etc.' moulds the impression of mind in the shape of happiness etc. It is an admitted fact that the object conveys its own shape to the impression of mind. All the particularised objects of the universe are connected with one of the tanmātras or the unparticularised five elements. In this way, we cannot find any object in the universe, which does not become the cause of happiness, unhappiness and delusion. Even poison could be the cause of happiness to a patient in a particular disease and to an insect.

Śaṅkarācārya has described in the Vivekacūḍāmaṇi that *rajas* is endowed with the projecting power or vikṣepaśakti of the nature of activity. The modifications of mind such as attachment and grief are produced by this power.[24] Lust, anger, avarice, arrogance, ego, envy, and jealousy are the attributes of *rajas*. All the wordly tendencies are produced by these attributes. Therefore, *rajas* is the cause of bondage.

The āvaraṇaśakti is the veiling power of *tamas*. It makes the objects appear that they are not. The āvaraṇaśakti has four aspects :

(i) Abhāvanā—the absence of right judgment. By this aspect one is led to acquire wrong knowledge, e.g. 'Brahman does not exist', or 'the body is soul'.

(ii) Viparitabhāvanā—contrary judgment.

(iii) Asambhāvanā—impossibility for the want of necessity of proof.

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(iv) Vipratipatti—doubt of existence or non-existence.

Ignorance, laziness, dullness, carelessness and stupidity are the attributes of *tamas.* One always feels sleepy and inactive like a piece of stone under the impulse of *tamas.*[25]

The traits of *sattva* are cheerfulness, self-realisation, supreme peace, contentment, and single-pointed devotion to Paramātman.[26]

The three qualities are connected with intellect, mind and senses.

The *sattva* leads to the spiritually balanced state of mind. It is concomittant with spiritual order. The sāttvika puru ṣa always remains in the ādhyātmika state. The intellect perpetually makes him moral-conscious and spiritual-conncious. He always enjoys the strength of devotion and faith.[27]

The *rajas* is connected with the unbalanced state of mind. It is dominated by self-ego because mind is the principle of egoistic thinking and perception. It creates a false centre of ahaṁ and always strives with attachment and desires and slowly becomes weak and unsteady.[28]

The *tamas* represents the sensuality—engrossed state of mind. The mind, led away by worldly objects, is always confused and the objects take it to the channel of infatuation.[29]

In fact, mind is superior to senses and intellect is superior to mind. The lowest state is connected with the senses, the middle state with the mind and the highest state with the intellect.[30] It is explained in the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata that when mind sleeps, the impressions of the senses lead, when mind becomes active, it leads to selfish desires, when intellect helps to acquire tbe spiritually balanced state, it leads to cosmic love.[31]

It is explained also by a metaphorical description in the Mahābhārata.[32]

> "The rapid current of life-river bears the world. The senses are crocodiles. The mind and its functional activity are the shores. Temptation and delusion are the grass. Lust and riches are the reptiles. The truth, falsehood and anger are the tīrtha, surges and mire respectively. One can cross the river with the help of intellect. The uncleaned souls cannot cross it."

It is note-worthy that in the highest state one becomes free from the evils of the lower state but at the same time is not deprived of the good in the lower state. It is illustrated by water falling into ocean which remains tranquil. Similarly, tranquil is that man in whose heart the desires enter and not the man who hankers after external objects with greed.[33]

A human being can cultivate more and more of *sattva* by the moral and spiritual centre. To achieve the highest degree of perfection and highest level of human development, one need not renounce and abandon the desires but one must purify the desires. The purification of desires is possible by the creation of a centre of cosmic love and universal good. The cosmic centre of love and good is extremely powerful and capable of merging all the worldly desires in itself. The abandoning of desires means abandoning of work, which is never acceptable to the Bhagavadgītā.[34] One is always impelled by the three

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universal tendencies of nature to work. Thus, the Gītā teaches us to live an active life and to indulge in work free from impurities and selfish desires.

The vibrations of lust, passion and attachment bind the human mind. The subjugation of such lower desires is recommended and not of the higher desires such as faith and devotion which illumine the soul, and lead to sanctity of action and purity of thought. Only the lower desires dominated by selfish impulse have been completely condemned. When one surpasses lower forces and the mind is turned to higher forces, there is no lust and passion; the absence of which means the absence of *rajas* and *tamas*, and increase of *sattva* where tranquillity, serenity, peace and bliss dominate. It has been distinctly emphasised in the Gītā that the sensually-engrossed mind can never attain to the state of abstract meditation.[35]

According to the Pātañjala Yogasūtra the three qualities are of the nature of prakāśa, kriyā and sthiti.[36] They are invariably in equilibrium in Pradhāna. The term pradhāna or prakṛti denotes the qualities, because pradhāna means 'in which the effects are specially made or by which the universe is put forth.[37] Or, the state of mutual equilibrium of the qualities is called pradhāna.[38] The creation takes place by the dis-equalibirum of qualities in aṅgāṅgibhāva relation i.e. when there is a sāttvika effect the *sattva* guṇa is aṅgin or pradhāna, and the rajoguṇa and the tamoguṇa become subordinates. The mixed activity of the qualities produces tulyajātiya and atulyajātīya effects. In relation to a sāttvika effect, the sattvaguṇa is tulyajātiya and the other guṇas are atulyajātiya. The tulyajātiya is the upādānakāraṇa and the atulyajātiya is the sahakārikāraṇa. For the creation of supernatural divine body, the *sattva* is dominant and the other qualities are accessory. For the creation of human beings, the *rajas* is dominant and for the animal creation the *tamas* is dominant. Thus, two qualities are always present in a subtle form at the time of creation.[39]

In fact, the qualities cannot have a relation of mutual subordination or preponderance at the time of dissolution where they are in the state of equilibrium.[40] The preponderance of any one of these qualities in pradhāna is an absolute impossible. The Advaita Vedānta does not accept the qualities of Sāṅkhya as devoid of their special characteristics. The nature of the qualities is always revealed by their respective effects. Therefore, in the state of equilibrium, the qualities never enter in disequilibrium.[41]

Nevertheless, the qualities are of the nature of evolution (pariṇāma). In the state of prakṛti (avyaktāvasthā) there is no mutual conjunction because they are established in their pure form and this is known as sadṛśapariṇāma.[42] In the state of creation, instead of pariṇāma the qualities produce simply vikāra. This is the visadṛśapariṇāma. The vikāra may be a pariṇāma but the pariṇāma cannot be a vikāra.[43]

Thus, the present note clearly evinces that *sattva* contains the principle of perfect organization, the *rajas* contains the principle of an evanescent organization and the *tamas* contains the principle of disorganization. The sāttvika man is always God-centred, the rājasika is self-centered and the tāmasika is uncentered. Therefore, we may conclude that *sattva* is the morally and spiritually balanced state of mind, the *rajas* is the unbalanced

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mental state, and *tamas* is a sensuality-engrossed state of mind. The mood and character vary according to the prominent character of a particular quality and one can cultivate any one of these qualities by his thought, action and way of living.

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VĪRAŚAIVA LITERATURE DURING THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE [A. D. 1400-1800]

By

DR. G. MARULASIDDIAH. MYSORE

Ever since the pre-Vedic or Vedic times man's endeavour for quest after truth and his struggle for emanicpation has resulted in a plethora of religions and philosophies. Doctrines, principles of philosophies, are now codified and again are modified. Vīraśaivism is one among them. Whatever the traditional or orthodox view,[1] the rational view is that its roots are found in the Vedas and the Sāṇkhya-Yoga system. Vīraśaivism reserves the right of repudiating even Vedic tenets, unwholesome to its rationale. Though an off-shoot of Śaivism its dynamic rationale and its mysterious mysticism tended its independent growth. Found and fortified well it had a fillip and momentum at the hands of Basavadi and Tontadarya. After this redeeming feature Vīraśaivism never perished but flourished in Karnatak as one of the major systems of philosophy. Glory visited Vīraśaivism during the golden age of the Vijayanagara Empire also. Even during the post-Vijayanagara period it continued as a major force, with some unfortunate unity in diversity. Ancient and modern scholars and saints from within[2] and without[3] have rendered yeoman's service to its literature and philosophy.

Prauḍhadevarāya II (A.D. 1419-46) stands as an outstanding king to help growth of all the religions. His minister Lakkanna Daṇḍeśa composed 'Śivatattvacintāmani' in which we find an exhaustive exposition of doctrines, tenets and rites by way of salutation to all the 'Śaraṇas'. Another minister of the same king called Jakkanna found a technical work called "Ekottara-śatasthala" describing the hundred and one stages of philosophical elevation. Jakkanna's teacher 'Kumāra-Baṅkanātha and his associate Mahāliṅgadeva brought to light many works on Vacanas and the six stages of sure success, (Ṣaṭsthalas) for emancipation. Guru Basava's seven classics (Saptakāvyas) and his composition on the hundred and one Viraktas (True saints of the past), Chamarasa's Prabhuliṅgalilā, Mogge Māyideva's—Śatakatraya', Kallumathada Prabhu's 'Liṅgalīlāvilāsa, Yemme Basava's 'Kālajñāna' are some of the outstanding high-lights on Vīraśaivism, during Devarāya II. Virūpākṣa[4] another king of Vijayanagar invited and honoured Tontada Siddkaliṅga in his place. Almost all kings (from 14th to 16th A.C.) of this kingdom helped promotion of Vīraśavaivism and honoured its saints and scholars recognising them as their preceptors. All the works, whether poetic or philosophical, focus their attention on one of the important redeemers of the Basava-group or the Tontadarya-group. Though they[5] look like repetitions or imitations they are creative and constructive in their own sphere.

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Greatness of a philosophical unit (community) depends much on how its preachings are practised by its votaries and not by the bulk of wealth, political influence or even literary production. The solidarity based on integrity is the acid test. Vīraśaivism before Vijayanagaram was relieved of its drawbacks by Basava and Tontadarya eras. On and on it marched after rejuvenation. Its metaphysics was fortified by (1) the Nīlakaṇṭha Bhāṣya (before the 14th cent. A.C.) (2) Śrīkarabhāṣya of Śrīpati (11th Cent A.C.) (3) Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi of Śivayogi Śivācārya. The Vedic and Āgamic sources, of course, are implied. Works like Śivādvaitamañjarī of Svaprabhānanda and Anubhavasūtri of Mogge Māyideva (A.C. 1440). Vīraśaivānanda-candrikā of Maritondarya (16th Cent. A.C.) and Basavarājīyam of Palkurika Somanātha are fit to be added as some of the imprtant Sanskrit works of authority and originality.

To these we can add a good lot of works by eminent writers in and outside the Vīraśaiva community. The impact of Vacana-śāstra, obviously rendered every thing else as dim and shifted the stamp of authority to Vacanas setting aside the earlier authorities.[6]

Status quo continues about the history of Vīraśaivism during the post-Vijayangara period (16th to 20th centuries A. C.). Its religious practices were influenced by traditional and political forces. Two divergent lines are discernible. One trying to affect the Vedic school in rituals and ceremonials and the other abiding by the rationale of the spirit of the Vacanas. This religion spread over Keladi, Mysore, Coorg, but without prejudice to doctrinal fundamentals it continued unfortunately as a rival to Vedic Schools.

The grand heritage of this system established by pre-Vijayapuri saints and scholars was transplanted to Keladi, Mysore, Coorg, Svadi, Bilagi (Shimoga Dist.) and other units of political importance. These units were ruled by vassal kings (pallegars) to kings of Vijayanagar. They became independent after the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire but continued on the same cultural and political lines of their mother institution. Keladi, Mysore, Coorg, Anegondi, etc. helped the Vīraśaivas who in turn helped growth of these powers. Art, Literature, Music etc. developed with philosophy.

"Lingayetism was the state religion of the early Wodeyars of Mysore and Ummattur from 1399-1640 and of the Nāyakas of Keladi from 1550-1763 A.C. Their principal Maṭha in the Mysore country is at Chitaldrug."

"Vīraśaivas were an influential religious sect in the kingdom." "In the mediaeval period, the state sometimes encroached upon the private life of citizens. The kings (of Ikkeri) controlled and patronised Maṭhas, not because they wanted to be the eclesiastic heads but only to maintain the social solidarity of the kingdom.

Tirumalabhaṭṭa under Venkaṭappa Naik translated into Kannaḍa 'Śivagītā' (Sanskrit). He caused composition of works like Śivāṣṭapadī, Tantrasāra, based on Śaivāgamas. Most important among others is the great encyclopaedic work called "Śivatattvaratnākara" (A.C. 1698-1715) by Basavappa Nāyaka, the adopted son of Rani Channammaji. This monumental quasi-historical work comprises of 108 sections and continues epic grandeur. It gives the quintessence of all Indian Arts and Sciences with special reference to Vīraśaiva

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morals, religion and philosophy. This valuable and voluminous work affords much scope for higher research in various aspects of Indological studies also. A minister of Basavappa Nāyaka II called "Ṣaḍakṣari" has written a chronicle called "Vīraśaivadharma Śiromaṇi" therein trying to make Basavappa Nāyaka the natural son of Somaśekharanāyaka. It is this Nāyaka that caused composition of the famous Sanskrit work "Vīraśaivānanda Candrikā by Maritentadarya; an original thinker and delightful writer of high reputation. Nirvāṇaiah; the minister of Somaśekhara Nāyaka II wrote a Śivapūjāvidhi. All the foregoing facts go to prove how the Nāyakas of Ikkeri stood steadfast Vīraśaivism and held its flag fly high in the sky.[9]

About the Wodeyars of Mysore mention may be made of Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar, an author and a patron in this direction during the 19th century A.D. He is spoken of as a Vīraśaiva.[10] We cannot say.

Poetry and philosophy usually flourish inextricably till the 19th century A. C. and it is only during the 20th century A.D. that critical and comparative views as such had independent existence also.

We can mention the names of Sarvajña, Ṣaḍakṣari, Sappanna and Sampādanekāras on the one side and the huge list of modern writers of all grades in various languages.

Sarvajña justifies his name by the shake he gave to the entire country and by the vigorous reformation he brought about through his simple but forcible triplets. He exposes the loopholes at all levels of all the societies and reiterates the standard morals, worship and philosophy of the 12th cent. A.D. Rājaśekhara is entertaining and also instructive. Sappanna's sugar-coated pills are reminding us of his illustrious predecessors Sarvajña, Mogge Māyideva, Nijagnna etc. Muppina Ṣaḍaksari falls in line with these. These saint singers remind us of Vemana (Telugu), Nāmadeva and Tukārāma (Marathi) and the Nayamars (Tamil).

The vast Vīraśaiva literature in between the 16th and 20th centuries A.C. is recast and reconstructed in the form of Purāṇas, Campūs, Vacanas, Nandyas, Kāvyas (Vilāsas) Śatakas, Ragales, Tikās, Psalms, Prayers and Caritas. Though repetitive they are all subscribing to maintain the sublime, moral and philosophical puritanism of the Vīraśaivas. Change in the spirit of the age is reflected also in the poetic depths of authors, in Sanskrit, Kannada and English.

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3. Works by G. G. Halakatti and associates Dr. Nandimath, H. H. of Navakalyāṇamatha, M. R. S. Murthy, Vīraśaiva journalists, The Oriental Research Institute, Mysore and

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Karnatak Universities. A.N.K. Rao, etc. services of these and others in various degrees must be remembered.

4. (1) See Ch. V (pp. 59-74), *A Hist. of Kanarese Lit.* by E. P. Rice.
   (2) *Nayakas of Keladi* by K. D. Swaminathan, pp. 198-200.
5. For details see 2 Articles on Sanskrit Literature (during the Vijayanagar Empire) by Prof. S. Srikanta Sastry, pp. 296-8 and on Kannada literature by Prof. D. L. Narasimhacha, pp. 349-351. Vide-*Vijayayanagara Sixcentenary Commoration Vol.*, 1939.
6. N. N. Farquhar is of the opinion that even the mythical Ācāryas were not prehistoric and the origin of religion (Vīraśavisms as such) is from *A. D.* 1160. "It seems......*A. D.* 1160."
7. See E. P. Rice : *History of Karnatak Literature* (H.I.S.), p. 51.
8. See Dr. K. D. Swaminathan—*Nayakas of Ikkere*, p. 165.
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   4. *History of Kanarese Literature* by E. P. Rice, pp. 59-74.
   5. *Karṇāṭaka Kavicarita* Vol. II—by R. Narasimhachar and Rao Saheb Halakatti, S. D. Pavate, Dr. Nandimath, H. H. of Citaldrug Mutt, Navakalyān Mutt and Murugha Mutt of Dharwar, Hangal, Dr. R. C. Hiremath, G. Nagesh Sastry, Oriental Research Institute, Karnatak and Mysore University scholars, Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar, R. R. Diwakar, M. R. S. Murthy, A. N. K. Rao etc. and Journals like Śivānubhava, Śaraṇa-Sāhitya, Saddharma-Dīpkā, Vīraśaiva Sammelanas, Pariṣads etc. or not reviewed, Vīraśaiva etc. are implied (with due apologies for want of space I mention the above and treat others with due remembrances. Karnataka Kavicarita—Vol. II., p. 29-30, speaks of 145 Vīraśaiva writers and 60 Vacanakāras during the 16th to 20th century A. C.
10. Besides like Chikkadevarāja-vaṁśāvali and Keladi-nṛpa-vijaya give details of works produced and patronised. No spectacular help was rendered to Vīraśaivism. Status quo continued.

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सांख्य दर्शन के दुःखवाद का मूल एवं आधार

लेखक

डॉ० आद्याप्रसाद मिश्र, प्रयाग-विश्वविद्यालय

सांख्य दर्शन की एक बड़ी विशेषता है जीवन एवं जगत् के विषय में उसकी विशिष्ट दृष्टि । संक्षेप में इसे 'दुःखवाद' नाम दिया जा सकता है। यों तो प्रायः समस्त भारतीय दर्शन ही सामान्यतः दुःखवादी हैं और इसके लिए कुछ अविवेकी विचारकों ने नासमझी के कारण उसकी कटु आलोचना भी की है, तथापि सांख्य दर्शन वर्तमान जीवन के नाना दुःखों की ओर हमारा ध्यान सबसे अधिक आकृष्ट करता है। अतः सर्वप्रथम इसके इस दुःखवाद का वास्तविक अभिप्राय समझना चाहिए।

अधिकांशतः विद्वानों का यह मत है कि परवर्त्ती काल के समस्त दर्शन-संप्रदायों का विकास साक्षात् या असाक्षात् रूप से प्राचीनतम उपनिषत्-साहित्य से ही हुआ । इसमें अधिकतर मुख्यरूप से भी यह भाव प्रकट हुआ है कि इस जीवन में तथा इसमें प्राप्त होने वाली वस्तुओं में वास्तविक या स्थायी सुख नहीं है। क्षणिक विषयों से प्राप्त होने वाले सुख भी अनिवार्य रूप से क्षणिक, अतश्च दुःख-पर्यवसायी ही हैं। फिर जन्म, जरा, व्याधि, अशनाया, पिपासा और मृत्यु इत्यादि तो अत्यन्त ही भयंकर एवं दुःखदायी हैं। कठोपनिषद् में आये हुए यम-नचिकेता-संवाद से यह बात स्पष्ट होती है। जब नचिकेता अपने तृतीय वर द्वारा यमराज से अध्यात्म-विद्या देने का निवेदन करता है और यम आनाकानी करते हुए नचिकेता को अध्यात्म-विद्या के बदले में पृथ्वी का सारा भोग और ऐश्वर्य देने का प्रलोभन देते हैं, तो नचिकेता कहता है—"हे यमराज ! ये भोग सम्पूर्ण इन्द्रियों के तेज को जीर्ण करनेवाले हैं, और फिर ये इतने क्षणिक हैं कि इनकी कल की सत्ता के विषय में भी सन्देह है। फिर जिस जीवन के लिए ये सारे भोग दिये जा रहे हैं, वह भी तो बहुत थोड़ा ही है। इसलिए आप के वाहन और नाच-गान आपके ही पास रहें, मुझे इनकी आवश्यकता नहीं है। कभी जरा-ग्रस्त न होनेवाले अमरों के पास पहुँचकर नीचे पृथ्वी पर रहनेवाला कौन जरा-ग्रस्त होने वाला विवेकी मानव रूपादि विषयों में राग (आसक्ति) के कारण प्राप्त होनेवाले स्त्री-सम्भोग इत्यादि सांसारिक सुखों को अस्थिर समझता हुआ भी इसमें तथा लम्बे से लम्बे जीवन में भी सुख मानेगा ?" इन उपनिषदों के अनुसार सच्चा और स्थायी सुख आत्म-प्राप्ति में है, जो आत्म-ज्ञान से भिन्न कुछ भी नहीं है। जिन स्थलों में इस आत्मोपलब्धि का ही प्रधान रूप से वर्णन है, उनमें भी अवान्तर रूप से जरा, मृत्यु इत्यादि की दुःखरूपता स्पष्ट प्रकट होती है। उदाहरण के लिए कठोपनिषद् का ही एक दूसरा मन्त्र लिया जा सकता है। इसमें यमराज नचिकेता से कहते हैं कि "हे नचिकेता ! जो व्यक्ति शब्द, स्पर्श, रूप, रस और गन्ध से परे तथा महत्तत्त्व से भी परे स्थित उस अनादि अनन्त नित्य एवं ध्रुव आत्मतत्त्व को जान लेता है, वह मृत्यु के मुख से छूट जाता है।" मृत्यु से छुटकारा पाने का कथन अवश्य तभी उत्पन्न या संगत होगा जब मृत्यु दुःखदायी हो।

सच तो यह है कि सारी उपनिषदें जीव को मृत्यु आदि का महत्तम भय दिखलाकर ही उसे आत्म-ज्ञान और उससे प्राप्त होने वाले अमृतत्व की ओर आकृष्ट करती हैं। मुण्डकोपनिषद् के एक मन्त्र में यही मृत्यु-भय इस प्रकार प्रकट किया गया है—"ये यज्ञ, जिनमें सोलह प्रकार के ऋत्विजों तथा यजमान और उसकी पत्नी, इन अठारहों के आश्रय से होने वाला हीन-ज्ञान-रहित कर्म शास्त्रों में प्रतिपादित है, संसार-

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सागर को पार करने के लिए सुदृढ़ नौका नहीं है। जो मूढ़ इन्हें ही श्रेयःसाधन समझकर ग्रहण करते हैं, वे फिर जरा और मृत्यु को प्राप्त होते हैं।" महर्षि अंगिरा द्वारा महाशाल शौनक के प्रति कहे गये इस वचन से भी वही जरा और मृत्यु का भय प्रकट हो रहा है। छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् के सप्तम अध्याय में भगवान् सनत्कुमार और नारद जी के बीच संवाद हुआ है। इसके प्रारम्भ में ही नारद जी ने अपने को मन्त्रविद् कहते हुए भगवान् सनत्कुमार जी से निवेदन किया है कि वे उन्हें आत्मविद् बना दें क्योंकि अनात्मविद् होने के कारण ही वे शोक-सागर में डूब रहे हैं। निवेदन के फलस्वरूप सनत्कुमार जी ने नारदजी के प्रति आत्मविद्या का उपदेश दिया है। अध्यायान्त में इसी आत्मविद्या की प्रशंसा में श्रुति में इस प्रकार कहा गया है—"न पश्यो मृत्युं पश्यति न रोगं नीत दुःखताम्।" यद्यपि इस प्रशंसा-वाक्य का मुख्य प्रतिपाद्य विषय आत्म-ज्ञान का माहात्म्य-ख्यापन और उसका उद्देश्य विवेकी को उसकी ओर आकृष्ट करके तदर्थ सचेष्ट बनाना ही है, तथापि इससे गौण या अवान्तर प्रकार से यह भी सूचित होता है कि जीवन में जरा, व्याधि, मृत्यु इत्यादि के कारण मानव को महादुःख प्राप्त होता है। आत्म-ज्ञान की प्रशंसा के मूल पर विचार करने से यह बात सद्यः ही स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि चूँकि जीवन में दुःख है और वह इसलिए है कि मनुष्य समस्त दुःखों से परे स्थित अपने आत्मा को—अपने वास्तविक रूप को—जानता नहीं, अतः उसे जानते ही वह सारे दुःखों से सदा के लिए विमुक्त हो जाता है, और इसीलिए आत्म-ज्ञान प्रशंसनीय है। छान्दोग्य की 'य आत्मा स सेतुर्विधृतिरेषां लोकानाम-सम्भेदाय, नैतं सेतुमहोरात्रे तरतो न जरा न मृत्युर्न शोको न सुकृतं न दुष्कृतं, सर्वे पाप्मानोऽतो निवर्तन्ते' इत्यादि आत्मप्रशंसा-परक पंक्तियों से भी परोक्ष रूप से व्यावहारिक जीवन की दुःखमयता ही सूचित होती है। इसी प्रकार बृहदारण्यक में भी इन भावों की द्योतक पंक्तियां मिलती हैं। इसमें याज्ञवल्क्य और मैत्रेयी का प्रसिद्ध आख्यान आया है जिसमें मैत्रेयी ने अपने पति ऋषि याज्ञवल्क्य से मृत्यु को निवृत्त करके अमरत्व देने वाले उपाय के विषय में जिज्ञासा प्रकट की है, एवं तद्रूप से आत्म-दर्शन, आत्मानुभव का उपदेश प्राप्त किया है। इसी उपनिषद् के 'स वा एष महानज आत्माऽजरोऽमरोऽमृतोऽभयः' इत्यादि वचनों से भी उपर्युक्त बात की ही पुष्टि होती है। इन समस्त उद्धरणों को देने का एकमात्र उद्देश्य केवल इस बात को असन्दिग्ध रूप से स्पष्ट करना है कि सृष्टि के आदिम युग से ही मानव-मात्र और विशेषतः भारतीयों के मन को जीवन के विविध दुःख—अशनाया, पिपासा, जरा, व्याधि, और इन सभी से बढ़कर जन्म एवं मृत्यु—कुरेदते रहे हैं, उसे मथते रहे हैं, और उसे विवश करते रहे हैं जीवन-परिधि के अन्तर्गत विद्यमान दुःखों की निवृत्ति की गुरु-गम्भीर समस्या समझने तथा उसका समाधान-सुलझाव पाने के लिए।

उक्त विवेचन से उपनिषदों के दुःखवाद का सही स्वरूप प्रकाश में आ जाता है। जैसा हम प्रारम्भ में ही कह चुके हैं, साङ्ख्याचार्यों ने जीवन के इस 'दुःख' नामक कटु सत्य की ओर मानवमात्र का ध्यान सबसे अधिक आकृष्ट किया है। उपनिषदों की ही भांति सांङ्ख्य दर्शन भी जीवन को दुःखप्राय ही मानता है। 'सांख्य-प्रवचन-सूत्र' एवं 'सांख्य-कारिका', दोनों ही प्रसिद्ध साङ्ख्य-ग्रन्थों का आरम्भ त्रिविध दुःख एवं उससे मुक्ति पाने की समस्या के प्रस्ताव से होता है। सांख्य-प्रवचन-सूत्र का प्रथम सूत्र इस प्रकार है—'अथ त्रिविधदुखाःत्यन्तनिवृत्तिरत्यन्तपुरुषार्थः'। प्रथम सांख्य-कारिका की पहली ही पंक्ति इस प्रकार है—'दुःखत्रयाभिघाताज्जिज्ञासा तदपघातके हेतौ।' सांख्य के दूसरे ग्रन्थ 'तत्त्वसमाससूत्र' में आदि के बदले अन्त में इसका कथन है—'त्रिविधं दुखम्? एतत् परं याथातथ्यम्। एतत् सर्वं ज्ञात्वा कृतकृत्यः स्यात्। न पुनस्त्रिविधेन दुःखेनाभिभूयते।' यद्यपि दुःख के अमंगल-सूचक होने के कारण ग्रन्थारम्भ में उसका ग्रहण नहीं होना चाहिए, तथापि ऐसा होने से सांख्य की दुःख-प्रधान दृष्टि और अधिक स्पष्ट होती है। साथ ही आत्यन्तिक निवृत्ति के लिए गृहीत दुःख अमंगल नहीं अपितु मंगल का ही सूचक है। किन्तु इन सब उद्धरणों का तात्पर्य यह कदापि नहीं है कि जीवन में सुख नाम की वस्तु है ही नहीं। उपनिषद् और सांख्य, दोनों ही जीवन में सुख की सत्ता मानते हैं। सांसारिक जीवन में सुन्दर शब्द, रूप, रस, इत्यादि इन्द्रिय-विषयों से प्राप्त होने वाले वैषयिक सुखों

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की सत्ता को न तो उपनिषदें ही नकारती हैं और न सांख्य ही। पर इन दोनों में से कोई भी इन्हें महत्व नहीं देता। यम-नचिकेता संवाद के पूर्वोद्धृत अंश से इसका कारण स्पष्ट हो जाता है। वह कारण है इन भोग्य विषयों की तथा जिस जीवन के लिए ये भोग चाहे जाते हैं उसकी अस्थिरता या क्षणिकता। साथ ही क्षणिक जीवन के क्षणिक वैषयिक सुखों के साथ प्रबल-प्रचुर दुःखों का मिश्रण भी कम कारण नहीं है। जैसे विष-सम्पृक्त मधु भी उपादेय नहीं होता है, ठीक वैसे ही दुःखप्राय सांसारिक सुख भी विवेकी जनों को ग्राह्य नहीं होते। न्यायसूत्रों के भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने भी 'बाधनालक्षणं दुःखम्' [न्यायसूत्र १।१।२१] के भाष्य में इसी तथ्य को इस प्रकार से स्पष्ट किया है—'बाधना पीडा ताप इति। तयानुविद्धमनुषक्तमविनिर्भागेन वर्तमानं दुःखयोगाद् दुःखमिति।' इसी को योगसूत्रकार पतञ्जलि ने भी 'परिणामतापसंस्कारदुःखैर्गुणवृत्तिविरोधाच्च सर्वमेव दुःखं विवेकिनः' [योग० २।१५] सूत्र के द्वारा स्पष्ट किया है। सांख्याचार्य महायोगी जैगीषव्य ने भी आवट्य के प्रश्न करने पर मानव जीवन के इसी गूढ़तम रहस्य को अपने अनेक जन्मों के अनुभूत सत्य के रूप में इस प्रकार प्रकट किया है—'दशसु महासर्गेषु भव्यत्वादनभिभूतबुद्धिसत्त्वेन मया नरक-तिर्यग्भवं दुःखं सम्पश्यता देवमनुष्येषु पुनः पुनरुत्पद्यमानेन यत् किंचिदनुभूतं तत् सर्वं दुःखमेव प्रत्यवैमि।' इस उद्धरण से यह बात सर्वथा स्पष्ट है कि नारकीय का तो कहना ही क्या, मानुष्य एवं दैव योनियों में भी सब दुःख ही दुःख है। 'सांख्य प्रवचन-सूत्र' में तो इस सत्य को बड़े ही प्रभावोत्पादक ढंग से व्यक्त किया गया है। यह इसके दो सूत्रों में बहुत संक्षिप्त रूप से आया है। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि अनन्त तृण, वृक्ष, पशु, पक्षी, मनुष्य इत्यादि प्राणियों में कोई ही मनुष्य, देव, इत्यादि सुखी दिखाई पड़ते हैं और वे भी कभी-कभी और कहीं-कहीं ही, सर्वदा और सर्वत्र नहीं। कभी, कहीं और किसी विरले ही भाग्यवान् से प्राप्त होनेवाला वह सुख भी आगे-पीछे दुःख से मिश्रित—ओत-प्रोत—पाया जाता है। इसलिए इस किंचिन्मात्र सुख को भी विवेकी जन दुःख में ही गिनते हैं।

उपनिषदों के पूर्व उद्धरणों से यह तो स्पष्ट ही हो चुका है कि वे सबकी सब एक स्वर से आत्मा को जन्म-मृत्यु, जरा-व्याधि इत्यादि समस्त दुःखों से परे मानती हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त उपनिषदों के अन्य अनेक वचनों से यह भी प्रकट होता है कि वे उसको नित्यानन्द रूप भी मानती हैं। तैत्तिरीय उपनिषद् की ब्रह्मानन्द नामक द्वितीय वल्ली में ब्रह्म के इसी आनन्द स्वरूप की सविस्तर मीमांसा की गई है। इस वल्ली के उपसंहारात्मक श्लोक में इसे स्पष्ट देखा जा सकता है—'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह। आनन्दं ब्रह्मणो विद्वान् न बिभेति कुतश्चन'। फिर इसी उपनिषद् की भृगु नामक तृतीय वल्ली में अपने पुत्र महर्षि भृगु द्वारा ब्रह्म का उपदेश करने के लिए प्रार्थित होने पर वरुणदेव ने पहले 'यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति, तद्विजिज्ञासस्व, तद् ब्रह्मेति' इत्यादि सामान्य रूप से मीमांसा करके तदनन्तर विशेष रूप से मीमांसा करते हुए अन्त में 'आनन्दाद् ह्येव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, आनन्देन जातानि जीवन्ति, आनन्दं प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्तीति' यह सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किया है। यद्यपि तैत्तिरीय उपनिषद् की इन पंक्तियों में आनन्द रूप से ब्रह्म ही कथित है, तथापि उपनिषदों में ब्रह्म और आत्मा की वास्तविक एकता प्रतिपादित होने से आत्मा भी आनन्द रूप ही सिद्ध होता है। बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् में स्पष्ट ही इस आत्मा को जगत् की समस्त प्रिय वस्तुओं से भी अधिक प्रिय बताया है—'तदेतत् प्रेयः पुत्रात् प्रेयो वित्तात् प्रेयोऽन्यस्मात् सर्वस्मादन्तरतरं यदयमात्मा।' 'अन्तरतर' कहने से स्पष्ट ही यह आत्मा मनुष्य का अन्तरात्मा या प्रत्यगात्मा सिद्ध होता है। फिर 'प्रेयोऽन्यस्मात् सर्वस्मात्' कहे जाने से उसकी परमानन्द-रूपता स्पष्ट प्रकट होती है। इसीलिए तो छान्दोग्य में भी भगवान् सन्तकुमार से नारद जी ने 'श्रुतं ह्येव मे भगवद्दृशेभ्यस्तरति शोकात्मविदिति' इत्यादि कहा है। इससे उपनिषदों का यह तात्पर्य प्रकट होता है कि आत्मा स्वरूपतः आनन्द-घन है।

परन्तु यदि मनुष्य का आत्मा स्वरूपतः आनन्द है, तब फिर वह दुःख भोगता हुआ क्यों देखा जाता है? इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में उपनिषदों का कथन है कि अज्ञान या अविद्या के कारण मनुष्य अपने वास्तविक अजर, अमर, नित्य

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निर्विकार, चिदानन्द रूप को भूल जाता है तथा शरीर, इन्द्रिय, मन इत्यादि विकारों के जन्म, जरा, व्याधि, मरण, चिन्ता इत्यादि धर्मों का अपने में आरोप कर बैठता है और इसी से दुःख भोगता दिखाई पड़ता है। तात्पर्य यह है कि आत्मा में दुःख का भोग वास्तविक नहीं अपितु अविद्या-कृत है, केवल प्रतीति या भ्रम है। ये शरीर इन्द्रियादि सकल अनित्य जड़ पदार्थ भी नित्यचिद् ब्रह्म में अविद्या-कृत अध्यारोप ही हैं, वास्तविक नहीं। इस पर यदि कोई यह प्रश्न करे कि इन सबके मूल में विद्यमान अविद्या कहाँ से आई, तो इसका उत्तर उपनिषदें यह देती हैं कि यह अनादि है। परन्तु अनादि होने पर भी यह सान्त है, इसका अन्त या विनाश किया जा सकता है। इस प्रकार जब अविद्या विनाश्य है, तब तत्कृत प्रातीतिक या औपाधिक दुःख-भोग भी विनाश-योग्य ही होगा। इसी बात को इस प्रकार भी कहा जा सकता है कि चूंकि अविद्या या स्वरूप-अज्ञान के कारण ही जीव को सारा दुःख प्राप्त होता है, इसलिए स्वरूप-ज्ञान से अज्ञान या अविद्या के नष्ट होते ही सारे दुःख दूर हो जाते हैं। उपनिषदों का यह सिद्धान्त सर्वथा समीचीन ही है, क्योंकि जब दुःख-प्राप्ति स्वरूप का अज्ञान होने के कारण है, तब दुःख-निवृत्ति या मुक्ति भी स्वरूप का ज्ञान हो जाने पर ही होनी चाहिए।

सांख्य दर्शन उपनिषदों की ही भाँति आत्मा को दुःख की सत्ता को अध्यारोपित ही मानता है, वास्तविक नहीं। परन्तु उनके विपरीत वह जगत् में स्थित दुःख को वास्तविक ही स्वीकार करता है, उसको सत् ही मानता है। उसकी इस मान्यता का कारण यह है कि सांख्य चित् पुरुष के अतिरिक्त त्रिगुणात्मक प्रकृति या प्रधान नामक एक अचित् या जड़ पदार्थ की भी सत्ता स्वीकार करता है और मन, इन्द्रिय, शरीर, सुख दुःख इत्यादि समस्त जड़ वस्तुओं को उसी सत् तत्त्व का 'सत्' कार्य, उसका परिणाम मानता है। वह सुख को प्रकृति के सत्त्व गुण का, दुःख को रजोगुण का, तथा मोह या अज्ञान को तमोगुण का परिणाम मानता है। इस प्रकार सत् प्रकृति के सत्कार्य-वास्तविक परिणाम होने के कारण सुख, दुःख और अज्ञान का नाश असम्भव है, क्योंकि सांख्य 'नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः' के अनुसार न तो असत् की उत्पत्ति ही मानता है और न सत् का विनाश ही। तब फिर सांख्य मत से रजस् का परिणाम दुःख नित्य हुआ। यह ठीक है कि उपनिषदों की ही भांति सांख्य शास्त्र भी आत्मा या पुरुष में इस दुःख को अज्ञान द्वारा अध्यारोपित ही मानता है; क्योंकि उसके मत से जब पुरुष त्रिगुणात्मिका प्रकृति से भिन्न निर्गुण तत्व है और दुःख रजोगुण का ही परिणाम है, तब वह निर्गुण पुरुष से सत्यतः अथवा परमार्थतः रह ही कैसे सकता है? तथापि जिस अज्ञान के द्वारा वह निर्गुण पुरुष में आरोपित होता है, वह भी सांख्य के अनुसार तमस् का परिणाम होने के कारण सर्वथा सत् है। इस प्रकार सांख्य मत में दुःख के उपादान रजोगुण, तथा जिस अज्ञान के कारण उसका पुरुष में आरोप होता है उसके उपादान तमोगुण दोनों, के सत् होने के कारण दुःख की निवृत्ति असम्भव ही प्रतीत होती है। उपनिषद् आत्मा को नित्य सुख रूप मानती है, परन्तु सांख्य तो उसे सुख-रूप भी नहीं मानता, यह बात ऊपर के विवेचन से स्पष्ट हो चुकी है। ऐसी स्थिति में दुःख-निवृत्ति अथवा नित्य सुख की प्राप्ति में से एक भी लक्ष्य सांख्य दर्शन के विषय में घटित होता हुआ नहीं प्रतीत होता; और जिस शास्त्र, दर्शन, या सिद्धान्त का लक्ष्य जीवन में न तो दुःख की निवृत्ति हो और न ही सुख की प्राप्ति, उसकी सार्थकता ही किस प्रकार से होगी और सार्थकता न होने पर उसका अध्ययन, अभ्यास और अनुसरण ही कोई बुद्धिमान पुरुष क्यों करेगा?

परन्तु इसके विपरीत सांख्यशास्त्र के ग्रंथों में आरम्भ ही में दुःखत्रय के प्रहार से क्षुब्ध हुए मानव में उसके विनाशक हेतुओं के विषय में जिज्ञासा उत्पन्न होने की बात कही गई है; ईश्वरकृष्ण-कृत 'सांख्य-कारिका' का आरम्भ 'दुःत्तत्रयाभिघाताज्जिज्ञासा तदपघातके हेतौ' इत्यादि वचनों से हुआ है। यदि दुःख-त्रय की निवृत्ति किसी भी प्रकार से सम्भव न होती तो कारिकाकार 'तदपघातक हेतु' की जिज्ञासा की बात क्यों कहते और उस हेतु की मीमांसा के लिए सत्तर कारिकाओं का श्रम-साध्य गम्भीर ग्रन्थ ही क्यों लिखते? 'सांख्य-प्रवचन-सूत्र' का आरम्भ भी इसी

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अभिप्राय को प्रकट करनेवाले सूत्र से हुआ है। उसमें स्पष्ट ही त्रिविध दुखों की आत्यन्तिक निवृत्ति को जीवन का परम पुरुषार्थ—परम लक्ष्य—स्वीकार किया गया है—'अथ त्रिविधदुःखात्यन्तनिवृत्तिरत्यन्तपुरुषार्थः' (सां० सू० १।१)। ऐसी स्थिति में सांख्य दर्शन की इन दो विरोधी मान्यताओं की संगति कैसे बैठेगी? दूसरे शब्दों में कह सकते हैं कि जब नित्य रजोगुण का सत् परिणाम होने से दुःख की आत्यन्तिक निवृत्ति असम्भव है, तब सांख्य ग्रन्थों में उसको मानव जीवन का परम लक्ष्य कैसे कहा गया?

सांख्य-कारिकाओं के प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार वाचस्पति मिश्र ने इस शंका का अत्यन्त संक्षेप में यह उत्तर दिया है:— 'यद्यपि न सन्निरुध्यते दुःखं, तथापि तदभिभवः शक्यः कर्तुमित्युपरिष्टादुपपादयिष्यते।'[११] इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि यद्यपि नित्य रजोगुण का परिणाम होने से दुःख का सम्यक् निरोध या आत्यन्तिक विनाश असम्भव है, तथापि उसका अभिभव या शमन असम्भव नहीं है। आगे की ६५ वीं कारिका में इस तथ्य का उल्लेख हुआ है। इसमें कहा गया है कि प्रकृति द्वारा सम्पन्न होनेवाले भोग और विवेक, इस द्विविध पुरुषार्थ के सिद्ध हो जाने पर अन्य कुछ भी कर्त्तव्य शेष न रहने के कारण विवेक-ज्ञान के सामर्थ्य से अज्ञान, धर्म, अधर्म, वैराग्य, अवैराग्य, ऐश्वर्य, एवं अनैश्वर्य, अपने इन सात रूपों या परिणामों से निवृत्त हुई प्रकृति को राजस एवं तामस वृत्ति वाली बुद्धि से कलुषित न होने के कारण विमल हुआ पुरुष द्रष्टा-अनासक्त की भाँति देखता है। इस कारिका की टीका में वाचस्पति मिश्र ने ठीक ही लिखा है कि चूँकि विवेक-ज्ञान अज्ञान का विरोधी है, अतः पुरुष-विशेष में उसके उत्पन्न होते ही प्रकृति का अपना 'अज्ञान' रूप निवृत्त हो जाता है, अर्थात् अपने मूलकारण—प्रकृति के तमोगुण—में लीन हो जाता है, और चूँकि अज्ञान ही प्रकृति के धर्मा-धर्म इत्यादि अन्य छः रूपों या परिणामों का भी कारण था, अतः उसके निवृत्त होते ही ये शेष छः रूप भी निवृत्त हो जाते हैं। इस प्रकार ज्ञान प्राप्त किए हुए विशिष्ट पुरुष के प्रति प्रकृति के ये सातों रूप या परिणाम उत्पन्न नहीं होते हैं। उस समय उसका आठवाँ रूप 'ज्ञान' ही एकमात्र रह जाता है, क्योंकि इसी से विमल हुआ पुरुष प्रकृति को अपने से पृथक् देखता है। यह ज्ञान प्रकृति के सत्वगुण का परिणाम है। अतः इसका यह तात्पर्य हुआ कि 'ज्ञान' रूप से सात्विक बुद्धि उस अवस्था में भी रहती है। उस अवस्था में पुरुष के पृथक् प्रकृति का दर्शन ही इस ज्ञान का रूप होता है। कहने का अभिप्राय यह है कि उस समय बुद्धि के सत्वगुण का भी प्रकृति-पुरुष-विवेकख्याति के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई परिणाम या व्यापार नहीं होता, फिर उसके रजस् और तमस् गुणों के व्यापार का तो प्रश्न ही कहाँ रह जाता है? दुःख रजस् का तथा अज्ञान तमस् का ही विशिष्ट परिणाम है, यह पूर्व में स्पष्ट किया जा चुका है। ज्ञान के द्वारा अज्ञान के निवृत्त होते ही सात्विक बुद्धि के अन्य तीन रूप—धर्म, वैराग्य तथा ऐश्वर्य, तामसिक बुद्धि के अन्य तीन रूप—अधर्म, अवैराग्य और अनैश्वर्य—और रजस् बुद्धि के दुःख इत्यादि रूप भी निवृत्त हो जाते हैं। निष्कर्ष यह निकला कि ज्ञानावस्था प्राप्त हो जाने पर अज्ञान और दुःख दोनों ही दूर हो जाते हैं, अपने अपने कारण— क्रमशः तमस् और रजस्—रूपों को प्राप्त हो जाते हैं। यद्यपि नित्य होने के कारण वे सर्वथा नष्ट नहीं हो जाते, तथापि ज्ञानी के प्रति समस्त पुरुषार्थ के समाप्त—सम्पन्न हो जाने से फिर कभी भी उदित नहीं होते। इस प्रकार यद्यपि सांख्य में अज्ञान और दुःख का निरन्वय विनाश असम्भव है, तथापि उसका शमन, तिरोभाव अथवा अभिभव सर्वथा शक्य या सम्भव है। यही ज्ञानी की कैवल्यावस्था है। इसमें फिर कभी भी प्रकृति और उसके धर्मों का पुरुष में आरोप नहीं होता, वह सदा उससे पृथक् निर्गुण स्वरूप में विराजमान रहता है। शरीर-पात तक यह अवस्था 'जीवन्मुक्ति' एवं तदनन्तर 'विदेहमुक्ति' कही जाती है।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. कठोपनिषद् १।१।२६, २८।।

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२. कठोनिषद् १।३।१५।।
३. मुण्डकोपनिषद् १।२।७।।
४. छान्दोग्योपनिषद् ७।२६।२।।
५. ८।४।१। ८।७।१ हैः——य आत्माऽपहतपाप्माऽविजरो विमृत्युर्विशोको विजिघत्सोऽपिपासः, सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः।
६. बृहदारण्यक ४।४।२५।
७. योगसूत्र ३।१८ का भाष्य।
८. सांख्यप्रवचनसूत्र ६।७, ८:——कुत्रापि कोऽपि सुखीति। तदपि दुःखशबलमिति दुःखपक्षे निक्षिपन्ति विवेचकाः।
९. सां० सू० ६।७, ८ का विज्ञानभिक्षु-कृत भाष्य।
१०. बृहदारण्यक १।४।८।।
११. सांख्यकारिका १ की तत्त्वकौमुदी।
१२. तेन निवृत्तप्रसवामर्थवशात् सप्तरूपविनिवृत्ताम्। प्रकृतिं पश्यति पुरुषः प्रेक्षकवदुपस्थितः स्वच्छः।।
१३. अतत्त्वज्ञानपूर्वकाणि खलु धर्माधर्माज्ञानवैराग्यावैराग्यैश्वर्यानैश्वर्याणि...तत्र तत्त्वज्ञानं विरोधित्वेनातवज्ञानमुच्छिनत्ति, कारणनिवृत्या च सप्तरूपविनिवृत्ता प्रकृतिः।

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VITAṆḌĀ OR WRANGLING

By

DR. JATILCOOMAR MOOKERJEE, DARJEELING

The third variety of *Kathā* (or discourse) is *Vitaṇḍā* or Wrangling. Jalpa or disputation assumes this form of debate when the intention of the opponent is to overthrow a particular thesis regardless of its validity. In its result it is purely negative and destructive since it does not care to establish the validity of the contrary position. In *jalpa* two parties, proponent and opponent, undertake a discussion advocating two distinct propositions, obviously contrary to each other, in respect of the self-same subject. One party condemns the other and seeks to establish his thesis as the acceptable one. The means adopted in this debate are the various proofs, the process of the *reductio ad absurdum*, quibbling and unfair rejoinders. By it the arguer deliberately seeks to attain triumph in a debate even at the cost of truth and justice. In other words it is solely and wholly directed to secure victory in a debate bringing material gain or reputation as a successful debater. *Vitaṇḍā* or wrangling is also a discussion between two parties, proponent and opponent, with regard to a particular proposistion put forward by the proponent as his thesis. The opponent employs all his logical acumen to expose the untenability of the proponent's position and quite unlike *Jalpa* does not propound any theorem of his own running counter to the position he refutes. The *modus operandii* as well as the purpose of this debate is, however, the same. Akṣapāda accordingly defines *Vitaṇḍā* as disputation or *Jalpa* when it does not lead to or deliberately shirks the establishment of a proposition.[1] And this is the only circumstance that distinguishes one from the other. The definition is also a pointer to another feature of *Jalpa* which starts with two contrary positions centring round two contrary predicates as subsisting in the same substratum, and culminates in establishing one against the other and making the council accept its validity.

Vitaṇḍā or wrangling, therefore, is a species of debate where the wrangler behaves to all intents, like a philosophical free lance, who does not lose anything since he has no position and no stake, and who believes in attack for its own sake. The wrangler, in other words, simply delights in overthrowing a proposition posited by the proponent without caring to establish any other proposition as his own standpoint. It may, however, be pointed out that if a wrangler does not establish what he holds but demolishes the viewpoint of the other person by refutation of all his logic, wrangling had better be defined as a disputation bereft of any counter-position, instead of the establishment of a counter-position[2] and the definition owing to economy of words and concepts has of course the merit of simplicity. The rationale of this amendment, however, is that since there is no maintenance of the wrangler's own view,

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it may be concluded that he has no view of his own. Unless an attempt is made by a person to establish a certain proposition, he cannot be credited to possess a view or a position of his own. The Buddhist nihilists may be branded vertiable wra nglers who advocate the doctrine of void, that is nothingness, and have nothing to put forward as their own. According to this brand of nihilism, therefore, the definition should better be stated as a mere disputation of a position without any counterposition, and it is simpler than the definition as proposed by Akṣapāda as disputation of a thesis without establishment of the antithesis. Akṣapāda's insertion of 'establishment' obviously with the help of the various proofs involves necessary multiplicity of assumptions.

But Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara and Vācaspati oppose such an idea and maintain that the amendment proposed is pointless, since wrangling, if it be conceded to be a species of debate cannot be bereft of a position forced by logical implication. In other words, the wrangler must always have a position of his own as against what he attacks and seeks to overthrow as a matter of logical necessity. Wrangling, therefore, is a debate which presupposes a definite standpoint of the wrangler. The wrangler, however, does not establish it by means of the logical processes set forth in the Nyāya literature. He may think that his purpose is served and his point of view is understood when the opponent's position stands condemned. Vātsyāyana has been alive to this exigency and in his circumspection to defend the Nyāya position speaks of the criticism, i.e. the actual words of the sentence employed by the wrangler to demolish the proponent's position as embodying his (wrangler's) thesis. And this implied assertion of Vātsyāyana that the wrangler has a thesis, though unformulated, is rather metaphorical than literal. The wrangler, unlike the second party in disputation, does not propound a thesis of his own in so many words. But, as a purely negative attitude is unthinkable, it follows by implication that his denial of the first thesis involves the tacit admission of the counterthesis as his own standpoint. However much the wrangler may protest, the implication cannot be set aside as an unwarranted imputation. The Nyāya definition of *Vitaṇḍā* lays stress upon the absence of the *assertion* of a position. Though by implication a position can be attributed to the wrangler with justification, his deliberate reticence is the characteristic feature which marks it off from the second variety of debate, viz., *jalpa* or disputation. It seems, therefore, meet and proper to state that in wrangling there is no advocacy of the wrangler's own view and any attempt at curtailing the definition either on ground of economy or of logic is to credit it with a virtue which it does not possess.

It may not be out of place to mention here some of the reflection of the Naiyāyika with regard to the *raison d'être* of this form of debate. 'Motive' or 'drive' is one of the important categories in Nyāya literature and the Naiyāyika defines it as a conation which moves one to act.[3] It may be either the desire for possession of an advantage or rejection of a disadvantage. Anything whatsoever that prompts one to activity is called a 'motive' and the Naiyāyika maintains in this connection that it bears upon all living beings, all actions and all sciences.[4] By drawing attention to this spring of volition Vātsyāyana concludes that motiveless or purposeless actions are psychologically impossible and logically untenable, unless they are of the nature

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of purely reflex or automatic actions. It may be incidentally pointed out that the Nyāya concept of motive as a psychological drive compares favourably with Aristotle's conception of final cause in which the result intended to be achieved acts as the motive force towards the line of action adopted by a sagacious man.

The Buddhist nihilist has his moorings in the ontology of void, the logical outcome of his honest scepticism. He, accordingly, joins issue with the Naiyāyika and other realists *et hoc genus omni* by denying that an argument purely negative in character and devoid of a positive implication is purposeless logomachy. The assumption of the professional logician, that by the law of Excluded Middle if a position is untenable or untrue its opposite must be acceptable, is not absolutely binding. The Buddhist nihilist, on the contrary, maintains that logical assertions or negations spring from certain unproved postulates which, however, do not stand the scrutiny of logical test, formally accepted as legal tender in logic. And since the Buddhist is not formally committed to any ontological position, he formulates wrangling as mere condemnation of any position proposed by the proponent without putting forward any proposition as his conclusion. The wrangler simply overthrows the proponent's position, and since he has no motive to establish any proposition as his own, his behaviour amounts to a purposeless endeavour according to the logician. The contention that the overthrow of the proponent's position constitutes the wrangler's motive is also an unacceptable rejoinder to the nihilist. But after all is said and done destruction of the opponent's standpoint seems after all necessary for self-protection i.e., for the defence of a position which the wrangler sponsors. And when there is no such thing which can be upheld as the wrangler's view, recourse to such a process appears motiveless or idle pastime of a captious person. The nihilist's defence is that his role is to show the self-contradiction in the opponent's argument and this serves as a corrective of the naivetè of the opponent. To dub such action as purposeless on the score of the lack of a conclusion is wide of the mark.

The Naiyāyika subjects this view to a serious examination and shows that it is contradictory and self-refuting. Although the Buddhist does not believe in the absolute validity of the logical canons propounded by the professional academic logic, yet he makes use of them with a view to unearthing the logical fallacies of the arguments of the professional philosophers. He simply poses to strike the attitude of an innocent enquirer like Socrates. But unlike Socrates he is convinced of the truth of his discovery that all traditional modes of reasoning are infected with self-contradiction. We know Socrates had definite philosophical position and also scruples, and endeavoured to establish his beliefs by a strong line of argument. But the Buddhist nihilist does never believe in the ontological reality of anything. All conceptual thought is dismissed by him as idols of superstuition. At any rate he does not profess to have any positive belief. The objection of the Naiyāyika and other philosophers, who have any logical or ontological position, to this attitude of pure negativism is based upon a trend of human psychology. If one has no belief of his own and holds every assertion to be suspect, he cannot be at peace with himself for eternity. Scepticism is doubt *in excelsis*, and doubt is an undesirable state of the mind, which is insistent upon its removal. To live in

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perpetual doubt is a logical and psychological impossibility. Doubt may be the starting point of a philosophical enquiry, as with Descartes, but not its culmination. When the Buddhist nihilist professes universal scepticism, he pretends to derive satisfaction from this unrelieved doubt which, according to him, is unresolvable. A doubt with the conviction that it is unresolvable ends in a positive thesis. As Descartes showed and previous to him Udayana set forth the position that doubt presupposes certitude[5], one is sure that one is doubting. So unrelieved doubt without any belief involves a contradiction of the laws of human thought. The negativist is put between the two horns of a dilemma—either he is insincere in his profession of universal doubt or is unwittingly dogmatic. The protestation of the negativist of his sincerity cuts no ice with philosophers. Of course, one may, like Socrates, sincerely seek to find out the truth and in the course of his investigation, may not be satisfied with the cogency of the argument employed by the adversary. But that will not justify him in dismissing all the findings of philosophers of schools as purely baseless speculations. Even if this procedure may be permissible under exceptional circumstances, he has no warrant to assert that there is no truth. In point of act, even mistaken statements and findings contain a core of truth. Śaṅkarācārya is to our mind more convincing than the Buddhist negativist when the former says that error is a blend of truth and untruth. But the pure negativist is dogmatic in his assertion that nothing is real and this has provoked strong and energetic protest from the Naiyāyika.

Further, if a wrangler being pressed for his motive makes a statement that such is his view and such is his motive, he gives up his position as a wrangler, since wrangling according to the Buddhist nihilists without any position. If, again, he is reticent, he exposes himself to the charge that he is either utterly contemptuous of all earthly sentiments, or not an ardent enquirer. Further, if the Buddhist sceptic, to escape the charge of frivolity, posits that he has a view, which consists of the denial of the proponent's standpoint, thought he does not establish any such view as his own, then also he cannot extricate himself from an unenviable predicament. For example, when the wrangler shows the untenability of a given proposition as posited by the proponent and refuses to be a party to any philosophical conclusion, he has to produce substantial credentials for the sincerity of his profession. On analysis, it transpires that he has to assume the following factors without exposing himself to the charge of self-contradiction—(1) his continued personal existence; (2) the existence of the person whose position is refuted; (3) the argument embodying the refutation, and (4) the refutation itself. And by accepting these issues the wrangler, who is a Buddhist nihilist and who has nothing to put forward, forfeits his claim to be a party who declines to subscribe to any existential propsotion. If, again, he maintains that he rejects all these contentions his defence that he has a purpose and that is to disaffirm the opponent's position—a consequence admitted under duress—stands self-condemend. It has been shown that mere refutal of a position without entailment of a counter-position is logically inconceivable.

Moreover, when the wrangler shows the untenability of a proposition, he has to accept the untenability itself as what his argument intends to express. In other words, the sentences

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embodying the argument are expressive of the refutation, which patently represents his own view. If the wrangler, without being vanquished by all these, goes on arguing still and considers the import of the sentences as only no-fact, he is an unfortunate creature, a crazy mixed-up talking only gibberish and has no place in the academic world. But fortunately wranglers as such are not all open to this condemnation. They are skilled logicians, arch debaters, and their writings are full of sense and sallies of humour. They are first rate people occupying foremost positions in society, and have appeared not only in India but also in ancient Greece. Considering perhaps all these relevant facts Vātsyāyana concludes his critique by asserting that a wrangler does not ramble, but moves with a purpose and that he has a position which is keenly felt though not clearly stated in clear-cut terms or propositions.

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THE RENAISSANCE OF INDIAN THOUGHT

By

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The important role of western scholars in bringing about what may be called a rebirth of Indian philosophy and religion cannot be exaggerated. We are to remember with gratitude the valuable pioneer services of such sympathetic western scholars as Max Mlüler, P. Deussen and other thinkers who were not only impressed by the Indian approaches to the metaphysical problems but devoted themselves to the exposition and dissemination of the Indian tradition with commendable enthusiasm. It is unfortunate, however, that despite their life-long labour and exertion, the Indian tradition has so far failed to touch the currents of living thought which is mainly the western thought. Some of the monumental works like the *Indian Philosophy* by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, and *The History of Indian Philosophy* by S. N. Dasgupta are read and appreciated by a section of the students of philosophy in order to see what the Indian thinkers have said on the ultimate problems of thought. But very little has fo far been done to enhance the cause of truth by mutual supplementation of arguments in different traditions, the result being a more or less historical interests in the domain of philosophy. But it may be easily realised that there is a great difference between the historical and the philosphical outlook. History, as we have remarked elsewhere, is primarily concerned with a faithful description of the ideas in a chronological order, and its function is to present a system as it was originally conceived by the inaugurators. But the primary aim of a comparative study is a fuller comprehension of the truth which needs critical evaluation and making explicit what was left implicit. Thus comprative studies offer useful suggestions for new construction in philosophy.[1] Recently, there has been a new zeal in presenting the different philosphical systems with different traditions and thus offering an opportunity for a comparative study of the problems. *Philosophy, East and West* edited by Charles A. Moore of the University of Hawaii, for instance is a new venture in this direction. It is presumed that neither Orient nor Occident is philosophically self-sufficient, each lacking that total perspective which is characteristic of philosophy. A more helpful attitude is signified by Professor W.E. Hocking of the Harvard University who thinks that "differences between the thoughts of different countries are but a question of emphasis." He adds that "the basic categories of being and of value are the same everywhere." By far the most valuable work in this direction has been done by the Government of India. *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, sponsored by the ministry of education and edited by a Board headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, is really a monumental work which includes within its scope the development of philosophy in all parts of the world, with special emphasis on the development of philoso-

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phy in India. In a very pregnant sentence it is remarked that growth in philosophy is not the same as the increase of knowledge in the sciences. In philosophy the same ideas gain in connotation as they are "apprehented with a new shade and a new fineness." This is a valuable observation as it brings to the fore front the distinction of history and philosophy. Even Science is said to be concerned with the increase of our knowledge through addition; as such, it is like history. Philosophy, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the growth of knowledge from the less systematic to the more systematic form. In other words, it always aims at a completely systematic knowledge, and in the interest of system it seeks to make explicit what was implicit in the previous systems. The ideas of different traditions may be, therefore, helpful in supplementing and clarifying a given issue. Here is the clue to the utility of a comparative philosophy.

As an example, we may consider the problem of the self or of the category of causuality. The self and causuality are the eternal problems of philosophy; they are differently analysed by different schools of thought. It is very unfortunate that the Indian controversy on these basic issues is not appreciated, much less known, in the modern currents of thought. Yet, much helpful light would be thrown on these categories by discussing these problems in the Indian and the Western contexts, *jointly*.

It is unfortunate for the progress of philosophy that the fruitfulness of a comparative study of the philosophical problems has not been fully realised. This is evident from the indifference of the currents of living thought to the Asian speculations that are in fact a veritable armoury of dialectical weapons that are fit for being used in modern controversy as well. This is particularly true when the Indian tradition is brought into contact with the living thought of the West. Many important attempts have been made, for instance, to estimate the value of Indian idealism by exposing it to the full glare of modern thought. The clarifying and supplementing function of the comparative study has been nowhere more evident than in the comparison of the Western idealism with the nondualistic position of the famous monist Śaṅkara. The bewildering variety of idealisms in India are not yet fully known by the modern thinkers. Even the '*advaita*' position has its interesting ramifications in what is known as *Kashmir Śaivism*, which was the repository of a peculiar type of idealism. The philosophical aspect of the Śaiva and Śākta schools are very little analysed by modern idealists, though some of these were unsurpassed in the history of theism and absolutism. It is now admitted that such thinkers as Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja and many others taught a Śaiva-Śākta philosophy whose critical acumen is of a high order. Particularly, Abhinavagupta, called the 'soul of Śākta culture', has a philosophical value 'which has not yet been surpassed by any of his contemporaries or successors'[2].

It may perhaps throw into prominence the central crux in the way of a fruitful comparative study between the Indian and the Western traditions if a few remarks be added here on the distinction of what is known as the function of intellectual knowledge from intuitive apprehension, or knowledge through *buddhi* and knowledge through *bodha*. This important point has been at the root of many confusions in comparing the Indian approach with the

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Western outlook. Indian thinkers of the different philosophical persuations have been more or less unanimous on the unknowability or unthinkability of the Absolute Reality (known as *nirguṇa* Brahman). When translated in the language of Western tradition, this comes very close to agnosticism as represented by Kant, Spencer, and many mystic seers of the West and the Indian savants. But the very vital distinction is ignored more or less completely between the concept of the unobjectifiable reality and the entirely negative concept of an inconceivable 'x'. The unobjectifiable reality is something positive; it is called unthinkable because it cannot be grasped in the same way as the objects are apprehended. There is no such distinction, to speak generally, in the philosophical tradition of the West. There are occasional suggestions, however, in the contemporary tendencies to envisage the short-comings of the ordinary methods of analysing knowledge into a pan-objectivist formula. One may remember here Cook Wilson's observation that "Whenever we have to do with the relation of subject and object we try to express and explain various aspects of this relation in our ordinary categories which are all of the relation object and object, easily seen in crude materialism where thoughts are treated like solid objects inside the mind like another such object.[3]". The same criticism of the ordinary explanation of the subject-object relation has been offered by many modern thinkers of the west, like Ruggiero, James Ward, and some other thinkers of the present age.

Without elaborating their respective theories, which we have done elsewhere (particularly in my *Self, Thought and Reality*, second edition), it would be interesting to add a few words to what Ruggiero has repeatedly said in this context. The criticisms he has directed against Kant, Green or MacTaggart, are all more or less encouraged by the general fallacy of explaining what falls beyond relativity through the machinery of relative concepts. He has rightly remarked that the difficulties in the theories of knowledge are due to the fact that thought is misconceived by all of these positions. This misconception centres round the habit of reducing thought "to the position of its own object, hardened into a product; how then can it produce anything when it is no longer conceived in its actuality ?"[2] It is complained by Ruggiero that the relation between thought and its object has been inconceivable, and the reason of this inconceivability is simple. It is that "thought itself is reduced to the position of its own object, hardened into a product." Green, following Kant, understands that it is consciousness which renders nature possible. "But he never explains consciousness itself." Here is the most vital point in the analysis of knowledge. Green has been grievously misunderstood, and it is not understood that his conception of consciousness has a peculiarity which is opposed to the ordinary tradition of British Philosophy; consciousness is neither an object nor a pure nothing, and therefore Green has been either taken to be an agnostic like Kant and Spencer or his negative characterisation of consciousness has been taken to be a sheer unjustifiable device.

Ruggiero is certainly right in detecting that what must be presupposed in knowing an object cannot be placed by the side of the object; this is the fallacy of the dislocation of the universal and placing it by the side of the particular. But he does not see as clearly that the

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presupposition of the object is not unknown though it is not known as an object. It should be quite obvious that a geometrical figure, say a triangle, is related to another figure, say a sqaure, in a way which is radically different from the way in which both the figures are related to the space that is their common *āśraya* or basis. Similarly, the subject of the subject-object relation is not the mind as related to the matter, as rightly seen by Green. The insight of the Indian thinkers may profitably be remembered at this place. All relations, as put by the Indian monist, are between a finite thing and another finite thing both poosessing attributes not being heterogeneous.[5] That is, a relation can exist between two relata each having quality, but not between a term endowed with quality and another belonging to a different class. To put it in another form, the inter-objective correlativitiy cannot be analogous to the relation in which the correlative terms stand to the subject which is their common presupposition.

Ruggiero's criticism of Green does not stop here. He proceeds to argue that Green predicates of this consciousness exactly the opposite quality to that of succession, namely, eternal presence to itself, which is in fact "the quality of immobility." Green is suppposed to misunderstand the fact that "immobility is a natural fact belonging to the same category as movement; and in the same way identity at different times is merely correlative to change in time." Here we see in a clear and pronounced form the danger of the great Serbonian Bog where armies whole have sunk. No category has been so widely accepted in the course of Western tradition than the category of correlativity; and though it has been sometimes realised that this category cannot represent the highest principle of thought and that the correlativity of the subject and object is *crcorrelativity for a subject*, yet it is held that unity-in-difference is the highest category under which we can think of the real. This trend of speculation was really started with the post-Kantian development of idealism and still represents an important ramification of Western idealism. The problem that inevitably emerges at this point is; How can we accept the highest principle of knowledge to be unity-in-difference while admitting that even the correlativity of the subject and object is a correlativity *for* the subject ? Does it not favour the superiority of the subject to the object or the inapplicability of the principle of unity-in-difference to the subject ? The Hegelian idealists, when confronting this question, yield to the apparently paradoxical admission that the subject strictly speaking does not exist at all while there is no object to be contrasted with it. In other words, the subject, as much as the object, comes to exist only through the contrast. Analysis enters at this place a vital stage which eludes the grasp of intellect or relational *buddhi*. It has been admitted by the discerning thinkers, such as F. H. Bradley, Spinoza, Śaṅkara that unification and differentiation are essential for describing all meaningful concepts, or definite objects of thought. Refuse to describe your reality through unification and differentiation and see whether your reality does not reduce itself to a mere naught or empty vacuity. But the most crying need for going beyond the relational intellect makes itself felt whenever your analysis seeks to be perfect and fully developed. The great problem before every serious philospher is, therefore, to reconcile relationality of all des-

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cription with the ultra-relational Reality. Those philosophers who criticise such attempts to outstrip the limits of the relational intellect to make the mistake of presuming that what falls beyond the intellect must also satisfy the demands of intellectual knowledge. But this obviously is as absurd as to make the ultra-relational a relational entity which is equivalent to denying that there is anything beyond the limits of relativity.

Yet, the knower-known relation, as we have insisted above, cannot be similar to the inter-objective relation; pan-objective analysis of knowledge is as absurd as the pan-subjective analysis, pure subjectivism and pure objectivism are equally self-contradictory. The knower and the known are misrepresented when they are supposed to have equal status in what S. Alexander calls the democracy of the universe. It is one of the valuable achievements of penetrating discernment that the subject is not merely one of the objects of experience; all objects exist *for* the subject. Hence the problem of knowing the subject is a ticklish problem of philoosphy. But the realist and the so-called idealist do not scent any difficulty in self-knowledge, and many philosophers gain reputation by side-tracking the real issue. Particularly this is the case in the present century when idealism is widely misconceived and misrepresented, and realistic analysis has become the fashion. Even the so-called idealists are no better than the realists who run with what Green has called the undergraduate's conception of idealism.

Green's warning has not succeeded in dispelling the confusion from Western thought. Even now there exist many thinkers who use the term idealism in the exclusive sense of subjective idealism. Moore's mistake or ignorance of Green's warning may be excused in view of the fact that he came to the study of philosophical problems accidentally. But it is a matter of great surprise that A. S. Pringle-Pattison whose philosophical accompalishment was of no mean order should miss the distinction of the subjective and the objective idealism and remark unhesitatingly that "transcendental idealism is just Berkeleian idealism *in excelsis*." This is a proof positive that true idealism is yet to be reformulated and re-oriented. As a step to this re-orientation of idealism none can miss the remarks of H. H. Jaochim on the nature of the universal. "A universal", he has observed emphatically, "is not another entity alongside of its particulars." No genuine idealist, he has repeatedly insisted, "has acquiesced in the interpretation which identifies spirit, mind, consciousness with purely particular, self-contained, exclusive existents capable of *external* relations to one another"[6] He has rightly emphasised that this misinterpretation of a universal is "tantamount to the negation of all universals."

It ought to be clear from these weighty observations of one of the distinguished idealist is of England that Consciousness is not a particular in the midst of other particulars. Ruggeierro has been misled by the psychological implication of the term consciousness. He should have remembered the Italian tradition according to which, as Gentile has put it, "In so far as consciousness is an object of consciousness, it is no longer consciousness. In so far as the original apperception is an apperceived object, it is no longer apperception."[7] The question what is consciousness, when seen in this context, is an irrelevant question,

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because that would imply that consciousness can be described, and description, as put by Bradley, means translation into objective terms and relations. But this translation would be to misapprehend the nature of consciousness as we have to objectify in that case the pre-condition of all objects. The mistake of democratising all concepts and placing them side by side has been the persistent tendency of empiricism and realism. It has been in fact the most pernicious fallacy of the empirical tradition which has arrested the growth of sound philosophy.

The critical question that cries for a satisfactory answer at this place is to show how the universal consciousness which repels all predicates can yet be necessary for explaining the world of finite objects. In another form of language, the question is that of explaining the relation between the finite objects and the indescribable conscious principle. Even Bradley whose argument often comes close to the 'advaita' analysis gives an evidently self-contradictory answer to this critical issue. Description of the indescribable, says Bradley, is possible because though it is a "positive, non-relational, non-objective whole of feeling, yet it contains on the other side distinctions which transcend its immediacy." A more satisfactory answer than that of Bradley is suggested by the method of artificial imposition (known technically as *adhyāropa*) of the characteristics of the objects on what is unobjectifiable. Of the greatest help in this respect is supposed to be the concept of cause-effect. So the concept of cause-effect is imposed on the universal Consciousness and it is described as the cause of the universe, though ultimately the purpose is to go beyond the category of cause-effect. To attempt to transcend the immediacy, as Bradley has suggested, would be to make the non-objective principle a finite or objectifiable entity. The only alternative is to adhere consistently to the immediacy and yet solve the question of the pure consciousness supposed to be at the back of relational knowledge. The 'advaita' method seems to be the only method of answering this question. The self, for instance, cannot be denied, and yet it cannot be brought under the categories by which the objects are known. The important point is that the term 'self' may be, at first, used in the sense of such determinate objects as the body, etc. and, then, each of these objects is rejected as the not-self. This procedure helps the discursive intellect (*buddhi*) to go beyond its limitations and have a general idea about what is not an object.

It ought to be clear from these discussions that the finite objects are, as such, related to the thing other than themselves; they are self-transcendent as put by the Western metaphysicians (Sthitam paricchinnam arthāntarasambandhi). Every object of thought, as Śaṅkara puts it, is limited by the other object from which thought turns away, much as "our knowledge of the cow is reflected back from our knowledge of the horse." But such limitations are not applicable to the Infinite. The ultimate reason for this inapplicability is that there is nothing beyond the Infinite, by which and in contrast with which, the Infinite is to be limited. In spite of the absence of contrast and limitation, the Infinite is not a mere meaningless nothing or entirely beyond our capacity to know as urged by the confirmed agnostic. This, together with the need for *adhyāropa*, is beautifully analysed by Vācaspati.

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"Though there is no difference in the innermost self," says Vācaspati, "yet we impose difference upon it and use such phrases as 'the consciousness *of* the person' etc. "[8] Here we find an excellent explanation of accomodation of the distinction-less Infinite to the requirements of discursive knowledge. The general tendency of the critics and exponents of the 'advaita' philosophy of India is to miss this theory of accomodation and reject it as the abstract unity or pure identity of ordinary logic. The distinction-less Infinite does not mean mere identity, nor does it mean unity-in-difference. Being the basis of all distinctions, it is beyond the relational categories. Haldane had a vague aprehension that consciousness or foundational knowledge was the ultimate principle of experience. In spite of this apprehension, he was too much in the clutches of Hegelianism to see the limitation of the principle of unity-in-difference. This was very unfortunate, because the foundational knowledge on which he insisted so much could not be reconciled with the principle of unity-in-difference or any other relational principle which is implicit in *buddhi.*

It may be incidentally remarked that Kant's conception of the unity of apperception, when rightly interpreted, is a remarkable conception, which anticipates the main essence of Lord Haldane's theory of foundational consciousness or foundational knowledge. But at the time of Kant this was a really revolutionary departure in epistemology; the result was that even E. Caird, one of the acutest interpreters of Kant's theory, missed Kant's intention, and, following the example of Leibnitz took it to be the highest unity of self-consciousness. He was certainly right in supposing that all our categories of knowledge were relational, and so even the term apperception could be significant only by contrast with the object presented to it. Thus, E. Caird started the practice of universalising the Hegelian principle of unity-in-difference without appreciating Kant's originality in epistemology. Kant has said in an unambiguous and emphatic way that the transcendental unity of apperception "which precedes any conception of combination must not be confused with the category of unity." For an explanation of this 'qualitative unity, we must go further back and seek it in that which is implied in the possibility even of the logical use of understanding." This pregnant remark of Kant has either been ignored or misinterpreted by his Western exponents and critics. It is significant that even Haldane who has asserted the reality of foundational knowledge at the back of our experience has compalined that he does not follow the contentions of Bradley and Bosanquet in their insistence on feeling as an element in the highest experience. We must stop here and repeat that the Indian position which has been outlined here does show a unique way of improving on the Western conception of idealism, and this is the contribution of the new orientation of idealism in contemporary India.

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THE PARTICULAR NATURE OF THE VEDANTA

By

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The term "Vedānta," sometimes meant the Āraṇyakas[1] in ancient times, but later became the title used as a generic term almost exclusively for the Upasniṣads. What then, were the Āraṇyakas and Upani ṣads ? I shall briefly discuss their paricular nature, for their special character has prescribed for a long time the later Vedānta philosophy, and should be regarded as extremely important.

First of all, the Āraṇyakas (Forest Treatises) are thus named because they have recorded the secret principles which must be handed down by instruction particularly in the forests (*araṇya*). Accordingly, they have been taken as something which must not be taught in the villages. While their contents are mainly the theological explanations on rituals similar to those in the Brāhmaṇas, insofar as they did not set forth merely the prescriptions on the methods of ritual practice and the explanations of the various forms of sacrifice, as did the original portion of the Brāhmaṇas, but advancing on, dived deep into a philosophical speculation on the significance of the religious ceremonies, they became an intermediate stepping-stone in the journey from the Brāhmaṇas to the Upaniṣads. As can be understood, even as seen from the fact that almost all the Upaniṣads of the early period were included within the Āraṇyakas, it is difficult to draw a precise dividing line between the contents of the Āraṇyakas and those of the Upaniṣads. And when the system of the four periods of life, the ideal way of life for a Brāhmaṇa, became firmly established, the Āraṇyakas came to be looked upon as works to be studied by the men who live in retirement in the forests (those of the third period).[2]

These Āraṇyakas have some relation to the Vedānta school of later centuries, but to a faint degree, and the Vedānta school is chiefly based upon the Upaniṣadic sacred canon. The Upaniṣads are well-known as including the most philosophical discussions among those of the Vedic literature. The word "Upaniṣad" is a noun formed originally by the combination of the prefix *upa-ni* and the root *ad*. Indian scholars from ancient times have also variously analyzed and interpreted its meanings, and it is still discussed vigorously among modern scholars; but it has been mainly taken as meaning 'sitting in attendance," "sitting nearby," and also "sitting in a secret assembly."That is, it originally referred to the student's sitting near the master in order to receive instruction; and since its corollary excludes the intervention of other men, it accordingly implied the meaning of a secret congregation and became a concept directly opposed to a public assembly (*pariṣad, saṁsad*). Moreover, since secret conversations were exchanged in secret congregations, the word

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"Upaniṣad" is derivatively employed throughout India in the sense of "secret significance," "secret instruction," and "secret doctrine."[3] And deriving it even further, it has come to be known throughout the world as the title of a body of literature which has recorded these secret views. "The Upaniṣad, as the title of the literature, has sometimes been translated in Japan as ("The Inner Doctrine Writings" (*Okugi-sho*), but this translation does not exist in the Chinese version of the Buddhist canon).

As can be known from the significance of the word "Upaniṣad," the fact that the Upaniṣads have recorded the secret principles expounded in a secret assembly in which the master and the disciple sit facing one another, reveals the fundamental characteristic of the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads themselves have strictly prescribed that the extremely secret principles which they expound should be transmitted only to one's eldest son or to the most trustworthy and ablest disciple, and must not be recklessly instructed or divulged to others.[4] Accordingly, the teachings of the Upaniṣads have been transmitted in complete secrecy even among the Brāhmaṇic class, the special class of the ancient Indian society, and particularly among that group of men who have had a philosophical and intellectual education.

It has been said that the Upaniṣads were originally the works which clarify the ultimate import of the Vedas as Vedānta, but the "ultimate import of the Vedas" expounded in the Upaniṣads, if regarded from the thought appearing in the Vedic sacred canon in general, was clearly a new thought, and appeared to the eyes of the ordinary person of that time as a newly arisen and strange doctrine. Accordingly, this new thought was handed down from master to disciple in complete secrecy; it remained at the level of being whispered covertly among the new thinkers, and was never disclosed to the general world. The contents of the thought expounded in the Upaniṣads were the secret principles which they were afraid to announce publicly to the common people of that time. And the fact that they, as secret principles, must be kept hidden from the public masses of the society of that time, reveals that the teachings of the Upaniṣads differed highly in meaning from the geneal thought of the Vedas, the religious scriptures of the Āryans of that time.

The Upaniṣads are a collection of the various secret doctrines both known to and adopted by the Brāhmaṇas of that time, and their compilers were undoubtedly orthodox Brāhmaṇas devoted to the Vedas; but the expounders of the numerous doctrines in the Upaniṣads were not necessarily only the Brāhmaṇas. It has frequently been pointed out by scholars already that the influence of the thought of the ruling caste of that time is conspicuous. Again, wives[5] and those of lowly birth[6] also openly participated in the philosophical discussions and were not timid in the slightest. No matter how lowly birth a person may have, it was admitted that the person who spoke the truth had the same qualifications as the Brāhmaṇas.[7] Accordingly, there are not a few thoughts in the Upaniṣads which, if regarded from the standpoint of orthodox Brāhmaṇism of old, should be looked upon as heterodox doctrines. Here the position of the new thought which revolted against the old thought can be found, and for that reason, the Upaniṣads indeed had to be treated as a secret doctrine.

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And when the Vedic sacred canon was completely compiled in the form as is extant today, such secret doctrines were also compiled and appended to their end; their special character and significance, however, had been noted previously, and in later centuries also they were called by the name "Vedānta" in particular.

In what points, then, do the Upani ṣads differ from the general Vedic sacred canon which had been formulated prior to them ? What are the special features of the thought of the Upani ṣads ?

Since the Upaniṣads[18] are, as already stated, the collected works of the new thought in the orthodox Brāhmaṇic line from before the appearance of the Buddha and continuing thereafter, the tendencies of thoughts which appear within them are various and manifold and cannot be completely summarised in one sweeping statement; however, if one were to seek out the special common feature of the various ideas in them, one could say that it is the thought which *values knowledge highly*. The Vedas formulated prior to this time have prescribed, and discussed in detail, the religious rites which must be chiefly carried out by the Āryans. In other words, they are chiefly concerned with religious behaviour (*karman*). Opposing this, however, the Upani ṣads regard "knowledge" as important. They say that if one carried out even the religious cermonies *knowing* their true meaning, one can make their effects even greater and more numerous. And the knowledge of the true significance of the religious ceremonies had been emphasized in the Upani ṣads from old; insofar as it had been thought, with the pursuit of the true significance of the religious cermonies,that these ancient ceremonies embodied both abstractly and concretely the phenomena of the universe and humanity, the metaphysical significance of the universe itself and humanity itself further came to be considered. Speculation in quest of the Absolute was continued for several generations, and, at first, some of the items and elements related to the religious ceremonies had been regarded as absolute; but finally they came to assume that the Ātman or the Brahman was the Absolute; here the philosophy of the Upani ṣads reached its apex. If we were to *know* the Ātman or the Brahman, we could reach the absolute state of ease of mind and determination of fate, i.e., resignation. That is liberation, and it cannot be reached by means of rituals. Thus they asserted. Accordingly, all the thinkers in the Upani ṣads regarded knowledge highly, and found an uncommon mystical power in it. They believed that unless knowledge, in some sense, is that which governs objects, it is nothing. And they thought that such knowledge possessed of mystical power should be kept by only a few selected individuals, and should not be transmitted to the general masses of common-folk. Their regard for their own teachings as a secret doctrine and their reluctancy to lightly impart it to others, were derived partly from the mystical nature of this knowledge. Because this thought which stresses knowledge is mutually opposed to the thought which stresses the religious behaviour in the Vedas, scholars of later centuries divided th ecntire Vedic sacred canon into two; the section on rites (*karma-kāṇḍa*), and the section on knowledge (*jñāna-kāṇḍa* or *brahma-kāṇḍa*). The former is the section which prescribes the actual practices of the rites and expounds on their rewards; it corresponds mainly to the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas. The latter is the section which teaches

21

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the cognition of truth, and is used in reference to the Upaniṣads. While the Upaniṣads are contained within the Vedas, they are nevertheless highly different from the thought of the Vedas in general in this point.

Well, the Upaniṣads have thus emphasized knowledge, and the cognition of the Absolute in particular, but what is the Absolute which must be cognized ? On this point the explanations in the various passages of the Upaniṣads are by no means of one accord. In addition to the creator Prajāpati, other things related to the rituals have already been set up as the fundamental principle in the development of the world in the Brāhmaṇa literature; and in the Upaniṣads, various things have, moreover, been assumed as the fundamental principle. Chief among them are the following :

1. Natural objects such as wind, water, ether, etc.[9] Although these have frequently been regarded as the world-principle from the Vedic Saṁhitās, they have been confined to a mere mention in the Upaniṣads.

2. Vital force (*prāṇa*).[10] This has been widely regarded in the Vedic literature in general as the subject of the individual person or the essential life-force of the individual bodies, but at the same time it is also regarded as identical with the supreme principle of the myriad existences.

3. Consciousness (*vijñāna*).[11] This is a word meaning the cognitive process of individual bodies, but is sometimes set up as the metaphysical principle which should be called pure psyche or absolute psyche.

4. Puruṣa (the original man).[12] This word originally meant "man" or 'human being", but it has been taken as the fundamental principle which develops the universe already from the final period of the Ṛg-*Veda*. Again, it has also been used in the sense of "the basic substance of the individual person" and "the spiritual self." The more the "puruṣa" was regarded as important as a philosophical concept, the more its personal significance diminished, but it never was extinguished altogether.

5. Being (*sat*).[13] This is particularly stressed in the metaphysics of Uddālaka Āruṇi.

6. Non-being (*asat*).[14]

7. That which is neither being nor non-being.[15]

8. The Unevolved (*avyākṛta*).[16]

9. The Inner Ruler (*antaryāmin*). It is called thus because it exists latently within the myriad existences and governs them.[17]

10. The Indestructible (*akṣara*).[18]

11. Presiding Deity. This is particularly stressed in the Upaniṣads *Īśa*, *Śvetāśvatara*, etc.

12. Brahman. "Brahman" had meant originally the hymns, funeral addresses and incantations of the Vedas and, moreover, the mystical power which latently exists in them, but it finally was taken as the popular term for the fundamental principle of the world among the Brāhmaṇas who respected the Vedic rituals. The word presently lost its original

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meaning in the Vedānta school, and has become a technical term usd only to refer to the Absolute itself.

13. Ātman. The word "ātman" originally meant "breath", but it was also employed derivatively in the sense of "vital force", "body", and further became a word meaning "one's self." As a philosophical concept, it was taken a technical term meaning "one's ego," "one's self," and further, "soul."

Thus, each one of these many principles has been respectively set up as the world-principle, the Absolute, in the individual passages of the Upaniṣads; and they have asserted that, evolving, it brought about the formation of the phenomenal world, and perhaps maintains and controls the entire world. Because these principles are concepts differing from one another nominally, their mutual relations thereupon become a problem, and they have already been discussed in the Upani ṣads themselves; but later, in the Vedānta school, they really form the central problems of discussion. While that may be, at any rate, to assume a unique fundamental principle and to explain the manifold and diverse aspects of the phenomenal world based upon that principle, can be said to be one of the common characteristics of the thought of the Upaniṣads.

Now, these characteristics of thoght were inherited by the later Vedānta philosophy and formed its central topics. And because of the differences in opinion on these problems., the various schools within the Vedānta school came to be set up independently in later centuries.

In connection with the differences in opinions on the metaphysical problems, it must further be sufficiently noted that there were also differences in the practical positions among the Upaniṣadic philosophers themselves. Among the men who gave instructions on the knowledge of the Absolute, there were kings, nobles, and warriors, and lined up along with them were also those who had come from lowly classes. And the doctrines in the Upaniṣads were expounded and also compiled by the Brāhmṇas chiefly. Even from *the viewpoint of class* accordingly, those expounders have belonged to various positions. And their practical ways of life have not been necessarily similar. The kings and nobles perhaps lived in mangificient castles or mansions, employed many retainers, and may have indulged in a sumptuous life. Nonetheless, some sages, such as Raikva, passed their lives as wanderers, continually afflicted with scabs. And the lives of the Brāhmṇans appearing in the Uaniṣads also have not been always similar. Some had lived in colossal mansions, maintained many disciples, and had instructed on the Vedas, always carrying out the rituals. Marrying, they led a family life and had a wife and children. That is to say, while continuing a life as "head of the house" (*gṛhastha*),[19] they quested after the truth of Ātman, and also instructed others. Occasionally, they also became the teachers of kings and nobles. In opposition to this, however, there were also many Brāhmaṇas who extolled the life of a wandering mendicant. They fled from their families, severed relations with their wives, relinquished all assests, position, and fame, became pennyless and property-less, and plunged into a life of seclusion, becoming friends with the passing clouds and running waters, or wandering.[20] They thought that only in such a life could they physically realize the Ātman. Here one can find remarkable differences in their

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practical life. For example, even supposing that, after one has finished the period of a householder, it should have been the case that he enters into a life of a recluse or a wanderer, it is difficult by any means to reconcile the concept or practice which stresses the former, with the concept of practice which accentuates the absolute significance of the latter.

The Upaniṣads have recorded intact the variances of opinion on the problems of practice, but have not given any conclusion at all. The endeavour which attempts to give a conclusion on them later brought about the formulation of many diverse theories on practice within the Vedānta school itself.

REFERENCES

1. In the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* XIX, 12 the *Upaniṣad* and the *Vedānta* are mentioned side by side; it is likely that they were thought to be separate from each other. In the *Maskari-bhāṣya* there is the comment : *Upanssad rahasyabrāhmaṇāni. Vedānta Āraṇyakāni.*
2. M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I, p. 234, p. n. 1.
3. Examples in which the word 'Upani ṣad" is used in the sense of "a secret significance" or "a secret theory" can be found throughout the general literature of the orthodox Brāhmaṇic line. The word "Upani ṣad" had been employed in nearly the same meaning already in the Brāhmaṇa literature (cf. Macdonell and Keith : *Vedic Index,* s. v. "upani ṣad"); and the Upaniṣadic sacred canon had also intrpreted the word; "Upani ṣad" in the same sense as *rahasya* (secret). In them, phrases such as *ityupaniṣad* and *iti rahasyam,* in the sense of "the foregoing is a secret theory," have frequently appeared. The Upani ṣadic sacred canon itself has sometimes been called "rahasya" (*Manu.* II. 140, 165; XI. 262. Cf. my work; *Early Vedānta Philosophy,* part II, Chap. III, Sect. 3, p. 459). In additi on, the secret sacrifices, the ans secret chantments, and the secret prescrit ptions have been called "upani ṣad" (Winternitz : *HIL.*, I, p. 244, n. 3). In the Buddhist canon, however, "upani ṣad" is employ edin a completely different sense (cf. U. Wogihara : *Lexikalisches aus der Bodhisttvabhūmi,* p. 19).
4. *Chānd. Up.* III. 11, 5-6; *Bṛhad. Up.* VI. 3.12; *Śvet. Up.* VI. 2 2; *Maitri-Up.* VI. 29.
5. In the *Bṛhad. Up.* III. 6, and III. 8, because Gārgi, the dauthter of Vācaknu, frequently asks the sage Yājñavalkya keen questions, he finally says "do not question too much.." Again, in the *Bṛhad. Up.* II. 4 and IV. 5, Yājñavalkya teaches his wife maitreyi the philosphical knowledge related to the Ātman.
6. The hermit Raikva was a wanderer who had been afflicted with scabies, but because he possessed metaphysical knowledge of the Absolute, he was as arrogant as a king. He was not a Brāhmana, but as he possessed the wisdom of the Brahman, he was therefore titled "Brāhmaṇa." (*Chānd. Up.* IV. 1-3).
7. *Chānd. Up.* IV. 4 (the story of Satyakāma Jābāla).
8. For the time being, I shall only treat here of the Ancient Upani ṣads.
9. With regard to the canonical grounds one by one, cf. my work,; *Early Vedānta Philosophy,* Part II, Chap. I, Sect. 5, item 2, pp. 216 ff.

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10. Cf. my work, op. cit. Vol. III, Part VI, comm. note 1.6 on the interpretation of the readings of the *Māṇḍūkya-Kārikās.*
11. Cf. ibid., Part II, Chap. I, Sect. 2, pp. 183. ff.
12. Puruṣasūkta (*ṚV.* X. 129). This hymn also was later regarded as an independent Upaniṣad.
13. *Chānd. Up.* VI. 2.2 .
14. *ṚV. X.* 72, 2, 3, X. 129.4; *Tait. Up.* II. 7; *Chānd. Up.* III. 19.1
15. *Bṛhad. Up.* 2.3.6; 3.9.26.
16. *Bṛhad. Up.* I. 4.7.
17. *Ibid.*, III. 7.
18. *Ibid.*, III. 8.8.
19. When Uddālaka Āruṇi instructed his beloved child Śvetaketu in such philosophical view, he was a householder (*gṛhastha*) (*Chānd. Up.* IV. 1). Yājñyavalkya had two wives. He instructed his wife Maitreyī on the Ātman *before he left home for the forest.* Again, Satyakāma Jābāla was also a householder (*Chānd. Up.* IV. 10). Further, in the *Chānd. Up.* VIII. 15, a life away from home is not regarded as a necessary prerequisite in order to attain the Brahman.
20. Particularly *Bṛhad. Up.* III. 5.1; IV. 4.22.

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THE ORIGIN OF MAHĀYĀNA*

(A historical-cum-metapsychological study)

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The origin of Mahāyāna presents the students of Buddhist history, philosophy and literature with a variety of problems which are as difficult of solution as they are important. Although many scholars have devoted themselves to the editing, translating and annotating of different Mahāyāna texts and stimulating suggestions about Mahāyānic origins have been made from time to time, a great deal of work admittedly remains to be done. Kimura emphasized the traditional Mahāyāna view of its origin,and, distinguishing between an introspective or ontological and a phenomenological tradition of Buddha's teaching, traced the evolution of Mahāyāna from the former.[1] Despite its depth and value, this suggestion must reckon with the fact that the actual literature of Mahāyāna appears to be historically far removed from the time of Buddha and is thus apocryphal in character. On the other hand, Poussin and Dutt have shed much valuable light on the gradual process by which the various so-called Hīnayāna sects prepared the ground for the emergence of Mahāyāna.[2] It is thus clear that Mahāyānic literature was preceded by a semi-Mahāyānic literature and that several of the tenets of Mahāyāna developed out of the doctrines which were first adumbrated by the Mahāsāṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins.[3] As this view does not distinguish Hīnayāna from original Buddhism, it tends to make Mahāyāna simply a later stage of Buddha's doctrines, Hīnayāna being the earlier stage. It is as if we were to forget the Upaniṣads and then conclude that the doctrines of Gauḍapāda are simply a derivative of Mahāyāna ! Some other scholars too have commented on the date and place of origin of the Mahāyānasūtras and their language and authorship as well as Mahāyāna art and the systematic phase of Mahāyāna philosophy.[4] Generally, however, the attention of scholars has been directed to the more urgent task of editing and translating original texts.

Much, however, still remains to be done in the investigation of the Mahāyānasūtras, from the point of view of their internal evolution and systematic stratification. The fact that a large number of Mahāyānasūtras are no longer available in their original form, is of course a great stumbling block in all such enquiries. In tracing the genesis of Mahāyānic ideas it is also necessary to avoid assuming that the canonical collections, including Abhidharmic treatises, of the traditional eighteen schools were all completed before the birth of Mahāyāna. It is well known that the so-called Hīnayāna canon had a long and varied development in time as well space. It contains fragmentary texts of an earlier stage more directly connected

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with Buddha and now found in the midst of a more usual class of texts which appear to have grown up somewhat later. This idea adumbrated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, has been developed by the present author elsewhere.[5] In the light of an original Buddhism which is thus posited and which is scarcely to be identified with Hīnayāna, it seems desirable to review the question of Mahāyāna origins.[6] At the same time it also seems desirable to consider this question in the light of the wider question of religious origins, to do justice to which the purely historical method needs to be supplemented by a meta-psychological study.[7] It is true that a historian of religion and philosophy cannot afford to limit himself to the asumptions and beliefs of a particular theological or metaphysical system. At the same time this scarcely justifies the usual procedure of confining the historical method the perspective provided by Positivism. Religion no doubt enters history as a social movement and tradition; neverthless it seems reasonable to hold that it basically springs from revelation and intution. The historian of religion, thus, must be prepared to relate the institutions, art and thought of any religious movement with its foundational spiritual experience. From a comprative study of religious and mystical experience, certain general ideas about its transcendental nature and emergence are apt to arise. It is in the background of these general ideas that the present paper is sought to be presented. It attempts to consider the genesis of the basic Mahāyāna outlook in the light of original Buddhism, especially the mystical experience of the Founder.[8] In its methodology, it combines a historical with a metapsychological study of some fundamental spiritual varities and the problem of their logical communication as historically expressed in the rise of Mahāyāna ideology.

Side by side with the metaphor of Mārga, that of Yāna too is already found in Upaniṣadic and early Buddhist canonical literature. We thus get the terms 'Devayāna', 'Brahmayāna' and 'Dharmayāna', though not 'Hīnayāna' and 'Mahāyāna'[8]. But then even in Mahāyānasūtras, the nomenclature of Mahāyāna is not uniform. Vasubandhu in his *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtropadeśa* mentions seventeen names of Mahāyāna.[9] Some of these are quite frequently used viz., Ekayāna, Agrayāna, Bodhisattvayāna and Buddhayāna.[10] The first two, like Mahāyāna itself, are clearly laudatory in their meaning, the last two—Bodhisattvayāna and Buddhayāna are as clearly descriptive and reveal the essential character of Mahāyāna. The contrasted terms Hīnayāna, Śrāvakayāna, and Pratyekabuddhayāna seem to bring out the other side of the distinction.[11] The Mahāyāna was thus essentially the doctrine of the Bodhisattva. The highest spiritual aspiration for a Buddhist must be for Buddhahood itself and since the Buddha was a Bodhisattva in his earlier days, he must act as one. This Bodhisattvayāna was naturally held to be Agrayāna since it led to the perfection of knowledge and compassionate action towards all beings. Since it was basically nothing except following the footsteps of the Master, the 'imitation of Buddha', its emergence or popularity should not really need any explanation. What is surprizing is how any other Yāna obtained currency and how the clear formulation of Mahāyāna was delayed so long.

While Hīnayāna texts are silent about Mahāyāna as such, though not about Mahā-

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yānic ideas,[12] Mahāyāna texts furnish explanations of the prevalence of Hīnayāna and comment on its relation to Mahāyāna[14] They do not question the authenticity of the sūtras preserved by Hinayāna.[12] They only question the Hīnayānic interpretation of Buddha's real meaning and claim for themselves a special mystic dispensation.[15] The Mahāyānists also attempt a defence of the authenticity of their own doctrines.[16]

The distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna rests upon a profund metapsychological principle. At first sight the distinction appears merely one of degree and stage depending on a difference in the level of initial spiritual aspiration. The Hīnayāna is satisfied with the goal of becoming a Disciple (Śrāvaka), Mahāyāna aims at attaining the status of a Teacher (Buddha).[17] There was a view that the 'Inferior' and 'Superior' vehicles are merely the lower and higher courses of a continuous process of spiritual advancement.[18] This, however, was not the general view because it was felt that the Emancipation from the Passions (Kleśāvaraṇakṣaya) occurs as a watershed between the two courses. At this stage the aspirational impulse of Hinayāna stops and as no further spontaneous volition is possible, spiritual effort also ceases.[19] Hīnayāna is now like a car which has run out of gas. Mahāyāna, therefore, insists upon starting with that is virtually an infinite potential, the vow to attain Buddhahood and become the saviour of all beings (Bodhicittapraṇidhāna).[20] From this it was a natural further step to conclude that the difference in the basic aspirational level should itself be attributed to an innate difference in spiritual potentiality and thus the idea of 'gotrabheda' came to be propounded.[21]

The example and precepts of the founder are the twin sources of any religion. If the example of Buddha's own spiritual career is by definition Mahāyānic, his precepts as preserved in the Āgamas appear to be of a mixed character. The diversity and even contradiction in the content of these records has been sarcastically commented upon by Brahmanical polemists.[22] Part of the explanation undoubtedly lies in the historically heterogenous character of the early Buddhist canon. The Mahāyānists, however, thought of an ingenious though profound explanation of the diversity of Buddha's precepts. "*Deśanā Lokanāthānaṁ sattvāśayavaśānugā.*"[23] The practice of spiritual life is not a straight-jacket and this has been a commonly recognized principle in India. Any efficient teacher must give to disciples of different abilities and temperaments different practical directions. This would be his 'Skill in means' (upāyakauśalya). It may, however, be contended that although practical directions may vary according to expediency, the basic statement of beliefs or credo must be uniform and all variations must be within a consistent system. While this demand for consistency and system within a doctrine is inevitable from the standpoint of logical thought, it is plainly inadequate for the nature and expression of mystical truth. Buddha's experience was essentially mystical and, as the Mahāyāna contends, truly beyond speech and thought. In this it is fully endorsed by the earliest Buddhist texts which describe the turth(Dharma)discovered by Buddha in Sambodhi and preached later, as Atarkāvacara and Pratyātmavedaniya.[24] Buddha himself doubted if it could be at all communicated any way and it was only the inevitable rush of compassion which made him ultimately

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decide to preach. This beginning of 'Katabasis' in Buddha's career may be regarded as the spiritual birth of Mahāyāna and is the true meaning of the famous episode of Brahmayācana.[25] It should be noted that though Buddha decided to preach, he observed that different persons have different degrees of spiritual aspiration and ability.[26] This coupled with the fact that Truth cannot be stated or communicated in essence, made it inevitable that Buddha should only preach a practical way to the direct realization of the supreme truth and that this way should be relative to the stage and ability of the individual who would tread it. The advice of the spiritual preceptor depends from the previous Kuśalamūlas of the disciple and Buddha as the omniscient teacher was able to advise all and adapt his teaching to their specific spiritual constitution and requirements.[27] This practical nature of Buddha's teachings and his impatience with speculative thought and dogma are writ large in the earlier texts.[28] Buddha avoided the 'net of opinions' and steered clear of all categorical formulations on metaphysical questions.[29] In their place he taught the Middle Way which emphasized the relativity of all finite things and conceptions.[30] The inexpressible and infinite nature of truth was clearly pointed out. It is accessible only to a direct experience where the categories and discriminations of finite experience are utterly inapplicable. This was termed Bodhi or Prajñā where Truth stood revealed.[31] The way to this final experience lay essentially through a process of mental purification and detachment. It naturally began with the cultivation of virtue and the avoidance of sin. The mind thus became bright, strong and pliable and next engaged in contemplative detachment from its all habitual finite supports till it was transformed into infinite Radiance or Non-dual Awareness or Being.[32]

It will be obvious from this presentation of original Buddhism that the fundamental doctrines of Madhyamā Pratipad and Prajñā are continued in Mahāyāna from it. Nāgārjuna, the avowed systemizer of Mahāyāna, himself quotes most effectvely several ancient texts, such as the *Kātyāyanāvavāda*.[33]

We may now return to another aspect of original Buddhism from which the development of Abhidharmic Hīnayāna can be traced and which thus contributed to the emergence of Mahāyāna in an indirect manner. As Mrs. Rhys Davids has so aptly pointed, Buddha appears to have encouraged an attitude of analysis towards psychological phenomena.[34]. This was intended to help the growth of detachment and discrimination. How Vicāra, Viveka and Vairāga are causally connected, is well recognized in other systems also. The practice of Vicāra or discriminative thinking is the surest means leading to dispassion. The principal forms of discrimination are between good and evil, transient and eternal, self and non-self.[35] The essential process is to discriminate and reject all that is transient as the non-self. This process is found recommended not only in ancient Buddhism but is also to be found equally in Sāṅkhya and Vedānta. Now since Buddha did not speak of the Self or Truth in positive and categorical terms because of their transcendent and infinite character,[36] the rejection of the ephemeral and the non-self tended to become an entirely negative process which, neverthless, is not for removed from the practice of Sāṅkhya and Vedānta. On the intellectual plane, however, this negative Vipaśyanā among the

22

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early Buddhists led to the growth of that complex system or ethics, psychology and metaphysics which culminated in Abhidharma and formulated the doctrine of Nairātmya in a sense in which the Buddha never intended it. Doubtless a polemical fervour to distinguish Buddhist doctrines from those of other schools encouraged this tendency. Its net result, however, was a spiritual cul-de-sac. Matter and mind, belonging to the realm of the non-self are transient and ultimately valueless but they are nevertheless real possessing intelligible and inalienable essence. On the other hand, the self or a permanent spiritual principle is no more than a name and an illusion, and Nirvāṇa is only the final cessation of the psycho-physical process.[37] If this is not materialism or at least the stultification of spiritual aspiration, what is this ? Mrs. Rhys Davids was rightly led to the denial of the claim of this doctrine to be the real teaching of Buddha. Even within the Hīnayāna itself, the different sects made attempts to escape the rigorous consequences of their own assumptions and tendencies, creating for themselves diverse logical difficulties. The Sthaviravādins declared Nirvāṇa to possess an infinite but positive character without apparently realizing that 'determinatio negatio est'.[38] The Sarvāstivādins resuscitated the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the Avyakta under a different guise and by implication relegated time and actuality to the realm of phenomena, with an eternal noumenal world underlying them.[39] From this it was an easy step to conclude that what we know is not real and what is real we do not know, and the stop was taken by the Sautrāntikas.[40] The Vātsīputrīyas revived the Self and despite orthodox condemnation, their sub-sects attained great popularity, especially the Sammitīyas.[41] The Mahāsāṅhikas propounded the reality of matter without defilement and of supernatural personality. The doctrine of 'pure mind' and of the unreality of phenomena were also formulated.

These and other tendencies in sectarian dogmatics really represent the inevitable religious striving after an eternal and infinite or supernatural principle beyond the paralyzing grip of the Abhidharmic tendency which confined reality to transient mental and material stages, i.e, made reality wholly temporal, finite and natural. Such a naturalistic point of view has proved very attractive to some modern rationalists and doubtless proved the same to their ancient counterparts. Nevertheless, for the religious consciousness, as the Upaniṣad states, "*Nālpe sukhamasti.*" "*Sarvaṃ Duḥkham*" is really a restatement of this very attitude because 'duḥkḥa' is not basically the sensation of pain but the sense of dissatisfaction with the instability of phenomenal experience.[42] Such an attitude sprigns from the hope of something beyond commotion and dissatisfaction. This principle was called Artha, Dharma or Nirvāṇa in original Buddhism and its beatific attainment was the goal for which the Buddhists gladly renounced the world.[43] By its reinterpretation of the doctrines of Nirātmya and Paramārtha, Mahāyana reasserted and further developed the original tendency and indicated a bold departure away from the 'rational metaphysics' of the Abhidharma, fulfilling at the same time several of the partial breaks and returns adumbrated in some of the Hīnayāna sects themselves as indicated above.

Dharmanairātmay is usually considered an extension of Pudgalanairātmya. This, however, is to completely mistake the origin, nature and purpose of the doctrine of Dhar-

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manairātmya which in effect negates the implication of the Pudgalanairātmya and, as indicated above, rescues spiritual aspiration and optimism. According to Pudgalanairātmya Mind and Matter are real while the Spirit is not. According to Dharmanairātmya Mind and Matter are certainly illusory while an ineffable and infinite Truth is not denied but often explained as the Non-dual Awareness.[44] This is the doctrine of Śūnyatā or Vijñāna, the two being in the beginning merely the logical and mystical aspects of the same truth.[45] It is a continuation of ideas found in original Buddhism, viz., the ideas of Pratītyasamutpāda, Nirvāṇa, Sambodhi and Vijñāna.

In the age of Buddha, Arhat signified a person of the highest spiritual attainments, the most 'Worthy', and there is no reason to suppose that there was at this stage any difference in meaning between Arhat and Buddha.[46] The Jaina usage of Arthat as synonymous with Jina confirms this supposition. Buddha naturally taught the Way that he himself followed and led his disciples towards the same attainment as he had reached. The experience of Sambodhi was apparently the highest development of Samprajñāta Samādhi[47] where the mind not only reflects transcendent Quiescence, but is also capable of illumining any possible object to which it might turn, or alternatively, it illumines the totality of all possible objects.[48] This totality, however, must be sharply distinguished from the world of finite objects as constructed by the intellect. The mind here rests in its natural state, "luminous, ehtereal."[49] All finitizing and objectivizing movement of the mind is arreted and the awareness of finitude, if at all, is only as that of an eternally cancelled illusion within the 'synoptic vision' of infinite truth. Or else, the awareness of finitude as illusion and of the turth as the negation of negation is only an intellectual construct seeking to relate the ineffable supernatural experience with the experience of the natural world. Since Buddha's spiritnal experience transcended objectivity and the distinction between object and sudject knowledge in the ordinary sense is superseded and it is obvious that his 'omniscience' cannot be held to characterize his ultimate experience unless it is interpreted in the sense which, Śaṅkarācārya attributes to it in his commentary on the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda. It is not 'having the knowledge of all' but 'being all-knowledge'.[50] It is comparable to the Sāṅkhya state of Mahat reached in the inverse order where the principle of Egoity is absorbed in its source and the mind becomes infinite light or cosmic Intelligence which in its 'purity', i.e., freedom from all objectivity, already annulled in Ahaṁkāra, and subjectivity which is annulled now, reflects Puruṣa or the Supernatural principle, from which it is only 'a shade removed'.[51] The experiencing mind is still finite and temporal[52] but its content is infinite and eternal and transcends the subject-object relation.

It is natural to suppose that all those who were awakened to turth at the instance of Buddha were awakened to the same fundamental truth and had a basically identical experience. All the Arhats were freed from Ignorance and craving and might have exclaimed 'anekajātisaṁsāram sandhāvissam punappunam' etc. Emancipation, Dispassion and Awakening were not distinguished. Nor is there in fact any fundamental distinction between Emancipation and Enlightenment from the point of the truth envisioned or its purely

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spiritual consequences on the personality of the mystic. On the other hand, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the mind of different seekers have a different degree of natural development depending on the differences of their past actions. This difference persists during and after the experience of awakening or emancipation. As a result, although they share in the vision of an identical supernatural turth, they have different natural attainments and powers. The Buddha and the Arhats of his time were thus alike in spiritual knowledge, different in. natural and preternatural power.[53] This difference of power particularly affects the degree to which an emanicipated person may act as spiritual teacher, which requires the power of understanding the subtle dispositions and past karman of the disciples and of communicating the experience of truth in symbols and terms appropriate to the plane of the disciples' understanding. Thus the "Three Vidyās" were claimed as a normal complement of 'Śrāmaṇya-phala' and hence of Arhathood and Buddhahood. At he same time all felt the extraordinary power of Buddha and no disciple claimed equality with him. This led to the tendency to regard Buddha himself as supernatural and also to attribute his visible greatness to the influence of past good deeds and practice of yoga. Since Buddha occasionally spoke of himself as Buddha, the supernatural Being, and not Gotama, the Man,[54] this tendency is evidenced in the earliest texts, and time and speculation vastly added to it. The result was a veritable apotheosis of the Buddha which increased the distance between him and the Arhat. In this context, the Mahāyāna reversal of the Hīnayāna tendency to regard the Arhat as the normal spiritual ideal must be regarded at once a return to Buddha and a growth of spiritual life and aspiration. On the other hand, the early working out of the four grades of spiritual attainments, the schematic formulation of the Bodhisattva's life, and the distinction between the Pratyeka-Buddha and the Samyaksambuddha are obviously the products of a gradually evolving theology. In this respect, Mahāyāna clearly continues a process which was operative within Hīnayāna and may truly be regarded as a later state of Buddhism following the earlier one of Hīnayāna.

If devotion to the Bodhisattvas was one of the most prominent characteristics of Mahāyāna, its numerous *sūtras* were indisputably another. Mahāyāna relegated the bulk of the old Āgamas to the level of inferior teaching and produced and reversed a new and indefinite corpus of sūtras in Sanskrit, often corrupt with Prakritisms.[55] The Prajñāsūtras have been justly considered the earliest of these and placed in the second or first century B.C.[56] They have been connected with the Pūrvaśailīya sect and eastern Deccan.[57] The doctrinal connection between Mahāyāna and the Caitiya schools suports this early tradition about the locality where these sūtras might have originated. The use of Sanskrit and the contact with Sarvāstivāda, on the other hand, suggest a northwestern origin.[58] If the suggestion of a Prakrit original for the early Mahāyānasūtras could be proved,[59] it would be immensely consequential. Unfortunately the suggestion remains hypoethetical till we could discover some of these supposed originals. There is, however, no doubt that some of the Mahāyānasūtras draw upon older material in Prakrit. This can be seen most clearly in the *Lalitavistara* which is a Mahāyānasūtra in its present form. It may also be recalled

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here that, according to a Hīnayāna tradition, many ancient sūtras of the Āgama got lost.[60] Consequently from the silence of the existing canon on any particular doctrine, it would be unwise to conclude that it was entirely a later invention. The fact is that if we consider the wide variety of tenets presented by the Hīnayāna sects, we find that they have been developed speculatively or dialectically from tendencies already discernible in canonical literature. At the same time Mahāyānasūtras or Vaipulya appear to have continued certain forms of Hīnayāna literature and their tendencies. These do not belong to any single Hīnayāna sect. Nor was Mahāyāna considered a nineteenth sect by the side of the older eighteen. I-tsing tells us how monks of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna lived together in the same monasteries and how a Mahāyānist could have a Hīnayānist teacher. We have also to consider the silence of Hīnayāna literature on Mahāyāna in the context of sectarian disputes. Finally, the asbence of any distinctive monastic code or Vinaya for the Mahāyāna clearly indicates that the emergence of Mahāyāna was not the emergence of a new sect but that of a clear distinction between two tendencies of a cross-sectarian order. Of these the Mahāyānic tendency harked back to the example and precept of Buddha himself but it developed and found itself only after a phase of sectarian disputes. It is thus that Mahāyāna is at once a continuation of original Buddhism as well as of later so-called Hīnayānic tendencies. This is, of course, not to rule out the possibility that some originally non-Buddhist tendencies did not affect the growth of Mahāyāna. Thus the doctrine of Avatāra in the Gītā is very close to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* in its doctrine of Nirmāṇakāya which is conceptually distinct[63] but has the same practical consequences. Although there is no clear doctrine of Bhakti in the Mahāyānasūtras, the sentiments and practices appropriate to it are frequently emphasized there.[64] The fact is that although there is no Īśvarabhhakti here, there is clearly Gurubhakti, which again brings us to the heart of Mahāyāna. An individual may through the incessant effort of will gradually withdraw from the whirlpool of life and death. A certain grade of grace or Śaktipāta is required even here and often a Kalyāṇamitra is its medium. Or one may follow a historical tradition of spiritual practice i.e., the Dharma as embodied in a Śāstra. The help received from a Kalyāṇamitra or Āgama is also ultimately an expression of grace. Nevertheless, the emphasis on individual self-reliance is far greater in this older quest for emancipation than in the Mahāyānic quest for becoming teacher or saviour. To become a teacher we must rely on the grace of the Universal Teacher. It is thus that Mahāyāna inevitably leads to a kind of Bhakti which neverthless is not Bhakti in the full sense, for it is essentially Sādhana-bhakti.[65]

In defending its own claim to authenticity and originality, Mahāyāna ultimately appeals to the criterion of 'conformity to Truth' (*Dharmatāṃ ca na vilomayati.*)[66] It is doubtless not a historical criterion and yet it must be earnestly pondered over by any student of religion and philosophy.[67] If we believe Buddha to have known and preached the truth, is there any option but to interpret and reconstruct the meaning of his fragmentary sayings in the light of ascertainable spiritual experience and the fruits of a comparative study of mysticism and theology ? In proposing the criterion of Dharmatā, Mahāyāna was only relying on

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an inevitable rational criterion and there are many who would consider its version of Dharmatā as an essentially convincing interpretation of Bodhi.

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*. Read before the XXVIth International Congress of Orientalists. The paper seeks to work out the metapsychological point of view suggested by M. M. G. N. Kaviraj and reconcile it with the historical point of view.

1. Kimura, *JDL*, Vol. XII, pp. 54 ff; Cf. CAF. Rhys Davids, B. S. O. S., IV, 856-7.
2. Poussin, *ERE*, Vol. VIII, pp. 145-46, 328-30, 330-6; *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, la Sicdhi de Hiuan Tsang, tr. et ann. par L. de la Vallee Poussin, Vol. II, pp. 721 ff. ; N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its Relation to Hīnayāna*, pp. 1-46.
3. Cf. G. G. Pande, *Buddha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihāsa*, Lucknow (1963), pp. 322 ff.
4. S. C. Vidyabhushana, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna (*JRAS*, 1900, 29-42); Anesaki, Traces of Pali Texts in Mahāyāna Treatises (*Museon*, Vol. VII, 34-35, Louvain, 1906); Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, (1907); *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (1930); Windisch, *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu* (1909); Dr. Schrader, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, *ZDMG*, 1910, 341-6; Masson-Oursel : Les Trois Corps du Bouddha, *JA* 1913; Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art* (1917); *L'Art Gre'co—bouddhique du Gandhara*, 2 vols (1905-22); McGovern, *Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism* (1921-2); Schayer, *Mahāyāna Doctrines of Salvation* (1923); Jasuda, *Der Individualistische Idealismus der Yogācāra—Schule* (1926); Abegg : *Dar Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (1928); Frauwallner's notes on Buddhist logic in *WZRM*, 1929-33; Wintrnitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II; *Der Mahāyāna Buddhismus nach Sanskrit und Prakrittexten*; (1930), Bareau, *Les Sectes Bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule*, App. III; Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Le Traite de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, 2 vols; Stcherbatsky, *Conception of Budhist Nirvāṇa*, *Buddhist Logic* (2 vols), Tucci, *On Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya Nātha and Asaṅga* (1930); Walleser, The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibeten and Chinese Sources (*Asia Major*, Hirth Anniv. Vol.); Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* (1932); Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* and *Dictionary* (1953); Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*; Japanese Studies on Mahāyāna philosphical schools are noticed by Nakamura in *Acta Asiatica*, I, 56-88; especially noticeable is his own paper, "Historical Studies of the coming into Existence of Mahāyāna Sutras."
5. See his *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism* (Allahabad, 1957).
6. Miss. I. B. Horner wrote to the author several years back, "Yes, I too wonder if the usual explanation of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna as earlier and later is really correct. I think you are right in thinking that at all events elements in each hark back to something older and that too, again, perhaps to something some oral tradition, older still." M. M. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj has also expressed his belief that it

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should be possible to trace "the origins of ideas associated with Mahāyānic Buddhism to their first adumbrations in the earlier canonical works in Pāli and the Brāhmaṇas and earlier Upaniṣads in Sanskrit."

7. This was first suggested to the author by M.M. Dr. G. N. Kaviraj a long time back.
8. Ch. Up. 4.15.6; lb. 5-10; Br. Up. 6-2--15-16; SN. (P.T.S.) ed); Vol. V, p. 6;

8A. This was suggested by Pt. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya.
Khuddaka (Nalanda ed.), Vol. I, p. 289.

9. Kimura, *J. D. L.*, Vol. XII, p. 62.
10. Cf. Kimura, *op. cit.* pp. 123-25, 146-47.
11. Cf. *ERE*, Vol. VIII, p. 331.
12. Cf. Bareau, *op. cit.*, p. 299. Nevertheless, several of the controversies among the 'Hīnayāna' sects plainly refer to Mahāyānic ideas. Such are the controversies relating to the conception of Buddha and Bodhisattva as supernatural as held by Mahāsāṅghikas and connected sects, vide e.g. Kathāvatthu (Nalanda), pp. 201 ff, 208ff, 427ff, 482ff; Masuda, *Asia Major* II, 1925, pp. 18ff; Walleser; *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 24ff; Mahāvastu, I, pp. 159, 167-70; the conceptions of a naturally pure (Prakṛtibhāsvara) or fundamental (mūla) Vijñāna (as especially held by the Mahāsāṅghikas, vide, Walleser, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Poussin, *Siddhi*, I. pp. 178-79); the conception of phenomenal unreality (Prajñapti, Saṁvrti) as held by the Lokottaravādins, Ekvyāvahārikas and the Prajñaptivādins, vide Bareau, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77, 84); and the conception of two Truths (esp. as in, the Satyasiddhiśāstra, probably belonging to the Bahuśrutīyas, vide Bareau, *op. cit.*, p. 82). The relationship between the emancipation and ways of Buddha and Śrāvaka or between the three vehicles was already debated in these 'Hīnayāna' sects. The Mahīśāsakas held the Vimukti and Mārga of the Buddha to be identical with those of the Śrāvaka (Baureau, *op. cit.*, p. 186). The Dharmaguptas and the Sarvāstivādins held the Vimukti to be identical but the Mārgas to be different, the Sarvāstivādins holding that the three yānas are distinct. (*Ibid.*, p. 14 f 192).
13. Thus the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Calcutta, 1953, 0.32) has ["Yadā tathāgatāḥ....Kalpakaṣāya votpadyante sattvakaṣāye vā kleśakaṣāye vā dṛṣṭikaṣye vāyuṣkaṣāya votpadyante. Evaṁrūpeṣu Śāriputra kalpasaṅkṣobhakaṣāyeṣu bahusattveṣu lubdheṣvalpa Kuśalamūleṣu tadā Śāriputra tathāgatāḥ....upāyakausalyena tadevaikam buddhayānaṁ triyānanirdeśena nirdiśanti"]. Asaṅga points out five points of distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna (*Sūtrālaṅkāra*, ed. Levi, p. 4.
14. In fact, they quote them occasionally in their own support, e.g., vide Poussin, *Siddhi*, I, p. 180, where a text from the Ekottarāgama comparable to A. N. II, 131 (P.T. S. ed) "ālayarāmā bhikhave pajā ālayaratā ālāyasammuditā", is quoted in support of the doctrine of Ālayavijñāna; *Mūlamādhyamikakārikās* (ed. Poussin), pp. 218-19, 237-38, 269-70.
15. Already in the S.N. II, 267 (P.T.S. ed.) there is distinction between the 'suttantā tathāga-

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tabhāsitā gambhiratthā....suññatāpatimyuttā' and the 'suttantā....bāhirakā'. This blossomed into the distinction between Nītrtha and Neyārtha sū tras,which was, debated in the early Hīnayāna sects and taken over in the Mahāyānasūtras. On an esoteric Mahāyāna tradition, see Kimura, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-8, Bu-ston (tr. Obermiller) Vol. II, pp. 46-52, On the two or three Dharmacakarpravartanas, Cf. *Saddharma-pnṇḍarika*, pp. 44-45, 52-53; *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* quoted & comented upon by Bu-ston, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

16. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 3; cf. *Siddhi.* I, pp. 176-78, esp. Poussin's note on p. 176; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, (ed. Poussin), pp. 430ff.
17. Cf. G. N. Kaviraja, *Bharatīya Samskṛti Aur Sādhanā* (Patna, 1953), p. 551.
18. e.g. Consider the quotation from *Śrīmālāsūtra*, "Śrāvako bhūtvā pratyekabuddho bhavati punaśca buddha iti" found in *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, p. 70. This was called Eka-Yāna-naya-vāda, cf. Obermiller, *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṁkāra*, p. 87fn, p Cf. G. N. Kaviraja, *op. cit.*, p. 525, cf. Haribhadra, *Abhisamayālaṁkārāloka*, on he Arhants, p.
19. Cf. Hardayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine.*
20. On the stages of *Bodhicittotpāda*, vide *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 14-15, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, pp. 23-24.
21. *Lankvāatāra*, pp. 63ff; *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, gotrādhikāra; *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, I.37-40; Cf. Poussin, *Siddh*, II. pp. 721-26; Dutt, pp. op. cit., pp. 84ff.
22. e.g. Śaṅkara ad *Brahmasūtras*, II, 2.19 and 32.
23. Quoted from *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* in *Bhāmatī* ad *Brhmasūtras*. II.2. 18, *Sarva-darśanasaṅgraha* (Niranyasagar), p. 18.
24. M.N., suttas, 26 & 28; SN, (P.T.S.) I, p. 136; DN (Nalanda) II, p. 30, etc. Cf. *Lalitavistara* (ed. Vaidya), p. 286; Cf. Lamotte, *Le Traitē de la Grande Vertu de Sogesse*, Vol. I, p. 35, fn. 2.
25. Cf. *Origins of Buddhism*, p. 384, *Cf. Mūlamādhyamikakārikās*, 24.12.
26. Cf. M. N. (Nalanda) I, p. 219; Cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 292.
27. Cf. *Sphuṭārthā* (Wogihara), p. 5.
28. eg., in the Aṭṭhaka Vagga of the *Suttanipāta* whichis generally accepted as belonging to the most ancient parts of the canon; thus Aṭṭhakavagga, vv, 13, 15-16, 22, 31, 34-35, 37, 60-63, 67-69, 72, 74, 76-78, 117-21, 146 condemn diṭṭhi, saññā, pavitakka, takka, vāda, vivāda, suta, muta, ñāṇa and sammuti and emphasize that spiritual truth is one but infinite, inacessible to debate and speculative dogmatization. See particularly the comments of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* on these texts—Lamotte, *of. cit.*, I, pp. 39ff.
29. e.g. vide the famous Brahmajālasuttanta of DN.
30. This comes out most clearly in several suttas of the Nidānasṁyutta of SN—Kacca-nagotta, Acelakassapa, Timbaruka, Natuṁha, Aññatarabrāhmaṇa, Jānussoṇi, 8. Lokāyatika; Cf. *Origins of Buddhism*, pp. 415ff, esp. pp. 419-20.
31. Cf. the two famous verses which occur at several places, "*Yadā have pātubhavanti dhammā....*" (Udāna S.I, Vinaya, mahāvagga), "*Sele yathā pabbatamuddhaniṭṭhito....*"

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(MN, Ariyapariyesana, Bodhirājakumāra; DN, Mahāpadāna, etc.) Prajñā is here clearly a revelation of truth (Dhammapātubhāva) and provides a prespective for looking at the suffering universe, which leads on to compassion. The second of the two verses is virtually identical, with a 'Paramarsigāthā" quoted in Vyāsabhāṣya ad *Yogasūtra.* II. 47. Vyāsa's definition of Prajñā as 'simultaneous and vivid illumination of reality' (bhutārthaviṣayaḥ kramānanurodhi sphuṭaprajñālokaḥ) can hardly be improved upon. Cf. Nāgārjuna's *Mahāyānaviṁṣaka,* verse 15 where also Pratītyasamutpāda is a perspective for viewing reality.

32. MN (P.T.S.) I. 329 "*Viññaṇam anidassanam anantaṁ sabbatopabhaṃ*". This infinite radiant state of the mind is really its original state—(AN (P.T.S.) I. 10. "*Pabhassaram idaṃ cittaṃ tañ ca āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakkiliṭṭham*". Mere dualities and discriminations cease and the lower or discriminative mind ceases to function—DN (Nalanda) I. 190 "*Viññāṇam anidassanaṁ anantaṃ sabhatopabham. Ettha āpo ca pathavi tejo vāyo na gādhati. Ettha dīgham ca rassaṁ ce aṇum thūlam. subhāsubham Ettha nāmam carūpaṃ ca asesaṃ uparujjhati Viññṇassa nirodhena etthetam uparujhuti*". With this may be compared Pārāyaṇavagga, Ajitamaṇavapuccha, v. 6, Mettagū, v. 7, Upasīva, v. 4, 6, 8. The 'astaṅgama' (home-going) of fire or rivers really meant their becoming measureless or indeterminate, not destruction, see *Śvetāśvatara*, I. 13, *Maitrāyaṇīya Āranyaka*, 6.34.1, Kaṭha, 2.5.9, MN (Nalanda) II, 180, Muṇḍaka. 3.2.8, Mbh. Śāntiparva. 21, 42-43. On the ancient meaning of Nirodha, Cf. Praśna, I.10, Cf. Up. 8.6. On the cessation of the dual and emergence of non-dual consciousness, Cf. Br. Up. 5.4. 12-16.

33. MK, XV. 7. Kātyāyanavavāda is obviously the Kaccānagottasutta of SN. II. 17, Candrakīrti adds "*Idañca sūtraṁ sarvanikāyeṣu paṭhyate*" (MK. p. 269). MK. XI. I has reference to the Anavaragra or Anamatagga Saṁyutta of SN. MK. XIII. I. has reference to MN. III. 245 (P.T.S.). MK. XVIII, 2 refers to texts like SN (P.T.S. ed.) II. 39-40, AN. II (P.T.S. Ed.) 157-58.

34. This comes out in the emphasis on Smṛti which is part of the Mārga, Indriyas, Balas and Sambodhyaṅgas. Dharmavicaya follows Smṛti in the Sambodhyaṅgas. The importance attached to Yoniśomanisākara may also be mentioned in this context, e.g. see SN. IV (Nalanda), pp. 62-63.

35. The famous three Lakṣaṇas of Duḥkha, Anitya and Anātman indicate the principal directions of discriminative thinking. Cf. YS. II. 5. Cf. *Pramāṇavārtikabhāṣya*, pp. 146-47.

36. On the meaning of Buddha's 'silence' see my *Origins of Buddhism*, pp. 505-09.

37. This Abhidharmic point of view has been expressed most lucidly by Stcharbatsky in his Central Conception of Buddhism.

38. Visuddhimaggo, (ed. Kosambi) pp. 355-56.

39. This would be in effect the conclusion of Rosenberg's analysis of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma in *Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie*. Prof. Sasaki's 'A Study of Abhidharma Philosophy' suggests that Abhidharmic 'realism' is not to be construed as the exclusion of 'idealism'.

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40. This followed first from the principle of Bāhyārthānumeyatā and next from the sharp distinction erected between Pratyaksa and Anumāna.
41. This is clear from the evidence of Yuan Chwang.
42. This is the meaning of Saṁskāraduḥkhatā.
43. See Origins of Buddhism, pp. 477-78, fn.
44. MK. XVIII. 6-7; Laṅkāvatāra, II.
45. This is clear enough in texts like *Asṭasāhasrikā* and *Laṅkavatāra* or *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga* and *Sūtrālankāra*, see my *Bauddha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihasa*, pp. 398ff.
46. Cf. Dialogues of the Buddha, II. Introduction to Sutta 14.
47. Cf. YS. I. 48-49 and the Comy. of Vyāsa. Also Cf. Vyāsa adys. I "*yastvekāgre cetasi sādbhutam artham pradyotayati, kṣiṅoti ca kleśān, karma-bandhanāni ślathayati, nirodham abhimukhīkaroti, sa samprajñāto yogaḥ.*"
48. Cf. *Ab. K.V.* pp. 254-55; on the other hand, MN. II (P.T.S.) 127 or *Ib.* p. 121f.
49. "*Bhāsvaram Ākāśakalpam*" as the Vyāsabhāṣya puts it ad YS. I, 36.
50. 'Sarvajña iti.'
51. Cf. Vyāsa ad YS. II. 20.
52. Cf. Hariharānanda on YS. 1.2.—"*Rajastu tadā sadṛśapravāharūpam vivekakhyātivikāraṁ janayati.*" Cf. Śaṅkara ad *Brahmasūtras*, II.2.28.—"*Vijñānasyotpattipradhvaṁsānekatv-ādiviśeṣavattvābhupagamāt.*" These however are the universal characterics of Vṛtti-jñāna and even the '*Ahambrahmāsmītyākārikā vṛtti*' must have them.
53. See *Kathāvatthu* (Nalanda), pp. 207ff, *Sphuṭarthā*, pp. 4-5, 640-41. Cf. *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* (ed. Dhammarakkhita) Vol. p. 11 which mentions eight preconditions for the success of the vow to attain Buddhahood.
54. AN. II. 38 (P. T. S.).
55. *Śikṣāsamuccaya* quotes from nearly a hundred sūtras and the *Mahāvyutpatti* has an almost equally extensive list. It is in the Chinese and Tibetan translations, however, that these texts are mostly preserved.
56. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 314ff, Dutt. *Aspects*, pp. 323ff. Conze, *The Prajñapāramitā Literature*, p. 26, 50-51.
57. Conze, *op.cit.*, p. 9, Taranatha (Schiefner), p. 58, Cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 225 Cf. Lamotte, *Le Traite*. I. pp. 24-25; Bareau, *Les sectes*, pp. 297ff.
58. On a double geographical origin, Cf. Bareau, 1.c.
59. *ERE*. VIII. 335; Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar aod Dictionary*. Cf. N. Dutt (ed.) *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, p. 'XVI-XVII,
60. *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* quoted by Minayeff, Recherches sur le, Bouddhisme, "tathā hi Ekottarikāgama āśatād dharmanirdeśa āsīd idānim tu ā daśakād dṛsyata iti."
61. I-Tsihg (Takakusu), p. 7, 14-15.
62. Cf. Dutt, *Aspects*, pp. 290 ff. *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, pp. 152-3, 157, 159, mention the following texts as esp. useful for learning the right conduct of a Bodhisattva- *Bodhhisattvaprātimokṣa*, *Upalipariprcchā*, Sriṣamabhavavimoksa and *Ratnamegha*.

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63. Cf. G. N. Kaviraj in Sarasvati Bhawana Studies, pp. 47 ff.
64. e, g., reverence for scriptures and the worship of images, trust and faith in the Buddhas and Budhisattvas, glorification of the Nāma and prayers, are writ large in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. On the glorification of Avalokita's name, also of *Gaṇḍavyūha* (ed. Suzuki and Idyumi) pp. 213-14.
65. As Madhusūdana Sarasvati puts it in his celebrated Bhaktirasāyana (1-3), Bhakti is really the unbroken flow of the mind contemplating the Deity with feeling. It relies on Nāma and Rūpa, the twin upādhis of God and passes from an instrumental, often ritualistic, stage to a final selfsufficient stage. The result of the earlier stage is to purify the heart and win the grace of God, the later stage is the ecstatic manifestation of divine Love.
66. Cf. *Aṣṭashaāsrikā* p. 4; *Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā*, p. 36; *Sūtrālaṇkāra*, p. 36; pp. 4-5.
67. Cf. "Religious faith often seems able to break through the barriers of space and time, and so to apprehend its object directly". (Burnet, Greek Philosophy, p. 1. 1943 ed.).

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A SO-CALLED VIEW OF MAṆḌANA ON WORD-MEANING DISCUSSED BY THE NAVYA-NYĀYA SCHOOL

By

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In the *Śaktivāda* section of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, founder of the Navya-Nyāya School of Indian logic, refers to the various schools of thought which consider that the primary meaning of a word is the *Jāti*, or the universal. Regarding the question as to how according to this view the idea of the *Vyakti*, or the particular, is arrived at, three different solutions are mentioned :

(*a*) by implication, i.e. by *ākṣepa* or *arthāpatti*,[1]

(*b*) by the invariable association of the universal with the particular, which gives the knowledge of the one along with the knowledge of the other. (*ekavittivedyatvaniyamāt*),[2] and

(*c*) by *lakaṣṇā*, or the secondary significatory power. Of these three views the first is attributed to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, and the second to Prabhākara, while the third view is said to have been held by Maṇḍanamiśra. Gaṅgeśa says,[3]

न व्यक्तेराक्षेपः किंतु लक्षणया गोपदाद् गौरिति व्यक्तिधीरिति मण्डनः । यदाह—

जातावस्तित्वनास्तित्वे न हि कश्चिद्विवक्षति ।
नित्यत्वाल्लक्ष्यमाणाया व्यक्तेस्ते हि विशेषणे ।। इति ।

[The particular is understood not through implication; but from the word cow the meaning of a particular cow is understood through the secondary significatory power. This is the view of Maṇḍana. He says, 'Nobody wants to refer to the existence or non-existence of the universal, since it is eternal; these two (existence and non-exitence) are the attributes of the particular, got from the universal through *lakṣaṇā*.']

The later Navya-Nyāya tradition follows Gaṅgeśopādhyāya and attributes this view to Maṇḍanamiśra himself. Thus in the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*[4] Jagadīśa says :—

यत्तु. . .सर्वत्र गोत्वादिजातिशक्तेनैव गवादिपदेन लक्षणया गोत्वादिविशिष्टा व्यक्तिर्बोध्यते, व्यक्तीनां बहुत्वेनालभ्यत्वेन च तत्र शक्तेरकल्पनात् तात्पर्यानुपपत्तेरपि लक्षणायां बीजत्वात् । यदाहुर्मण्डनमिश्राचार्याः—

'जातेरस्तित्वनास्तित्वे न हि कश्चिद्विवक्षति ।
नित्यत्वाल्लक्षणीयाया व्यक्तेस्ते हि विशेषणे ।।' इति

तदपि तुच्छम् । व्यक्तिं विना कृतायां गौत्वादिजातौ गवादिपदस्य मुख्यप्रयोगाभावेन तन्मात्रस्याशक्यत्वे तद्वति गवादौ लक्षणाया वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्, शक्यसंबन्धस्यैव लक्षणात्वात् ।

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But this verse is found in the *Vākyādhikarana* section of Kumārilabhaṭṭa's *Ślokavāttikā*.[5] It forms an integral part of the argument there, and commentators like Pārthasārathimisra[6] have taken this verse as Kumārilabhaṭṭa's own. We have no reason to suspect it as a later interpolation in the *Ślokavārttika*. Moreover the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāmasā tradition is to resort to *lakṣaṇā* to explain how a word indicates the particular, since it is based on the incompatibility of the primary meaning, which is the universal, with the intention of the speaker.

It may also be noted that the difference between the *lakṣaṇā* view and the *arthāpatti* view is not much, for according to the Mimāṁsakas, the secondary meaning of a word is to be known through a process of reasoning of the *arthāpatti* type.[7] To reconcile two known facts, the primary meaning of the word known through remembrance and the intention of the speaker inferred from the context, a meaning which is related to the primary meaning and which will remove the conflict is resorted to in this case.

Thus we are led to the conclusion that the so-called view of Maṇḍana is not quite different from that of Kumārilabhaṭṭa himself, and that Gaṅgeśopādhyāya is wrong in attributing the *Ślokavārttika* verse to Maṇḍanamiśra. This verse is not found in any of the known works of Maṇḍanamiśra. And since Maṇḍana is later than Kumārilabhaṭṭa, the verse has to be attributed to Kumārilabhaṭṭa himself.

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3. ibid. p. 570 : जातिशक्तिरेव व्यक्तिं बोधयतीति गुरवः ।
4. ibid. p. 587.
5. ed. Banaras, 1934, p. 96.
6. ed. Banaras, p. 932 (verse 311) The reading of the first line is जातेरस्तित्वनास्तित्वे ।
7. ibid.
8. K. Kunjunni Raja, *Indian Theories of Meaning*, Adyar Library, Madras. 1963, p. 259. Also D. M. Datta, *The Six Ways of Knowing*, p. 284.
9. K. Kunjunni Raja, 'On the date of Śaṅkarācārya and allied Problems'., Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. 24, pp. 125-48.

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THE MEANING AND VISION OF IMMEDIACY IN BRADLEY'S PHILOSOPHY

By

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It is not my purpose here to restate the case against immediacy, as has been done by Bradley, in the manner of Hegel,[1] whose allergy to this concept is all too well-known. After Hegel, no one could adduce more cogent reasons for banishing immediacy from the fold of epistemico-metaphysical discussions. In maintaining this attitude towards immediacy, Hegel was full of reformative zeal and good intentions.[2] He applied himself assidusously to the solving of problems concerning knowledge, on lines, which marked an avowed departure from the plain historical method of Locke. It seems that he heeded the advice of Kant[3] rather scrupulously, and the result was an uncompromising breach with Psychology, which could not be legitimately interested in problems of a purely epistemological nature, especially the problems concerning the Validity of Knowledge. But Hegel after banishing the psychological method of approach to the problem of Validity of Knowledge, could not re-invite immediacy to help him in the solution of ultimate riddles concerning truth and reality.

Instead of engaging myself, in what follows, with the negative attitude of Bradley to immediacy, I shall undertake an exposition and a defence of Bradley's affirmative doctrine of immediate experience, which in no manner can be subjected to the Hegelian criticism. Bradley, in this respect, goes beyond his native predilections,[4] and in a considerable sense outgrows the Hegelian view, which at best, constitutes only the negative aspect of his doctrine of immediate experience.

In the following paragraphs, I shall make an attempt to indicate that by immediate experience Bradley understands a purely non-sensuous situation, and even while he identifies this situation with feeling, the feeling in question should not be interpreted literally.[5] A correct appraisal of Bradley's meaning of immediacy consists in taking feeling in its symbolic significance. Such a line of interpretation gets a considerable confirmation from an analysis of immediacy into its *Emotive* and alternative *Conceptual* meanings, and the subsequent discovery that Bradley's conceptual meaning of immediacy is only a *persuasive definition*[6] of that term. Further we shall indicate that such a definition is well-warranted by its un-erring consonance with the emotive meaning of immediacy. In the end we shall try to assess the range of the application of this doctrine in respect of the solution of the ultimate problems[7] regarding truth and reality. This would necessarily involve a discussion of the doctrine of immediate experience considered as a vision or an over-all metaphysical perspective. Herein

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we shall also point out that there is nothing wrong with such a vision, though we would have very much wished Bradley to hold on to the vision more steadily than he has done, and that this failure to do so has been mainly due to an overemphasis by him on the negative aspect of immediacy, which is reflected in his unassuaged preoccupation with the dialectic.

In a considerable sense Bradley indentifies immediate experience with *feeling*. But merely saying that immediate experience is feeling is apt to be misleading and vague. Feeling is essentially a psychological term, and in Psychology too, it has been made to yield quite a number of meanings.[8] The most accredited psychological meaning that feeling has, refers to the experience that is lived through,[9] while one attends to an object. What constitutes the content of such an experience is not the awareness of the object attended to, but *an awareness of the awareness*, which, even while it intends the object, is neverthless lived through and experienced in a unique manner, as it were. We have an illustration of such an experience in what was once described as an 'idea of reflection'. That which falls on to the side of an objective content, must, of course,be the minimum with which our knowledge of the external world starts. This *sensuous minimum*, which actually always outgrows its imagined self-complete relationlessness, is also spoken by some as an example of pure immediate experience. An analytical scrutiny of knowledge does reveal, we agree, two elements: the *sensuous* and the *sentient*, a datum that expands into a significant content, and a purely subjective side, that acts on this datum and even enlarges and augments it. All knowledge, therefore, which is the explication of an objective content, out there, in the external world of necessity presupposes two non-relational elements, the one subjective and active, and the other merely given and purely passive, the one through and through of the nature of feeling, and the other through and through of the nature of sensation. There are some, who would not hesitate in qualifying either element in knowledge as immediate and non-relational and, would also talk as if we could have knowledge of these immediates. Not only this. There are those also, who would not have a hitch in describing the traffic between these elements as entirely immediate. Some, for instance, do not find any difficulty in maintaining that thinking makes no difference to facts, and that in the knowledge-situation, the given is immediately revealed. It is altogether irrelevant to those, having this approach to the problem of knowledge, to account for erroneous apprehension. The ingeneous advocates of this view have explained away error as fact objectively and truley standing out there in a perspectival situation,[10] which is not only irrefutably given, but is the invariable condition of all intentionality, and objective reference. H. H. Price, for instance, supports the case of a pluralistic veridical objectivity by postulating the distinction between the physical size of an object and its perspectival size. The apprehensions, for instance, of the physical size as well as the perspectival size of the College Tower in front of me, are veridical, and they are attested by the general and unexceptional character of apprehension, viz., is immediacy. Such a doctrine is rooted in an atomistic logic; and sensationism which has its lever in immediacy, alone, is the warrant of its alleged infallibility. The sensationist view of knowledge, we have already said, was exposed threadbare and dismissed by Hegel. We are, therefore

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not going to consider the grounds of its refutation. A mention of the view that takes the datum as also its awareness as immediate has been made here on purpose. Though thinking psychologists have found it vexatious to identify 'feeling' with any awareness of an object, the sensationist has not failed in giving the qualification of feeling to the awareness of an object, which may be something 'purely given' or may be the awareness of a datum as a so-and-so. This qualification is called 'immediacy'. It consists in the non-relationa character of the content apprehended. Just as in feeling there is no distinction between the knower and the known, the purely given is *like* feeling. Nor is there a slackness on the part of these enthusiasts in attributing this quality of immediacy to the cognitive situation, wherein the discrimination between erroneous and the veridical cognition is obliterated by the inevitability of a perspectical configuration.

Bradley discards all the above mentioned views of immediacy, and one of the three situations, with which we have acquainted ourselves at length, constitutes a true example of immediacy. The term 'feeling' is indeed intriguing, more expecially, because it is so elastic. It has not to be taken in its literal import, viz., the awareness of awareness, or an awareness, which in so far as it is an act, apart from its being directed towards an object, is 'lived through'. Feeling in its literal meaning does not rise above a certain level, and the level literally meant is the level of Phenomenalist Psychology,[11] which might have a justification from a purely limited point of view, but, which nevertheless, is all too inadequate in giving a clue to the solution of such problems, as are not phenomenalist in essence, namely, the problems concerning validity and existence, as understood in the last analysis—the purely criteriological and ontological issues.[12] No doubt "feeling" provides a clue to the solution of ultimate problems, and "feeling" is taken as infallibly charged with immediacy, yet it is not the feeling that we get at the level of Phenomenal Psychclogy—such, as is talked of by those thinkers, who identify feeling with the awareness lived through by any finite centre of sentient experience. It appears that Bradley is actually conscious of the fallacy involved in such proposition as "the awareness of awareness." How after all can awareness be made an object of awareness? The endeavour clearly postulates an *infinite regrees*, and if it does not, the awareness known as an object has forthwith lost its immediacy and, therefore, surrendered all its claim to its being designated as feeling. Whatsoever can be objectified cannot be a significant content unless mediated by the scheme of terms and relations. The hypothesis that feeling gives us the intimations of the ultimate nature of truth and reality needs verification and confirmation at a level other than the one constituted by the paraphernalia of Phenomenal Psychology.

The clue to this verification, however, is not impossible of attainment. An analysis of immediacy into its *emotive meaning*, in the first instance, and then into its alternative *conceptual meanings*, will give a clue to the direction in which Bradley is interested in taking immediate experience or its equivalent "feeling." The emotive meaning in this connexion is full of inspiration; and it does create a situation, in which quite a number of alternative conceptual meanings can be adopted and discarded, all to fit within the frame provided by its

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emotive meaning. The emotive meaning in question should be indicative of all that the term when used in speech or writing arouses in one's mind by way of expectancy and fulfilment. In this case the expectancy aroused by the expression is one of infallibility and unquestionable certainty. It envisages a criteriological ideal, and assures us that in an experience designated as immediate, all doubts would dissolve and demonstrative arguments, which are necessarily endless, would be made superfluous. The alternative conceptual meaning of immediacy *qua* feeling, would be the exemplifications of the expectancy aroused by its emotive meaning. The most common-place exemplification of its conceptual meaning is to be found in the feeling of one's one-ness with God. Besides, we can as well cite the cases of moral and aesthetic feeling, as further instances of such an exemplification. The pure datum of experience, which, though it falls on to the side of the object, has been adduced by most of the empiricists as an experience that can be likened to feeling—at least in respect of exhibiting a more or less complete approximation to immediate experience. These conceptual meanings of immediacy *qua* feeling have been, it seems, discarded by Bradley, and the line of argument adopted for this purpose is entirely Hegelian. Though these experiences are like feeling, they lack that self-completeness and self-evidence, which the emotive meaning of immediacy envisages. Even religious experience has been considered at length by Bradley, and pronounced relational and therefore lacking a self-complete necessity. The conceptual meaning given by Bradley to immediacy *qua* feeling is a case of '*persuasive definition*', which has at its back an entire metaphysical vision—an intution of what actually is self-evident and self-necessitated, and therefore really non-relational and immediate. Whatsoever comes in time, always comes as another *literally*, and its content must necessarily be mediated through a discursive process of self-transcendence. Immediacy in its temporal associations can never be really immediate. Yet the apprehension of such a timeless truth by some one—some finite centre of sentience, does not in any way affect its nature. Such a process never rises above an unqualified reception of a truth, self-made and self-determined. The appearance of such an intuition in history—in the history of one's consciousness, may be a great event indeed, but it does not mean that history in any manner can really colour it, or finite understanding enlarge or abbreviate it. The persuasive definition of immediacy *qua* feeling cannot be grasped without considering at some length Bradley's discussions concerning the truth and falsity of judgment.

To those conversant with Bradley's doctrine of truth it would be more than sufficient to say that the truth of a judgment is ascertained by the degree of coherence it exhibits in a field of judgments. But to the question whether a judgment can ever be found to have such a coherence as to enable us to say that it is absolutely true, we have to give only a negative reply. That is why Bradley insists upon the additional or the complementary criterion of *comprehensiveness*, which is suggested as a necessary check-up measure for ascertaining the truth of a judgment. The check-up measure is necessitated by the inherent tendency of thought to conceal truth, even while it is the only means of revealing it. Not only should a judgment, if true, be coherent with other judgments in the field of knowledge; it should

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have the ability to explain facts, which means that its coherence is to be dynamic and elastic, so that with the growth of knowledge, the judgment in question does not become absolute. An all-out coherent, in respect of any assertion whatsoever, is impossible of attainment. From the very nature of thought it follows that coherence invariably implies the possibility of its other, viz., incoherence, which stands out there as a possible threat to the truth of the judgment in question. While, therefore, we claim truth for a judgment and substantiate this claim by demonstrating its coherence in a certain field of knowledge, we also know it as a principle that this coherence must break down somewhere, and show that our truth-claim has come against a wall, as it were; and here we have to admit that judgment by its very nature is two-edged, and that it alternates necessarily between the two extremes of truth and falsity. Every judgment exhibits in its constitution the presence as well as the privation of coherence. The question, which must be answered in this context is—Against what unchanging and unmediated background can be *coherence* and its *other* be understood? And the question being there, it is implied that Coherence by itself is not the absolute criterion of truth. The absolute criterion which comprehends both the *presence* and the *privation* of coherence is a *feeling*, which is of the nature of immediate experience—a knowing and being in one—an experience in which there is no discord between being and knowledge. Every judgment as a truth-claim, implies an immediate awareness of this criterion. And this criterion is none other than Non-contradiction. This awareness constitutes the content of a persuasive definition of immediacy *qua* feeling. This is what, in our opinion Bradley would suggest as the conceptual meaning of immediate experience or feeling. And this one it seems, is implicitly preferred to other alternative conceptual meanings in view of the fact that this comes closer in respect of fulfilling the expectancy aroused in us by the emotive meaning of immediacy. If, however, we take this feeling as an objective content, we shall be missing its real import, for in objectifying it, we are once again drifting into a schema of terms and relations, and substituting one article of the sphere of pseudo-immediacy by another—open to all the onslaughts of a Hegalian nature. But if we take feeling in a symbolic sense—as a symbol of the awareness of the Absolute Criterion, which is enitrely self-evident and unmediatedly necessary, we shall be saving the criterion as also its immediacy. The criterion is non-contradiction but non-contradiction itself has not a mediated necessity. Any attempt to deny its truth, can make good its claim only by presupposing its validity. It is veridical in an uncancellable manner. This is the meaning of self-evidence. Immediacy in the sense of self-evidence is definitely at a higher level than the immediacy of the objective content. Between the two there is not a difference of degrees. It is one of kind. Whereas immediacy at the lower level means *atonce-ness*, immediacy at the higher level has nothing to do with *time*. The latter immediacy is entirely logomorphic in essence, and therefore, timeless in constitution. A feeling akin to what Bradley describes as "one comprehensive sentience" is nothing other than the culmination of the immediacy of absolute experience, and though, this is never given, it is there as the background of all knowledge and all judging. Feeling, therefore, is to be understood as purely epistemological schema and not as a

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psychologically determinable content, and the immediacy it typifies is not psychological but epistemological. If, however, it is identified with a psychological content, the content, should not be taken literally. It should only be understood as a symbol of something, which cannot actually be cast into a psychological mould. When we say we have the feeling of this immediacy, we do not *actually* have this feeling, as we *actually* have so many other things that constitute the bulk of the realm of the *objective content* and *relations*. We only think *as* if we *have* this feeling. Nonetheless, what this feeling stands for is an important schema, without which it is impossible to account for knowledge. The absolute is one such immediate experience, shorn of all mediation. Mediation, which characterises all our knowledge at the discursive level, itself could have no meaning and validity, unless it had a non-relational background to it. If one asks, how do we know it, our only answer would be—'not as an object'. Kant had the intimations of this immediacy, but he somehow failed to speak of such intimations as constituting knowledge. A despair of such a nature has no warrant whatsoever, and the mighty structure of Kant's transcendental metaphysic loses much of its sublimity for want of a certain confidence, which is so well expressed in his agnostic confessions. We believe that something can be known, and yet defy all determination in term of an objectifiable content and relations.

We have thus far indicated, (1) that a persuasive definition of immediate experience lies in its identification with feeling, that this feeling is to be taken not literally but only as a symbol for something that is trans-sensuous and unamenable to any characterization in terms of the categories of thought. Our achievement, if our arguments have succeeded, consists, not in giving to Bradley something that he has not already got. These arguments, it is only claimed, have been employed to explain Bradley's meaning of immediacy in terms of the contemporary philosophical idiom; (3) that the symbolic meaning of feeling consists in the identification of the import of feeling with the unmediated necessity of the principle of non-contradiction which comprehends, in an undivided intuition the approximation to coherence as also the deviation from it exhibited by a judgment in its apportioned field.

This should have been enough, so far as the clarification of the meaning of immediacy in this context is concerned. But I have the feeling that this discussion of Bradley's doctrine of immediate experience would remain incomplete, if we stopped at this point; and my feeling in this respect is well warranted by Bradley's own belief that 'immediacy' has the efficacy of indicating solutions to ultimate problems. It is implied in such a belief that to understand the nature of immediacy aright, is to understand the nature of the Ground—to have a Vision, that transforms our attitude towards knowledge and reality—towards ourselves and towards everything else, towards situations which we actually confront, and those, which we may possibly confront. Such an understanding not only gives us the glimpses of the direction in which lies the solution of final problems, but also indicates the futility and shortsightedness of points of view in conflict. It is not my claim, however, that alternative transforming attitudes are not possible in philosophy. If it were so, we could not account for all the variety of opinions that philosophers are prone to have. Yet all

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attitudes do not have the same transforming capacity, the same criteriological efficacy, in determining the truth or otherwise of a certain contention or a certain situation. All philosophical positions subsist by making a claim of this nature, and thus far, they present themselves as so many versions of a self-abiding principle. Bradley's denial of universal scepticism is an affirmation of the basic truth that no one, who takes to philosophising, can afford to do so without having a set of first principles.[14] Thus far, the philosopher is a man of Vision, and this Vision is the master-light of all his seeing. It is altogether a different matter that one vision turns out to be the pre-possession of a visionary and another the view-point of a seer. Bradley's treatment of the subject of immediacy has indicated beyond all doubt, that without a grounding in immediacy, no truth-claim has a meaning. But which view of immediacy constitutes a really transforming vision is the upshot of his discussions. We have at some length traced the nature of the steps that lead to what we have described as a 'persuasive definition,' of immediacy—a conceptual alternative meaning of the term, which Bradley would choose from among several conceptual meanings, which have to be rejected on the ground that none from among these comes to fulfil the expectancy aroused by the emotive meaning of the term. And the choice has a rationale : and the rationale is the self-necessitated feeling-like compulsion actuated by the intimations of the principle of Non-Contradiction, spoken of by Bradley as the Absolute Criterion. In identifying immediacy with the feeling-like-compulsion of the principle of Non-Contradiction, Bradley is actually describing the nature of the vision, which transforms every partial attitude, every other philosophical point of view. Still it must be said, that the vision after having lighted up his philosophical consciousness, grew faint, fell oblique, and could not be seen by him in all its ontological depth and axiologicl intensity. Perhaps Bradley was too much under the incubus of a purely theoretical zeal, viz., one of avoiding theoretical ruins, or seeking intellectual satisfaction. So far as the theoretical justification of the principle underlying Bradley's doctrine of immediacy is concerned, not much can be said against it. The epistemological implications of such a doctrine, generally speaking, could not be given greater plausibility and soundness. The dialectic has been employed in a manner that puts even Zeno in shade. Nor is his excellence in the field of philosophical methodology, materially inferior to the great post-Śaṅkara Advaitins. But there is all the difference between Bradley and these dialecticians of India. Whereas among the dialecticians of the Advaitic tradition, the dialectic is only a scaffold devised to light up the vision of immediacy, the dialectic in Bradley assumes paramount importance and the Vision allowed to be dimmed and lost sight of. Bradley's halt at the epistemological caravansaray limits his philosphical interests mainly to a discussion of the criterion of truth and reality, and once he has the vision of what is intellectually satisfying, he allows this vision pass into a dark and a dewy obscurity, and loses himself entirely in polemics.

The Advaitin has in this vision the intimation of self-knowledge. Bradley, of course, has no pronounced intimations of this nature. For him the Vision of Immediacy, means, more than anything else, the self-contradictory nature of the categories. Having

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no axiological moorings, an insight of this nature drifts again into a sea-saw of arguments, into logomachy and dialectical blitz.

Perhaps it is so, because Bradley failed to identify immediate experience with self-knowledge, and because the epistemological issues are given prime importance by him. To have a Vision of Immediacy, to be in possession of the immediate experience, is not to engage oneself in an endless war against all intellectual constructs, against all categories. The realisation of the self-contradictory nature of the appearances is to be taken only as the negative aspect of the unitive and integral experience of reality. Giving undue importance to it, as a philosophical technique or doctrine, is apt to extol the dialectic at the cost of the Vision. What is of real worth is not the arguments, intricate and new-fangled, that can be cited for proving the nothingness of that which is actually nothing. What matters indeed is an incentive to live in the light of unitive experience. What is valuable, in the last analysis is not merely a theoretical comprehension of a self-abiding reality and a self-attesting truth, but an enduring proclivity to self-effacement with a view to living in manner that progressively cancels otherness, which is the cause of fear, of greed, of hatred, of economic inequalities, of political crimes, of legal injustice, of racial bitterness, of provincial jealousies, or the linguistic atomisation of a people and of cultural crusades red in tooth and claw. The Vision of Immediacy gains a thousnd-fold in purport if taken axiologically. An excessive emphasis on epistemological issues connected with this vision will only help one to taste to satiety 'the sweets of refutation,' but this is not the philosophers' haven. Yet it must be said, that there is no irreconcilable conflict between the axiological and the epistemological aspects of this vision. All I want to say, is that, the primacy of the axiological helps better to retain the vision, whereas the primacy of the epistemological is productive of a generally belligerent attitude towards the thoughts and deeds of others. Even while an epistemological approach is sometimes absolutely necessary, this necessity cannot be an end in itself. It could only be ancillary to a better understanding of another man's point of view, which before anything else should characterise a philosophic attitude. And in this attitude alone one can expect to attain the 'sober certainty of waking bliss'.

An inquiry into the failings[2] and the achievements of Bradley in the present context, I believe, would gain in clarity, if we could distinguish Bradley's position from the position taken by Śaṅkara in his Commentary on the Brahmasūtras. Śaṅkara's enunciation of the nature of Adhyāsa is a master-piece exposition of the Transcendental method in Philosophy. The real upshot of this metaphysical canon is to give an insight into the distinction between two kinds of immediacy—the false and the true—what is merely *believed* to be so, namely the *subjective*, and what is really to—what is *nitya* (self-enduring and timelessly veridical in essence) and what is *anitya* (enduring through *an other*, and only conditionally veridical in essence). The World and the individual are not actually unreal; for if we start with the presupposition, that they are unreal, we would be at the end of all jijñāsā. But they are also not real in the last analysis. They are merely *believed* to be so, and when this belief comes up, as a matter

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for consideration in reflective consciousness, it turns out to be something self-contradictory—erroneous, false, and therefore, fit for being discarded and superseded. When we say that which is merely believed is the subjective and the false and has to be discarded and transcended, we do not mean to say that such a content of consciousness has to be cancelled outright as non-existent, as is the hare's horn or the sky-flower or the son of a woman who is barren. It has to be transcended and discarded in the apsect of its literal entitativeness. It has to be treated as a symbolic entity, as a symbol for *something*, which in its literal aspect it conceals, and in its literal signification it distorts. To understand mundaneness in its deeper signification, does not amount to a denial of contentuality to mundaneness. It only amounts to a replacement of one mode of the consciousness of it by another. The mediated consciousness has to give way to unmediated mode of consciousness—mediation and discursivity (under the spell of ignorance, wearing the garb of immediacy as certainty) have to give way to immediacy and intuitional simplicity. Philosophic consciousness which is the necessary pre-requisite of *madhujñāna*, necessitates the making of this distinction between the two modes of consciousness—the mediated and the unmediated. In the absence of this distinction, there occurs a process of reciprocal superimposition of one mode of consciousness on another. Illusion or Adhyāsa is the confusion or the unconscious synthesis of these two, their blind coupling, as it were. So does the Vedāntin say that in illusion there is the identification of two functions (vṛttis)—the *pramātṛvṛtti* and the *avidyāvṛtti* of the Sāksin. The really discursive and mediated consciosuness in the absence of such a discrimination is believed to have the infallibility and certainty of immediacy, and the immediacy of the non-relational, self-evident order, is apt to be confused with a mode of consciousness that contemplates a content in the discursive aspect. Thus is that, which is merely an appearance, likely to be missed for reality, and the real for that which merely appears. Philosophic consciousness necessarily implies a reflective awareness, in which the adhiṣṭhāna (the ground) has to be distinguished from that which is merely superimposed on it. In this reflective consciousness, which for Śaṅkara is the philosophic consciousness, the mediational mode of consciousness necessarily implies an unmediated background. The world and the individual recognized as *anitya vastus* imply the notion of the *nitya vastu*, which stands, as it were, in the office of a criterion—as absolute norm. This implies a passage from Appearance to Reality, from a consciousness operating on the machinery of terms and relations to a consciousness perfectly non-relational—from a consciousness which is exhausted and dissipated in this relation to a consciousness which is not so dissipated and exhausted—which is of the nature of pure immediate experience. Pure immediate experience—non-relational and undissipated, is the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the appearance, which occur on account of the self-same content contemplated in the mediated, discursive or relational consciousness. Śaṅkara's doctrine of the Adhyāsa introduces the jijñāsu to the Brahman by generating in him the awareness of nityānitya-vastuviveka. But the doctrine of Adhyāsa in Śṅakara has not only a negative function to perform. It dovetails into the samārādhana or the anubhūti of Brahman in its ontological and axiological aspects. The negative aspect of the Adhyāsa doctrine,

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acquaints us with the accidental definition of the Brahman. Its affirmative aspect takes us to the essential definition of Brahman.[18] The two definitions in the Advaita Vedanta are described as Taṭastha and Svarūpa. The self-contradiction implicit in the appearance can only be comprehended in an experience that is abādhya (uncontradictable). The Brahman as envisaged in this situation is the possibility of an experience characterized by immediacy. "Immediacy" as the qualification of an experience, which comprehends the failings, the shortcomings and misgivings of a mediated awareness is only adjectival in essence,—a floating ideality, which merely points to a norm, which on account of this qualification would not be an hair to the contradictions, it embraces and exhibits. The norm is Brahman—pure and appearanceless sentience. Whereas in the accidental definition, immediacy (the criterion of reality) is pointed to as an adjective qualifying *an other* of discursive consciousness; in the essential definition, immediacy is not to be understood as an adjective external to an existent, but as an *essence* identical with *existence*. The Real and the Immediate are not two. So long as immediacy is understood as the criterion, in the light of which we understand the shortcomings of the apparent, we have a licence to speak of an 'X', characterized by immediacy. But this linguistic licence is necessary only so long as 'X', (the real subject) and not—X (the merely apparent) are distinguished and distinguishable, i.e., so long as we are merely aware of the deficiency in the mode of our Being and Knowing. With the slough of distinction cast off, we are in a realm in which immediacy, instead of being understood as an adjective, becomes the very substantive it was supposed to qualify. Critical consciousness in which the nityānitya-vastu-viveka occurs, points to two things at the same time. First, it points to immediacy as the qualification of a possible existence—other than the one, lived through and experienced in the attitude of relational consciousness. It is encountered as a qualification, as an adjectival function because we are still occupied only with the demonstration of the anityatā of the content comprehended in the attitude of the *discursus*. In forestalling this kind of existence, the intellect has not ceased to function; it only points to a possible successor, which is still in the offing, still conceived as *an other*. Secondly, it points to immediacy, which is no more the qualification of *an other* of consciousness. Herein, we are in a realm, in which the attitude of contemplating *as another* has been transcended. This being done, we are one with the mode of consciousness, of which immediacy is not an adjectival adjunct, but only a synonym. Śaṅkara's doctine of the Adhyāsa, has as its implicate, two kinds of immediacy—the *connotational* and the *denotational*.[19] As connotational 'immediacy' is adumbrated as the qualification of a possible content, existing in a realm other than the one encountered in the objective attitude. The content in question is 'possible' only, and has to be distinguished from the 'actual', which is habitually identified with mundaneness, both in respect of subjectivity and objectivity. One could clarify the notion in question by saying that if one were to cast off ones relational mode of awareness, one could experience an unsheathed content, not infected with the contradictions exhibited by the appearances. As denotational, it is identical with consciousness, pure, and unschematized by the subject-object dualism—one of which the Māṇḍūkyo-

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paniṣad speaks as the *caturtham*—the fourth—the *turīya*, which has no 'limit'. In passing from its connotational to its denotational usage, 'immediacy' passes from the state of its being an adjectival ingredient of a possible existent to the state of its being such an existent itself. Immediacy concessionally spoken of as a qualification of Brahman is not actually a qualification. It has no connotative intentionality; it has only a denotative significance. The denotation of Brahman as consciousness in its pristine purity comes before its connotation. It would not be a mistake to say that the denotation is the true meaning of this term; the connotation is its appearance, a mental replica or symbolic substitute for it. Substance is never a predicate".[20] Immediacy in its denotational usage is only synonymous with the Substance, variously described as Ātman or Brahman.

This elaboration of the doctrine of Adhyāsa in its connotational and denotational aspects brings us to the heart of the distinction between Śaṅkara and Bradley.

Bradley's immediacy for all we know, and are inclined to know, is *not both* connotational and denotational. It is just the qualification of a possible existence—an ideal, which, Bradley takes meticulous care, not to indentify with existence as—an-actuality. Bradley has taken absolute pains to demonstrate the self-contradictory character of quality and relations, and yet his "immediacy" appears to be some other than the accidental definition of an existence which, if actualized, could *not* shed off the contradictions met with in the realm of a consciousness—contemplating—*an other*. This *possible* 'existence' of Bradley's philosophy, is not much different from the Tattva of the Mādhyamikas. The Mādhyamikas conceive of it (if it is conceivable at all) as something, of which, it would be absurd to talk as an actuality. Nothing actual is like Tattva. If it were to be visualized in the image of an actual, it would turn out to be self-contradictory. Bradley's Immediate Experience is the Vision of a *Possible* Existence, which if made *Actual*, would degenerate into a 'bundle of discrepancies', 'a metaphysical chimera' and 'a psychological monster'.[21] This is the reason why both Bradley and the Mādhyamikas lay waste to their powers of acute understanding, by making the dialectic a wholesale occupation of their philosophical adventure. That Bradley has a dread of the actualization of this possibility is proved by the fact that he exhausts every possible argument for proving the self-contradictory nature of the self. Bradley, like Kant has in his sub-conscious a lurking aversion to the Ontological Arugment.[22] This lurking aversion to the Ontological Argument is borne out by the fact that Bradley would not identify anything ideally envisaged with the Absolute. The absolute of Bradley is neither God nor Self. It is not even Value.

The Advaita Vedānta, specially in its Śaṅkarite aspect, is a master-piece solution of the riddles created by the Transcendentality of the Absolute and the Dialectic of Reason. An Ontological Argument for proving the existence of Brahman would be needed only if Brahman is conceived as *an other* of consciousness. The self-contradictory nature of the appearances points to the criterion of Reality—a Reality, characterized by Immediacy. But the problem concerning the employment of the Ontological Argument would arise only

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if immediacy were to be thought of as an adjective—or the qualification of a possible existence. But if this possibility were to become an actuality, it would lose its immediacy. Immediacy as connotational suffers from this defect. It points to a vision, in which could be quenched, possibly, all our failings and misgivings, but the vision never gets transformed into an actuality. It only becomes an epistemological handle—a grinding machine—a guillotine, for demonstrating the self-contradiction implicit in every actuality, whether subjective or objective. The reasons for this distortion of the Vision, and a clinging to the Dialectic, are more than well-explained by the shortsightedness of Bradley. The shortsightedness in question, consists in a disinclination of the part of Bradley to an actual transformation of the noetic attitude. The transformation of the noetic attitude would make the Ontological Argument a superfluity. The Ontological Argument in Bradley does not get more respectability than it got at the hands of Kant. The Ontological Argument is needed in Bradley and Kant for effecting a transition from the Ideal to the Actual, but the Actual being always understood as *an other of* consciousness, no such transition can really be effected.

Both Kant and Bradley are Transcendental Logicians. They have a Transcendental Logic without a Transcendental Ontology. For this reason, what they are able to think of as an Ideal, they never succeed in making Actual. The declaration of the impossibility of metaphysics in Kant is still the problem of problems for the Neo-Kantian scholars. And the inevitable lapse of every actual existent into an 'appearance' in Bradley, is the doctrinal consequence of a deontologized Logic. So Śaṅkara does not need the Ontological Argument for translating ideality into actuality. That Kant and Bradley need such an argument for translating ideality into actuality is evident from the fact that their adverse criticism of the Ontological Argument is like finding the fraility of a bridge, which they might have used for connecting the Realm of the Ideal with the Realm of the Actual. But Saṅkara's Logic being not only a Logic of Idealities but also one of Existence, Śaṅkara neither needs the assistance of the Ontological Argument, nor does he stand out to demonstrate the absurdity of its application. What saves Saṅkara from lapsing into negativism, is his identification of the Self with the Principle of Immediacy. Immediacy to Śaṅkara implies the transcendence of the Ego-sense in the human situationl—transcendence in 'existence'. Śaṅkara's philosophy does not look at a Quenching Ideal from outside. The epistemological situation is not the only situation that the metaphysics of the Advaita envisages. From the conflicting nature of the appearances to their Quenching Ideal—their *adhiṣṭhāna*, there is a passage in noetic consciousness; so that we can say without meaning any contradiction that the appearances imply the Brahman. But there is a no passage from Brahman (the adhi ṣṭhāna) to the appearances in noetic consciousness whose essence is relational. If the passage from Ideality to Actuality is understood as cancelled, the Brahman of Śaṅkara would not be different from the Absolute of Bradley and the Thing-in-itself of Kant or one of his Transcendental Idealities which are thinkable without being knowable. But this is not the case. The Brahman is, not the self; and yet the Brahman is the self. Brahman is an ideality, envisaged as 'immediate experienced and this ideality is different in structure from empirical consciousness of finite

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self-hood'. In the purely noetic situation the empirical selfhood (Jīvatva) on account of its anityatā implies a norm that comprehends its shortcomings—a ground, a criteriological support. But such an implication does not mean that the criteriological ground—the Brahman is implicatory of finitude—objective or subjective. To say that the Brahman of Śaṅkara is only an ideality and no actuality, is not in consonance with the first principle of the Śaṅkara Vedānta. In the noetic attitude (by which is understood the discursive attitude) the Brahman can never be made to descend from a state of Ideality to one Actuality. But the noetic attitude and the noetic situation *via* the Adhyāsa doctrine, give us the glimpses of another attitude, in which there remains no difference between the THAT and the THOU. This attitude is the attitude of 'abheda'—the negation of the objective attitude. In noetic consciousness the THAT negates the THOU, and though the THOU implies the THAT as its Quenching Ideal, yet in the self-same attitude the THOU is an ontological negation of THAT. The question is—Is there a way out of this conundrum ? In noetic awareness the THAT and the THOU negate each other ontologically, though the THOU implies that THAT as its Indefinite Ground. The THAT could become an actuality, only if the negation that disjoins the two could be negated. This negation of negation cannot be actualised in the noetic attitude. In the noetic attitude as comprehended by the explanation of Adhyāsa as given by Śaṅkara, the nature of experience in which this negation can be negated is foreshadowed all too clearly to admit of any misunderstanding. The attitude in which this negation of negation is make-able is the evaluating attitude—the axiological attitude. Of this attitude there are three alternations—those of *knowing*, *willing* and *feeling*, —the three functions of the THOU (finite individuality).The cancellation of 'relation in the these three alternations fuses the '*thou*' into ' *that*. Cancellation of *otherness* as subjectivity is Brahman as Sat—Transcendental Objectivity. Cancellation of *otherness* as objectivity in Brahman as *cit*—Transcendental Subjectivity. Cancellation of the 'affirmation of otherness'—is the ontologization of a feeling of fulness, and this is Brahman as Ānanda.[23] The Vedānta of Śaṅkara can be described as a *setu* which connects Ideality with Actuality, through the deepening of an evaluating consciousness, known as the axiological attitude. Here there is no question of the *that* fusing into a *what* 'somehow'. Reflective Consciousness as Philosophy, in the Advaita, is the self-complete system of a Logic of Idealities telescoping into a Transcendental Ontology *via* an Axiological bridge. In Śaṅkara the Logic of *Meaning* fuses into the Logic of *Existence*. In Bradley there remain yawning abysses between the Logic of Meaning and the Logic of Existence. The '*somehows*' of Bradley cannot and do not build a bridge immune from what he calls a theoretical ruin and an intellectual disaster. The only bridge that connects the two is axiological in its structure; but Bradley never built one of this nature. The Logic of Existence insists upon a fashioning of the soul in one of the alternatives of Immediacy. A mere awareness of the Absolute as Immediacy or Immediate Experience is not enough. We may call such an awareness an *Insight*, and distinguish it from *Evaluation*, which alone has the efficacy of transmuting our limitations into perfection. This awareness, if it were to remain at the level of Insight only, would

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not entitle its possessor to be called a philosopher. Mere Insight is only a scientific acumen. In science there is no commitment to honour. Philosophical consciousness calls for an evaluation—a constructive attitude. Herein a commitment must be honoured. The Advaitic Philosophy tells us the alternative ways to the fulfilment of this Commitment. 'Immediacy' conceived in moments of insight, finds its fulfilment as Truth, Reality and Value, to which we are committed as human existents. But outside a situation of commitment, immediacy may remain a possibility and a postulation only. But the situation of commitment is no pledge in which one stands committed to some one else. Nothing in the nature of a moral fulfilment is indicated here.[25] It is a commitment to one's own self, a commitment to be one's self in its essential 'aloneness'. Nothing has to be done in the objective attitude for honouring this commitment. Being one's self is no deferred goal to be reached in time. Being one's self is to be free from the illusion of one's being imprisoned or necessarily hyphenated with something else. The metaphor of the human situation works better than anything else for understanding the nature of the distress in which redress is sought. In the human situation alone one traverses a *bending* that connects the two attitudes : the objective and the trans-objective, and effects a transition from the spuriously immediate to the genuinely immediate, from the apparent and the unreal to the real. But our final remarks worded in this fashion should not be misconstrued. We hold no brief here, for 'humanism' as understood in the naturalist tradition. Else there would be nothing in our position to distinguish us from the Pragmatist and the Personalists. Such a confusion is in one sense natural. It can, however, be dissipated, but not through a negative of it in any literal sense; for a literal negation of it, intends nothing, except its *other*, contemplated in the self-same attitude. Its negation as literally determined can be made to yield a positive position only by the hypostatisation of the non-human situation into another dogma of metaphysics. And this is precisely what we could never intend. Immediacy as we understand it, should be, being and being known in the trans-objective attitude. The very content of experience conceived in the objective attitude stands now as a symbol of its own transcendence; and in this transcendence, one knows without thinking and one exists without being subject to any limitation. Immediacy, in a very large sense, means complete freedom from limitation. It does not matter, what the nature of the limitation is. The limitation may refer to a cognitive situation or one that is affective or conative. But in so far as each one of these situations is within the limitational matrix, a transcendence of the limit, unreservedly points to nothing that is *an other* of the limit; for *an other* of the limit itself cannot be any *ens* that is not limited.[26] The transcendence of the limit could mean something unlimited, only if limit were employed and understood as a symbol[27] of its own dissipation. The immediacy of the ātmanic experience is no literal *other* of discursive awareness. It is the transcendence of it through the commutation of it into a symbol. Only the literal thinghood of the objective content of experience is to be understood in its enigmatic triviality and symblolic intentionality. Then alone could be encountered in theoretic consciousness the vision of immediacy. And for all we know, Bradley has not spoken in this strain.[28]

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REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Hegel is an unmitigated critic of immediacy. To him Immediacy unreservedly smacks of psychologism. Bradley makes, it appears, a clear-cut distinction between psychological immediacy of the Associationists and Phenomenalists and the higher immediacy of a trans-sensuous order. He criticizes the former, and upholds the latter.

   For an elaboration of the purely Hegelian point of view, see Mure's *A Study of Hegel's Logic* pp. 315-316. For Bradley's Criticism of immediacy at the psychological or infra-relational level see *Collected Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 216-18, also p. 229. Bradley's Criticism of Immediacy in the Hegelian manner is illustrated in his refutation of Associations. "Hence the Atomism must go wholly, and the 'associative links' must be connexions of content, not conjunction of existences; in other words, Association marries only universals" (Ibid, p. 209). The position taken here by Bradley has been largely expanded by G. R. G. Mure in his two articles entitled "The Marriage of Universals" in *the Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 1928 & 1929.
2. Hegel's intention was to sound the death-knell of Psychologism and of the Logical Explanation by the Principles of Identity.
3. The advice, that the problems of Epistemology admit of no genuine solution from the psychological point of view is essentially Kantian in its origin. Kant's solution was a plea for transcendentalism.
4. Predilections bequeathed to him by the empirical legacy of British Philosophy are here referred to.
5. Literal interpretation of feeling is sure to submerge Bradley once again in the fog of the much abhorred Psychologism.
6. For the idea of a *persuasive definition*, see C. L. Stevenson's article "Persuasive Definition" in *Mind*, 1938.
7. *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 160.
8. See Louis Arnaud Reid's "Immediate Experience; its Nature and Content" in *Mind*, Vol. XXXIX, 1930, pp. 154-155.
9. Ibid, p. 156.
10. See in *Contemporary British Philosophy* (Third Series) H. H. Price's views in his article entitled "The Argument from Illusion," pp. 393-96.
11. Bradley : *Collected Essays* Vol. II, p. 366.
12. Ibid, p. 364.
13. *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 160.
14. *Appearance and Reality*, p. 1.
15. Madhujñāna or Madhuvidyā is foundational knowledge, which is not only svapraśakā but is also immanent in all kinds of awareness.
16. See Brahmasūtra Śaṅkara Bhāsya : *Upodghāta*.
17. *Advaitasiddhi*, p. 652.

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18. Prof. Murti has given an excellent and very thoughtful analysis of the two definitions Brahman in *K. C. Bhattacharya Memorial Volume* (Amalner) pp. 135-50.
19. Prof. F. C. S. Northrop in *Radhakrishnan Sixtieth Birthday Commemoration Volume* speaks of the denotative existential immediacy of the Oreintal Philosophers, as distinguished from the purely formal immediacy of the intellectual order (pp. 372-73).

    "The Ocean or Continuum of immediacy, since it is immediately apprehended by the purely existential, or aesthetic intuition, without any recourse to the Socratic, Platonic, Aristotelian or modern scientific theoretic intuition, is appropriately called the aesthetic or the existential continuum." (*Ibid*, p. 373).
20. T. R. V. Murti : *K. C. Bhattacharya Memorial Volume*, p. 147.
21. Our contention here is amply illustrated in Bradley's views concerning the self, which, even while it can be described as the highest among the appearances, is not Reality itself.
22. *Appearance and Reality*, p. 132.
23. See K. C. Bhattacharya : *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol. II, p.p 142-43.
24. For the use of these two words in this context I am indebted to Prof. Burch. See *K. C. Bhattacharya Memorial Volume*, p. 29.
25. Morality cannot be the condition precedent of being one's self, though, there is nothing self-contradictory in assuming that from being one's self morality follows as natural consequence. There is no moral ladder leading on to Absolution. Yet assume that the Absolute is not moral would be assuming something fundamentally absurd. Moral excellence cannot be dissociated from the Absolute, though the moral methodology for attaining Absolution must be considered as a patent superfluity.
26. See Śāṅkara Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra, III. 2.31 and III. 2.32.
27. Ibid, III. 2.33.
28. The one philosopher, who has spoken in this strain, and to whom the present writer is much indebted is Citsukha, whose discussion of the problem of *Svaprakāśa* in its polemical and constructive aspects is a masterpiece exposition of a critique of Spiritual Experience. (See *Tattvapradīpiky*, Acyutagranthamālā, Kāśi, pp. 2-15).

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THE CONCEPTION OF TATTVA—A STUDY

By

DR. DEBA BRATA SEN SHARMA

The need for understanding the exact connotation of the Sanskrit term *Tattva* can hardly be over-emphasised. Almost all schools of Indian Philosophy have used this term in varying senses[1], but nowhere any attempt seems to have been made to define this term or give its precise connotation. It is true that the word '*tattva*' has very often been used to denote loosely what is signified by another Sanskrit term *padārtha*, creating thereby a lot of confusion, but if we carefully examine the two terms and compare their connotation we find that they do not signify exactly the same thing, and for that reason they are not synonymous, strictly speaking. To explain, *padārtha*, literally meaning 'denotation of a word" (*pada*+*artha*), signifies the thing or class of thing which correspond to a word, and is generally translated into English as category.[2] *Padārtha*, it follows from the etymological derivation, is a fundamental general concept under which can be subsumed what are indicated by words.[3] *Padārtha* is thus merely an abstract concept, signifying and corresponding to the thing or class of things, and as such it must be regarded as distinct from the thing itself. *Tattva*, on the other hand, literally meaning "thatness" denotes a reality, a fundamental phase of manifestation, a "real state"[4] a "being".[5] As such *tattva* is not a mental concept or abstraction in the sense in which *padārtha* is, but it stands for the thing itself. It is a reality, a concrete fact with which direct sense contact is possible. The Yogins are said to possess the capacity to cognise *Tattva* as such through super-normal means. *Tattvas* cannot be cognised by ordinary persons, having recourse only to normal organs, not, owing to their being subtle in nature, but because the senses themselves are of the nature of *tattva*.

Before we further examine the nature of *tattva*, it would perhaps be worthwhile to make a brief survey of the usage of this term in the ancient philosophical texts in order to see if any clue may be found there as to the exact significance of this term. It may be stated at the outset that this term has not been used in a technical sense in the ancient Śruti literature. We come across this term only once in the Śaunaka Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda.[6] In Upaniṣads, however, this term occurs frequently.[7] It has been used in the Mahābhārata and the Bhagavadgitā also. At all these places, it may be noted, the term *tattva* has been used as a non-technical word, signifying generally either true nature or essence or a reality or true principle and so on. It appears that this term did not acquire the importance of a technical term till that time, and therefore, no particular meaning was attached to it. This was in conformity with the prevailing tendency of that age, the age of intuition and non-dialectical thinking. In the philsophical treatises of the later age, we find that this word

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acquired some kind of definite connotation although it is not very clear even there, as to what was then its exact significance. Among the old philosophical treatises in which this term figures repeatedly mention may be made of Sāṅkhya Sūtras of Kapila and Vātsyāyana-bhāsya on the Nyāya Sūtras of Gotama. The Sāṅkhya system enumerates twentyfour tattvas which are said to constitute the entire fabric of worldly existence, but what exactly is signified by the term tattva has not very clearly been stated there. Vātsyāyana-bhāsya,[8] fortunately raises this question about the nature of tattva. The answer given by the commentator[9] viz., '*tattva*' is true nature, the essence of a thing does not touch the hub of the problem. So the precise significance of the term remains anybody's guess.

In view of what has been stated above, we are left with no other alternative but to make our own attempts, keeping always in view the traditional line of thinking. We would, however, confine ourselves to stating the real nature of *tattva* rather than venture, comprehensive and precise definition which it is hazardous to give. Tattva, we may say, is reality, a fundamental phase of manifestation, which exists independently of us. It is an elementary or primary constituent of the creation.[10] Ordinarily, it is imperceptible to us through our sense-organs, though really speaking it is not wholly so. Yogins are said to be capable of knowing it as an object of knowledge through super-sensuous means.

Being a costituent of the universe, it has two aspects, viz., macrocosmic and microcosmic[11]. In the macrocosmic aspect it pervades the entire cosmos and is the material cause (upādāna kāraṇa) of the cosmos. The Sāṅkhya system speaks of twentythree *tattvas* which evolve out of Prakṛti and constitute the entire range of creation. This may be interpreted to mean that the entire creation, in the Sāṅkhya view, has twentythree levels of existence,[12] each level corresponding to, or constituted by a tattva. Thus the highest level of existence in the Sāṅkhya system would be that of the *buddhi tattva* and lowest constituted by the *pṛthvī tattva*. All these levels of existence are inhabited by different kinds of beings[13] who are subject to mechanically operating laws of nature.

Microcosmically *tattva* signifies a constituent element of body-apparatuses (śarīra) of individual beings. It is a well-known principle accepted by many systems of Indian Philosophy including the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, Vedānta, etc. that body-apparatuses of individual beings are exact replica of the universe, and as such, they represent the universe in miniature form. That being so, the Sāṅkhya system holds that individual being has as constituent elements all the tattvas, beginning with *buddhi* down to *pṛthvī*.

In other words, *tattvas* simultaneously exist in two forms, both being only aspects of the same thing, viz., cosmic form in which they constitute the creation and are the material cause of the universe, and the individual form in which they are the constituent elements of body-apparatuses.

If we glance at the nature of *tattva* from the point of view of *Āgamic* philosophy ,we become aware of yet another aspect of the nature of *tattva*. Although, generally speaking the Āgamas admit multiplicity of *tattvas*, but they are held to have emanated from the unity of Supreme Reality, the Transcendent, the Asbolute. Ontologically speaking., *Tattva* is

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said to represent a phase of reality emanated from the Supreme Reality, manifested during the involutionary movement of the Supreme Reality. It signifies a particular movement, a step in the descent of Supreme Reality towards gross-becoming. This, it may be pointed out here, should not be taken to imply that the *Āgamas* do not admit the existence of *Tattvas* as such. The creation being a real self-manifestation of the Supreme Reality out of his own free will,[14] every object of universe has real existence. *Tattvas* are no exception to this.

There is yet another feature about *Tattva's* nature that may be noted in this connection. The Āgamas as well as the Sāṅkhya admit a sort of hierarchy in the *tattvas*. Though this hierarchy is only logical and not temporal, the creative process having been accomplished in a moment, yet the existence of logical succession cannot be denied in view of the cause and effect relation existing between them. That being so, there exist higher and lower *tattvas*, the higher being subtle in nature and more intrinsic, the lower being relatively gross and more extrinsic. Each higher *tattva* permeates and pervades the succeeding ones, the highest and the most subtle (e.g. Buddhi or Mahat as it is rightly called in the Sāṅkhya System) pervading and permeating all the *tattvas*. It logically follows from the above that each successive lower *tattva* exists in and draws its sustenance from the successive higher *tattvas* which are also its material causes. This may be better understood by an illustration from mathematics. The hierarchy of *tattvas* as it exists may be compared to so many concentric circles of growing type, the highest having the biggest radius and the lowest the smallest radius. As the biggest concentric circle involves and includes all the smaller circles, so the highest *tattva* involves and includes all the successively lower *tattvas* that are held in its bosom as it were. Similarly, the lowest *tattva* has within it the entire range of *tattvas* from which it draws its sustenance.

We have considered the nature of *tattva* rationally and as far as we could understand it by our limited mental activity. It is left to *Yogins* who indeed can and bo realise the true nature of *tattva* as an objective reality by direct experience.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. Nyāya Sūtras, Vātsyāyanabhāṣya, Upakrama.
2. In this connection it may be noted here that the English word category is a shade different from the Sanskrit term *padārtha* although the Sanskrit term padārtha is generally translated as category. Cf. "Category means a predicate. In popular usage accordingly, the term category is applied to any class or concept. Philosophically, however, the term category is confined to ultimate modes of being or to ultimate concepts or modes of apprehension." Encyclo. Brit. Vol. V. p. 28.
3. *An Outline of Indian Philosophy* : P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, p. 195. Also see Dasgupta, S. N., *Hist. of Indian Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 313.
4. Śvet. Up. as quoted by Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
5. Jaimini Sūtras 1, 3, 14. as quoted by Monier-Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

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6. Atharvaveda 19, 42, 2.
7. Advaita Up. line 11; Jābālyopaniṣad II, 8; Pāsupata Brāhmopaniṣad II, 19; Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad II, 13,1. etc. (for this information I have relied on Visvabandhu's *Vaidika Padānukrama Kośa*, to whom I express my gratitute).
9. Vatsyāyanabhāṣya on the Nyāya Sūtras, Introductory.
10. Prof. S. S. Suryanarayaṇa Śastri's hypothesis that "the *tattvas* (in the original Sāṅkhya system) were conceived as the psychologically distinguishable stages of that progress ....later Sāṅkhya became metaphysical in hypostating the *tattvas* into ontological entities" deserves serious consideration. See his edition of Sāṅkhya Kārikā (University of Madras), Introduction, p. 18.
11. It is true that nowhere in the Sāṅkhya Kārikā or any of its available commentaries we could find direct evidence in support of our theory about the two aspects of *tattva's* nature, but that this idea is not wholly foreign to traditional Indian thought is clear from the Chānd. Up. VIII, I, 1-3, which speaks of the two aspects in clear terms, Cf. Ranade, R. D. *A Constructive Survey of the Philosophy of Upaniṣads* p. 44. When the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara describes collective and individual sarīras of Iśvara and jīva it implies the same idea.
12. These levels of existence are besides the well-known levels of existence, viz., fourteen *bhuvanas* which have generally been admitted in Indian philosophy and in particular in the systems of *Sāṅkhya-yoga* and Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara.
13. Namely, Human, Sub-human and Superhuman. There is yet another classification of beings e.g. jarāyuja, aṇḍaja, svedaja, udbhija which is based on the difference in birth. This classification includes eightyfour lac *yonis* mentioned in the Purāṇas.
14. Pratyabhijñā Hṛdayam Sū. 2.

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ĀCĀRYA TRILOCANA : HIS CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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Indian philosophy is indebted to a number of scholars whose names only have come down to us. We are not aware when and where they lived and what their work was. We do not know even the nature of their special contribution. Ācārya Trilocana is one of many such scholars. As the Buddhist texts began to come to light, and the well-known work, the "Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts", was published, M.M. Hara Prasāda Shāstri noticed that in his Apohasiddhi (p. 13) and Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi (p. 58, 70), Ratnakīrti, the Buddhist author, had quoted the views of one Trilocana. M. M. Hara Prasāda Shāstri suggested to identify him with the teacher of the great Vācaspatimśira.

This is now proved on the strength of good evidence that Trilocana was the teacher of Vācaspatimiśra. Vācaspatimiśra himself declares in the Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparay-tikā :—

त्रिलोचनागुरून्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः ।
यथामानं यथावस्तु व्याख्यातमिदमीदृशम् ।।[2]

Further, Udayanācārya, in his 'Tātparya-pariśuddhi,' a commentary on Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā, tells us that in the work of restoration of Udyotakara's text, Vācaspatimiśra was indebted to his teacher Trilocana.[3] Vardhamāna, acommentator of Udayana's Pariśuddhi, refers to Trilocana as Vācaspati's *vidyāguru*.[4] Aniruddha, the author of Vivaraṇapañjikā, an unpublished commentary on Vācaspatimiśra's Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā declares that Vācaspatimiśra followed the Mañjarikāra.[5] It has, therefore, been suggested that Trilocana may be identical with Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, the author of Nyāya-Mañjarī, for, in the introductory stanza of his Nyāya-Kaṇikā, Vācaspatimiśra offers salutation to his teacher, who is mentioned as the author of Nyāya-Mañjarī.[6] Although Trilocana might have been the teacher of Vācaspatimiśra, it is doubtful if he can be identified with Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. In this connection the observation of Dr. D. N. Shastri may be quoted : That Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa was the teacher of Vācaspatimiśra "does not seem to be at all plausible. In his lengthy discussion on the meaning of terms *avyapadeśya* and *vyavasāyātmaka* in Gotama's definiton of perception, Jayanta does not seem to be even conversant with the interpretation of these terms given by Vācaspatimiśra. But if he were identical with Trilocana, he would himself be the author of that interpretation."[7]

It is, of course, true that Nyāya-Mañjarī or Mañjarī was a work of Trilocana. But

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this Nyāya-Mañjarī was different from the work of that name by Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa; this has been proved by Prof. Ananta Lal Thakur.[8] He argues : "In his Iśvaravāda, Jñānaśrīmitra attributes one Nyāya-work, called the Mañjarī, to Trilocana. In the Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgādhyāya again, there are two remarkable passages cited from a Nyāya-mañjarī. None of them has anything in common with Jayanta's work."[9] Moreover, Dr. D. N. Shastri suggests that salutation offered by Vācaspatimiśra to the author of Nyāyamañjarī coming before a Pūrvamīmāṁsā work could not, "in the fitness of things, be addressed to the author of a Nyāya work which contains refutation of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā theories. The Nyāya-mañjarī referred to in the stanza in question might have been some Pūrvamimāṁsā work."[10] It is thus obvious, that Trilocana would not be identical with Jayanta.

Now there arises a question, when and where did this great scholar flourish? Without some convincing evidence, we cannot fix the date and place of Trilocana. The date of Vācaspatimiśra, of course, is decisively fixed in the first half of the ninth century. To his Nyāya-sūci-nibandha Vācaspatimiśra himself assigns "898", as the year of its composition. It is admitted that the year in question is that of Vikrama era. The year would, therefore, correspond to 841 *A.D.* Consequently the age of Trilocana should be the beginning of the ninth century. Randle rightly suggested that Trilocana, a great expositor of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system flourished in 800 *A.D.*[11]

It has now been proved that there were several works of Trilocana, unfortunately none of them is extant now. We learn from Sarvajñasiddhi of Ratnakīrti that one of the Trilocana's work was Nyāya-Prakirṇaka.[12] From its name it appears that it might have been an original treatise on Nyāya system. His second work was Mañjarī or Nyāya-Mañjarī. As has been stated above, Jñānaśrimitra, the Buddhist author, mentions the Mañjarī[13] and Nyāya-Mañjarī in his philosophical essay.[14]. Obviously Nyāya-mañjari or its short form Mañjarī is the title of the same work and it is this work to the author of which (Trilocana) Vācaspatimiśra has offered salutation in the introductory stanza of the Nyāya-Kaṇikā, as already noted. Moreover, it has already been pointed out that this work, being a Pūrvamimāṁsā work, must have been different from the work of Jayanta of the same name. The third work of Trilocana, as Durvekamiśra informs us, was 'Nyāya-Bhāṣya-Tīkā', a commentary on the Nyāya-Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana.[15]

Now, that the above mentioned and other works of Trilocana are not available, we can only infer some of his theories in the light of the quotation existing in other treatises. Fortunately, Trilocana and his theories are frequently quoted in the philosophical commentaries and treatises of the orthodox, Buddhist and Jaina writers. For instance, Randle informs us that Trilocana is quoted twice in the Tārkika-Rakṣā of Varadarāja.[16] Besides, Jñānaśrimitra refers to Trilocana copiously. As already noted, he refers twice to the Mañjarī (pp. 236, 255), once to the Nyāya Mañjarī (p. 36), once to Nyāyamañjarikāra (p. 28), and almost seventeen times to Trilocana.[17] Ratnakīrti as pupil of Jñānaśrimitra has quoted Trilocana on several occasions some of which were not traced by M. M. Haraprasāda Shāstri. To sum up, he quoted Trilocana twelve times in all.[18] As noticed above, Durvekamiśra,

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the commentator of the Nyāya-Bindu-Tīkā of Dharmottara, quoted Trilocana twice, in his Dharmottarapradīpa (pp. 173, 175). Likewise, the Buddhist author, Mokṣākaragupta, refers to Trilocana twice in his Tarka-Bhāṣā (pp. 10, 23). In some Jain philosophical works also Trilocana is referred to. For example, Hemacandra-sūri has referred to him, in his Pramāṇamīmāṁsā (p. 22, L. 24), Vādirāja Sūri in his Nyāya-viniścaya-vivaraṇa (Part I, p. 167) refers to the opinion of Trilocana in connection with the *avayavin*. References to Trilocana are seen in other Jain works such as Vādidevasūri's Syādvādaratnākara and Prabhāsacandra's Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa.[19]

Triclocana was, thus a prominent figure in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. Randle observes that whosoever Trilocana might have been, it is obvious that both Vācaspatimiśra and Udayana held it that Trilocana revived the Nyāya-Vaiśesika school. And he introduced the doctrines of Praśastapāda into the Nyāya-system.[20] As a matter of fact, he was the great expositor of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theories. Dr. S. C. Vidyābhuṣaṇa thinks that he was a Vaiśeṣika author.[21] But it does not seem to be justified by the evidence preserved.

From the references given above, it is clear that the contribution of Trilocana to Indian philosophy was manifold. He was responsible for some new interpretations of old texts, repudiated the objections of Buddhists as well as Jainas and in consequence advanced a few new theories in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. Some of those theories were adopted by his faithful pupil Vācaspatimiśra. We can, therefore, infer some of such theories from the works of Vācaspatimiśra, on the basis of evidence available.

The first and foremost known contribution of Trilocana to the Nyāya-Vaiśesika system was that he included the *Savikalpaka* perception under the definition of Gotama's perception given in the Nyāya-sūtra. Following the view of Trilocana, Vācaspatimiśra expounds that the word '*avyapadeśya*' (not expressible by words) in the Nyāya-sūtra means the Nirvikalpaka or indeterminate perception, and the word '*vyavasāyātmaka*' (well-defined) means the *Savikalpaka* or determinate perception. Vācaspatimiśra says that Bhāṣya and Vārttika did not give this interpretation because this was quite clear and could be known easily by the students of the Nyāya. But he (Vācaspatimiśra) put forward that interpretation, following the path shown by his teacher Trilocana.[22]

As a matter of fact, the definition contained in the sūtras was applicable only to indeterminate perception. Vātsyāyana and Udyotakara also do not introduce *Savikalpaka* perception within that definiton. There is thus no mention of determinate perception up to the time of Udyotakara. When, however, the Buddhist logicians defined the perception as '*Kalpanābodha*' or non-constructed cognition, they argued that a constructed object for example a jar or a cloth could not be the object of indeterminate perception (Nirvikalpaka-pratyakṣa). Consequently the existence of a substance in the shape of an *avayavin* (whole) could not be proved by the perception. It was, thus, a fierce attack on the theory of realism. The determinate perception is the main base of the fabric of realism. Jayanta says :— "The theory of determinate perception is the very life of followers of Nyāya.[23] First of all it was Kumārila, one of the greatest opponent of the Buddhist philosophy, who introdced

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the determinate perception, in the course of his defence of realism. Trilocana, then, probably following him interpreted the Nyāya-sūtra in the way, as found in Vācaspatimiśra's Tātparyaṭikā. It was, thus, Trilocana who in the Nyāya School first introduced the concept of *Savikalpaka-pratyakṣa* and discriminated between indeterminate and determinate perceptions.

The second contribution of Trilocana to the Nyāya system is that it was he who introduced the theory of differentiation between *pramāṇa* and *pramā* as in his Pramāṇa-mimāṁsā Hemacandrācārya points out.[24] According to Gotama's definition, "A cognition (knowledge) which is produced by the contact of the object with sense organ, not expressible by words, not erroneous and well defined is called sense perception." It is clear from this definition, that Gotama holds *pramāṇa* to be in the form of knowledge. But Trilocana and Vācaspatimiśra etc. maintained that *pramāṇa* might be in the form of knowledge as well as non-knowledge. Giving a new interpretation of Gotama's sūtra they established a difference between *pramāṇa* and *pramā*. Unfortunately, the words of Trilocana were forgotten, but we find that interpretation in the Vācaspatimiśra's Nyāya-Vārttika-tātparya-ṭikā.[25] We can, therefore, infer from the statement of Hemacandra that it was the view first expounded by Trilocana. That view, afterwards, was explained by Vācaspatimiśra and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. But, as a matter of fact, this was really the contribution of Trilocana.

Besides these two, we can also infer some other theories of Trilocana on the basis of the quotations noted above. As already stated many pieces of the works of Trilocana are preserved in the essays of Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakīrti. And, in some instances, the text of Trilocana and Vācaspatimiśra is quoted side by side in those essays. Those essays are, therefore, most valuable for the study of the contribution made by Trilocana.

It might be that in the course of the study of the works of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Buddhist logic and Pūra-mimāṁsā, some more quotations may be found, and, then it may be possible to present an integrated view of the *theories* of Trilocana.

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2. NVT. (Banaras), p. 133.
3. त्रिलोचनगुरोः सकाशाद् उपदेशरसायनम् आसादितम् अमूषां पुनर्नवीभावाय दीयते। Pariśuddhi, p. 9. Cf. M. M. G. N. Kaviraja : Introduction to Jha's translation of Nyāya, p. XVI.
4. त्रिलोचनष्टीकाकृतो विद्यागुरुः, Pariśuddhi-Prakāśa. p. 9.
5. Dr. J. S. Jetly : The Vivaraṇa-Pañjikā of Aniruddha, *Journal, Oriental Institate* Baroda. Vol. IV. p.2 40.
6. अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं रुचिराम।
   प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे॥ Nyāya-kaṇika, 1.
7. Critique of Indian Realism, p. 115.
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13. Jñānaśrimitra : Nibandhāvali. pp. 236, 255.
14. Ibid. pp. 28, 36.
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16. Tārkikarakṣā. pp. 237, 236.
17. Jṇānaśrimitra-Nibandhāvali. pp. 36, 46, 66, 77, 88, 93, 100, 153, 159, 161, 166, 205, 217, 222, 236, 239, 308.
18. Sarvajñasiddhi p. 13; Iśvarasiddhi pp. 36, 42; Apohasiddhi p. 58; Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi pp. 79, 85, 86; Vyāptinirṇaya pp. 99, 162; Sthirasiddhidūṣaṇam pp. 108, 114; and Citrādvaitaprakāśavāda p. 128.
19. Introduction. Tibetan Sanskrit Work Series Vol. III, p. 27.
20. *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*. p. 106 fn. 1.
21. *H I L*; p. 134.
22. NVT. p. 133.
23. नैयायिकान.ञ्च सविकल्पप्रत्ययक्षमयाः प्राणाः, Nyāya Mañjari Part I, p. 81, L. 25.
24. अत्र च पूर्वाचार्यकृतव्याख्यावैमुख्येन संख्यावद्भिस्त्रिलोचनवाचस्पतिप्रमुखैरयमर्थः समर्थितो यथा इन्द्रियार्थ-सन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यभिचारि प्रत्यक्षमित्येव प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम्। यतः शब्दाध्याहारेण च यत्तदोर्नित्याभि-सम्बन्धाद् उक्तविशेषणविशिष्टं ज्ञानं यतो भवति तत् तथाविधज्ञानसाधनं ज्ञानरूपम् अज्ञानरूपं वा प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम्। Pramāṇa-mimāṁsā. p. 22.
25. इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानम् अव्यपदेश्यम् अव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम्। Nyāya Sūtra 1.1.4.
26. अत्र च यत इत्यध्याहृत्य यत्तदोर्नित्याभिसम्बन्धात। तत्प्रयक्षमिति प्रमाणवाचि प्रत्यक्षपदं योजनीयम्॥ NVT., p. 108.

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उपनिषद् और सूफ़ी मत

लेखक

श्री हबीबुर्रहमान शास्त्री, अलीगढ़

उपनिषद्

उपनिषद् का प्रधान विषय अद्वैत-सिद्धान्त है अर्थात् वास्तव में केवल एक ब्रह्म ही की सत्ता प्रतिपादन करके मायाघटित सकल संसार को स्वप्नवत् असत्य प्रदर्शित करना है। इसके अतिरिक्त उपासनादि का जो वर्णन औपनिषदिक-ग्रन्थों में है, वह केवल अद्वैत जैसे गहन विषय को हृदयंगम करने के लिए है। कारण यह है कि उपासना नाम है किसी तत्व-साक्षात्कारी अद्वैत-प्रेमी विभूति अर्थात् गुरु से हार्दिक-सम्बन्ध पैदा कर के ध्यान द्वारा उसके आध्यात्मिक सत्संग से लाभ उठाने का; और यह प्रत्यक्षसिद्ध है कि जिसकी संगति की जाती है, उसके गुण संगी (सहासीन-हमनशीन) में भी प्रतिबिम्बित हो जाते हैं।

उपनिषदों में उपासनादि का उपदेश केवल उक्त अद्वैत के स्पष्ट करने के लिए है, न कि प्रधानतया। इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी स्पष्ट करने की आवश्यकता है कि उपासना का उपदेश विशेषतः इस कारण से दिया गया है कि बिना इसके जिज्ञासु के हृदय में एकत्व-ज्ञान का समावेश अत्यन्त दुष्कर था। क्योंकि एकत्व का समझना इस बात पर आधारित है कि तात्विक-सत्ता निराकारता (बेसूरती) की है, तथा यह समस्त सूरतें जो प्रत्यक्ष हो रही हैं, उसी (निराकार) की कल्पना या ख्याल हैं—जो स्वप्न या सिनेमाई सूरतों के समान असली प्रतीत हो रही हैं। परन्तु सामान्य जनों की बुद्धि इसे स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं होती—क्योंकि वे तो अपने माया-प्रस्तुत स्वभाव के अनुसार इन प्रत्यक्ष सूरतों को ही असली सत्ता मानते हैं और इसके विरुद्ध कल्पित सत्ता को असली मानने में कष्ट प्रतीत करते हैं—क्योंकि इससे उनकी प्रत्यक्ष सत्ता समाप्त हो जाती है। जब वस्तुत्व (तात्विकता) निराकारता में मान लिया गया तो समस्त इन्द्रिय-गोचर सांसारिक आकृतियां अवास्तविक होने के कारण अभाव रूप हो जाती हैं और केवल परमात्मा ही शेष रहता है, जो असली सत्ता है। अतः इसी विदेहावस्था को लक्ष्य कर के किसी सूफ़ी महात्मा ने कहा है—

जब मिट गये तो सूरते-हस्ती नज़र पड़ी।
बर्बाद जब कि हो गये बस्ती नज़र पड़ी॥

आत्म-साक्षात्कार होने पर लौकिक सत्ता के असत् हो जाने के सम्बन्ध में प्रसिद्ध शायर ग़ालिब ने भी कहा है—

जब वो जमाले दिलफरोज़ सूरते-मेह नींमरोज़।
आप ही हो नज़ारा सोज़ पर्दे में मुंह छुपाये क्यों॥

जब वह हृदय-प्रकाशक अलौकिक सौन्दर्य, माध्याह्निक सूर्य के समान दृष्टि को स्वयं ही जला देता है तो पर्दे (प्रकृति के पर्दे) में क्यों मुंह छिपाता है।

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सामान्य जनों के लिए निराकार को तात्विक सत्ता मानना दुष्कर है। इसी कारण श्री गीता में श्रीकृष्ण ने भी कहा है—

क्लेशोऽधिकतरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसाम्।
अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःखं देहवद्भिरवाप्यते।।

इसी का समर्थन डॉ० इक़बाल के काव्य में इस प्रकार मिलता है—

हे प्रतीक्षित तत्व! कभी तू अतात्विक लिबास अर्थात् देहरूपी चोले में दिखाई दे जा, क्योंकि मेरे अभिलाषी हृदय में हज़ारों सिज्दे (नमस्कार) तड़प रहे हैं।[1]

कभी क़िबला की ओर मुंह करके नमाज़ के लिए जो खड़ा हुआ तो दिलसे यह आवाज आने लगी कि तेरा दिल तो प्रियतम-प्रेमी है, तुझे नमाज़ में क्या मिलेगा।[2]

मनुष्य शुष्क प्रमाणों द्वारा उस निराकार तत्व का एकत्व समझने में शक्त नहीं है। इसी को स्पष्ट करते हुए महात्मा शम्स तबरेज़ ने ज्ञानोन्मत्त होकर कहा हैं—

हम न जिस्म हैं न जान, न रूह हैं न अक़्ल। हम तो ईदृश् तादृश् (ऐसे, वैसे) इत्यादि समस्त विशेषणों से शून्य केवल अखण्ड आत्मा है।[3]

अतः कठा आम की शाखा के तुल्य मनुष्य की द्वैत-प्रेमी-सत्ता को क़लमी आम की शाखा के समान किसी अद्वैत-प्रेमी महात्मा से उपासना द्वारा बांधने की शिक्षा उपनिषदों में दी गई है। और मेरे विचार में यह वही शिक्षा है जो राब्ता के नाम से सूफ़ियों में अब तक प्रचलित है, क्योंकि राब्ता उस माध्यम को कहते हैं जो दो पदार्थों में गंठ-जोड़ करा दे।

अद्वैतवाद प्राचीन ही नहीं, अपितु प्राचीनतम है, क्योंकि ऋग्वेद के "नासदासीन्नो सदासीत्तदानीं नासीद्रजः" (नासदीयसूक्त) इत्यादि में स्पष्टतया अद्वैत का वर्णन है और "सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ धाता यथापूर्वम्कल्पयत्" (परमात्मा ने सूर्य और चन्द्रमा को पूर्ववत् कल्पित किया) में कल्पना द्वारा उत्पत्ति बताई गई है। कल्पनाकृत सृष्टि मायाकृत सृष्टि ही है और वस्तुत्व की दृष्टि से असत् ही होती है। छान्दोग्य (६-२-१) और बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद् (४-४-१९) में अद्वैत का स्पष्टतया प्रतिपादन किया गया है—तथा सांख्यदर्शन के सूत्र (१।२१-२४ और ३।२-८ और १९) में अद्वत वेदान्त मत ही माना गया है। सूतसंहिता और योगवासिष्ठ जैसे प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में भी अद्वत ही की बहुलता है। अद्वैत के विरोधी अपने पक्ष की पुष्टि में उपनिषद् का यह मन्त्र उपस्थित करते हैं—

ऋतं पिबन्तौ सुकृतस्य लोके गुहां प्रविष्टौ परमे परार्धे।
छायातपौ ब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति पंचाग्नयो ये च त्रिणाचिकेताः।।

इस मन्त्र के आधार पर द्वैत-वादी कहते हैं कि, यदि दोनों (जीव और परमात्मा) में भिन्नता न होती तो "ऋतं पिबन्तौ" इत्यादि मन्त्र में द्विवचन का प्रयोग न किया जाता, अतः द्विवचन की प्रयुक्ति स्पष्टतया सिद्ध करती है कि जीवात्मा और परमात्मा परस्पर भिन्न होने के कारण दो हैं न कि एक।

"सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम्" (छान्दोग्य० ६।२।१), "आत्मैवेदं सर्वम्" (छा० ७।२५।२), "इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा" (बृह० २।४।६), "ब्रह्मैवेदं सर्वम" (नृसिंह० ७।६) जैसी बहुसंख्यक अद्वैतपरक श्रुतियों के होते हुए 'ऋतं पिबन्तौ" मन्त्र में यदि जीव और परमात्मा में भेद 'वास्तविक' माना जाय तो यह महान विरोध है, जिसके परिहार के बिना इस मन्त्र का द्वत-परक अर्थ, सत्य नहीं हो सकता। इसी कारण हमारी सम्मति में मन्त्रद्रष्टा ऋषि ने यह मन्त्र व्यवहारावस्था का लक्ष्य करके देखा है जिसमें कल्पित और असत्य वस्तुओं को भी सत्य मान लिया

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जाता है। व्यवहारावस्था में तो अद्वैतवादी भी द्वैत का निषेध नहीं करते हैं। वे केवल पारमार्थिक दृष्टि से द्वैत को असत्य मानते हैं।

सूफ़ी-मत

सूफ़ी-मत—'सूफ़ी' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में विभिन्न सम्मतियां हैं। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि यह शब्द 'सूफ़' से बना है, जिसका अर्थ "मोटा ऊन" है—और सूफ़ी इसे अहंकारदमन और स्वभाव में नम्रता पैदा करने के लिए पहना करते थे। इसी कारण लोग उन्हें सूफ़ी कहने लगे।

दूसरे लोगों का विचार है कि यह शब्द "सूफ़ाना" से बना है, जो एक घटिया-प्रकार की तरकारी का नाम है जिसको सूफ़ी लोग रसास्वाद त्यागने के लिए प्रायः खाया करते थे।

तीसरी सम्मति है कि यह शब्द 'सुफ़्फ़ा' से बनाया गया है, इस व्युत्पत्ति के अनुसार सूफ़ियों का सम्पर्क, उस अल्लाह वाले संघ से सिद्ध हो जाता है, जो मदीने में मस्जिद नबवी (नबीजी की मस्जिद) के सामने एक चबूतरे पर रहा करते थे और 'अहले सुफ़्फ़ा' कहलाते थे।

चौथा विचार यह है कि सूफ़ी शब्द (सफ़ा' से बनाया गया है क्योंकि सूफ़ी-संघ यम, नियम आदि के द्वारा हृदय-दर्पण को स्वच्छ करके उसमें आत्मसौंन्दर्य का साक्षात्कार करते थे। इस कारण उनका नाम सूफ़ी हो गया। परन्तु "सफ़ा", धातु और 'सूफ़ी' शब्द के अक्षरों पर ध्यान देने से इस व्युत्पत्ति का शुद्ध होना संदिग्ध हो जाता है।

सूफ़ी-मत दो बातों पर आधारित है—ज्ञान और आचरण। धार्मिक सिद्धान्त की पुस्तकों में जिन बातों पर विचार किया जाता है, उनमें ख़ुदा के स्वरूप और गुणों के सम्बन्ध में जो सिद्धान्त है, सूफ़ी मत में भी उन्हीं पर ध्यान दिया जाता है। परन्तु ध्यान की शैली में भेद है जिसका विवरण आगे आयेगा। यही भाग सूफ़ी-मत (तसव्वुफ़) का वैज्ञानिक पक्ष है। परन्तु इसमें जो मौलिक भेद है, वह यह है कि उसके प्राप्त और ज्ञात होने की रीति सामान्य रीति के विपरीत है। समस्त दार्शनिकों और विद्वानों के विचार में ज्ञान का साधन (द्वार) इन्द्रियां हैं, परन्तु सूफ़ियों के विचारानुसार इन्द्रियों के अतिरिक्त ज्ञान का एक और भी साधन है। इन महानुभावों की प्रतिज्ञा है और व्यावहारिक लोग इसका साक्षात्कार करते हैं कि यम-नियमों और उपासनादि के द्वारा हृदय के स्वच्छ हो जाने पर ज्ञान की एक और खिड़की खुल जाती है जिसके द्वारा ऐसी बातें विदित हो जाती हैं जो बाह्य और आन्तरिक इन्द्रियों द्वारा नहीं जानी जा सकतीं। श्री इमाम गिज़ाली ने कीमियाए सआदत में उक्त विषय को सिद्ध करने के लिए एक दृष्टान्त दिया है। एक ऐसा हौज़ है जिसमें नलों और नलकियों के द्वारा बाहर से पानी आता है, ये मानों बाह्य इन्द्रियाँ हैं। परन्तु स्वयं हौज़ की तह में भी एक 'सोत' है, जिससे फव्वारे के समान पानी उछलकर हौज़ में आ जाता है। इस रीति के अनुसार अपने हृदय की तह से उत्पन्न होनेवाले ज्ञान को इल्मेबातिन (आन्तरिक ज्ञान) कहते हैं, जिसका दूसरा नाम "कश्फ़" अर्थात् गुप्त-विषयक ज्ञान है। यह ज्ञान योगियों, ऋषियों और वलियों नबियों का ज्ञान है, जिसके द्वारा उन लोगों पर ऐसी बातें प्रकट हो जाती हैं जिनसे सामान्य लोग वंचित रहते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में निरुक्त नामक वैदिक-ग्रन्थ के उपोद्घात में 'ऋषि' शब्द के निर्वचन में लिखा है—

'ऋषिदर्शनात्' स्तोमान् ददर्श इत्यौपमन्यवः। तद्यदेनांस्तपस्यमान्ब्रह्म स्वयंभ्वभ्यानर्षत्त ऋषयोऽभवंस्तदृषीणामृषित्वम्।" "ऋषि" दर्शन के कारण है। ज्ञानचक्षु से देखा, इसी कारण उनका नाम ऋषि (मंत्र-द्रष्टा) हो गया, क्योंकि ऋष् धातु का अर्थ देखना ही है। एकान्त में तप करते हुए ऋषियों पर स्वयंभू वेद आविर्भूत हुआ।' अर्थात् उन्होंने उसे ज्ञानचक्षु से देखा, न कि चर्मचक्षु से। यह ज्ञानचक्षु या हृदय की आँख उस समय खुलती है जब

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मनुष्य का हृदय ब्राह्य कामनाओं से मुक्त होकर स्वरूप में स्थित हो जाता है जैसा कि किसी महात्मा ने कहा है—

"भीतर के पट तब खुलै जब बाहर के पट देइ"।

मौलाना रूम ने भी इसी प्रकार के साक्षात्कार का वर्णन अपनी मस्नवी में किया है—

जब हृदयरूपी दर्पण सांसारिक वासनाओं से साफ़ होकर पवित्र हो जाय, तो उसमें पानी और मिट्टी की रेखाओं से उच्चतर रेखाएं दिखाई देने लगती हैं। ऐ वह पुरुष जो ऐन्द्रिय ज्ञान की सामग्री को बौद्धिक गुहा अर्थात् अभ्यन्तर की ओर ले गया है, हज़रत मूसा की तरह अपना हाथ जेब से निकाल कर चमका दे अर्थात् योगप्राप्त विभूतियों के समान अपनी शक्तियां क्यों नहीं प्रदर्शित करता है?[६]

जब तेरे भीतर का प्रकाश प्रस्फुटित होगा तो तू अन्य 'सोतों' की प्राप्ति से उदासीन हो जायगा।

उक्त आन्तरिक-ज्ञान पर बाह्यदर्शी लोग आक्षेप करते हैं—कि कोई ज्ञान बिना इन्द्रियों की सहायता के प्राप्त नहीं हो सकता। अतः सूफ़ियों का यह कहना कि इन्द्रियों के अतिरिक्त ज्ञान का कोई और भी द्वार है, ठीक नहीं है। इसके उत्तर में सूफ़ीसमाज कहता है—ख़ुदा की शपथ तू इस मधु का स्वाद उस समय तक नहीं जान सकता जब तक कि पी न ले।[६]

सूफ़ी यह भी कहते हैं कि लौकिक विद्याओं को सीखने का जिस प्रकार एक विशेष तथा नियत रीति है, उसी तरह आन्तरिक विद्या (पराविद्या) के अभ्यास के लिए भी एक विशेष पद्धति नियत कर दी गई है। अतः जब तक उस पद्धति का अनुभव न कर लिया जाय, उसका निषेध करना न्याय और प्रमाण के विपरीत है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह सर्व-सम्मत है कि बहुत से वैज्ञानिक सिद्धान्त ऐसे हैं जिनका आविष्कार किसी विशेष विद्वान ने किया है और दूसरे लोग केवल उनके साक्षिभाव (गवाही) के आधार पर ही उन्हें मान लेते हैं। इसी प्रकार जब सैकड़ों महापुरुष—जिनकी सूक्ष्म दर्शिता, सत्यता तथा धर्मप्रियता और बुद्धिमत्ता पूर्णतः स्वीकार की जाती है, जैसे कि बायज़ीद बुस्तामी, शेख़ अकबर, इमाम गिज़ाली, मौलाना रूम और शेख़ सादी इत्यादि—विश्वास-पूर्वक गवाही दे रहे हैं कि आन्तरिक ज्ञान इन्द्रियज ज्ञान से पृथक् है तो क्या कारण है कि उनकी गवाही न मानी जाये। मौलाना रूम ने इस महत्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त को स्पष्ट करने के लिए अपनी मस्नवी में बारम्बार लिखा है और कहा है कि बाह्य-दर्शियों का उक्त सिद्धान्त न मानना ऐसा ही है जैसे कि किसी बालक का दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों का न मानना। मौलाना का यह शेर प्रसिद्ध है कि "जब धार्मिक कार्यों द्वारा चित्त शुद्ध हो जाता है, तो उसमें पार्थिवादि लौकिक भूतों से भिन्न तथा दिव्य रेखायें दृष्टिगोचर होने लगती हैं।" इसके अतिरिक्त इन्द्रियों और उनसे प्राप्त ज्ञान की तुच्छता प्रदर्शित करने के लिए मौलाना ने फिर कहा है—

इन प्रत्यक्ष इन्द्रियों के सिवा अन्तःकरण में ज्ञान के पांच साधन और हैं। प्रत्यक्ष इन्द्रियाँ ताँबे के तुल्य हैं और आन्तरिक साधन सुवर्ण के समान है।[७]

तौहीद अर्थात् कैवल्य—बाह्यदर्शी मुस्लिम विद्वानों (मौलवियों) का संघ 'तौहीद' का अर्थ यह समझता है कि एक ख़ुदा के सिवा कोई दूसरा परम सत् नहीं है, और न उसके स्वरूप और गुणों में कोई और उसका शरीक (साझी-दार) है। परन्तु तसव्वुफ़ में तौहीद शब्द का दूसरा अर्थ माना जाता है। सूफ़ी सन्तों में तौहीद का यह अर्थ प्रचलित है कि ख़ुदा के सिवाय कोई और वस्तु संसार में विद्यमान ही नहीं है, या यह कि जो वस्तु वास्तव में 'विद्यमान है, वही ख़ुदा है'। यही वेदान्त का 'एकमेवाद्वितीयम' (अद्वैत) ब्रह्म है।

यह सिद्धान्त यद्यपि तसव्वुफ़ की जान है, परन्तु इसका समझना इतना सूक्ष्म है कि तनिक भी विपरीत समझने पर नास्तिकता से मिल जाता है। इसलिए सूफ़ी लोग इसे भेद की बात (राज़) कहते हैं। तथा श्रीगीता और उप-निषदों में भी इसे गोपनीय अर्थात् भेद की बात ही माना गया है।

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समस्त सूफ़ियों का संघ कहता है कि खुदा कुल विशेषणों से रहित सत्ता-मात्र का नाम है तथा यही सत्ता जब उसके ज्ञान में स्थित संसार की आकृतियों में उसकी काल्पनिक शक्ति से विशिष्ट होकर प्रकाशित होती है तो संसार की उत्पत्ति होती है, जैसा कि कहा गया है—

जब आत्मदर्शन के प्रेम ने दामन (वस्त्र का छोर) पकड़ लिया तो निर्गुण तत्व सगुणता के बन्धन में बँध गया।

सारांश यह है कि जिस प्रकार बुलबुला और मौज (तरंग) दो स्वरूप माने जाते हैं, परन्तु वस्तुतः उनकी सत्ता पानी के सिवा कुछ नहीं है। पानी के अतिरिक्त जो है, वह केवल दिखावा ही दिखावा है। इसी तरह दुनिया की समस्त आकृतियां सत्तात्मक समुद्र की तरंगों के अतिरिक्त और कुछ भी नहीं है।

बुलबुले में पानी के सिवा हवा भी होती है इस कारण किसी सूक्ष्मदर्शी ने इस दृष्टान्त को एकता सिद्ध करने के लिए अपर्याप्त समझकर तागे और उसकी ग्रन्थियों का दृष्टान्त देकर कहा है—

परमात्मा की एकता को सांसारिक (औपचारिक) द्वैत से क्या डर है, क्योंकि तागे में यदि तू सौ ग्रन्थियां लगा दे तब भी तागा एक ही रहता है।

इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी लिखना आवश्यक है कि 'तौहीद" की उपर्युक्त व्याख्या से केवल नक्शबन्दिया सम्प्रदाय के एक महानुभाव (शेख़ अहमद सरहिन्दी) ने विरोध किया है। परन्तु बहुत समय तक तो वह भी वही अर्थ समझते रहे जो सूफ़ी समझते थे। अन्त में उन्होंने तौहीद का यह अर्थ घोषित किया कि सृष्टि की सत्ता परमात्मसत्ता का प्रतिबिम्ब है, इस कारण इस सत्ता को ख़ुदा नहीं कह सकते। जैसे कि मनुष्य का जो प्रतिबिम्ब आईने में पड़ता है, उसे मनुष्य नहीं कह सकते। इस सम्बन्ध में शाह वलीउल्ला और दूसरे महानुभावों ने लिखा है कि शेख़ अहमद मुजद्दिद ने जो भेद तौहीद की व्याख्या में दिखाया है, वह केवल शाब्दिक है तथा हमारा भी यही विचार है, जिसको विस्तार के भय से यहां लिखने का अवसर नहीं है। हज़रत मुजद्दिद का यह सिद्धान्त लोगों में 'तौहीद-शुहूदी' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है।

कुछ बाह्यदर्शी लोग उच्चकोटिक तौहीद (अद्वैत) का निषेध करके कहते हैं क्योंकि यह सिद्धान्त इस्लामी नहीं है। परन्तु सूफ़ी विद्वान इसे क़ुरान और हदीस पर आश्रित समझते हैं। अतः सूफ़ियों के स्वीकृत विशेष-विशेष सिद्धान्त और उनकी विचारणीय तथा मननीय आध्यात्मिक बातों को क़ुरान और हदीस से सिद्ध किया जाता है—सूफ़ी सन्तों का कहना है कि इस्लाम ने वाह्य-शिक्षा के अतिरिक्त एक आन्तरिक अर्थात् आध्यात्मिक शिक्षा भी लोगों को दी और यही शिक्षा सूफ़ी मत का सार है। अभिप्राय यह है कि रसूल का कार्य बाह्य और आन्तरिक दोनों अवस्था का सुधार है, जैसा कि क़ुरान की आयत (आले इमरान) से सिद्ध हो जाता है। इस आयत में वर्णन किया गया है कि ख़ुदा ने ईमानदारों पर महान उपकार किया है कि उनके बीच एक पैगम्बर (सन्देश-वाहक) प्रेषित किया जो उनको ख़ुदा की आयतें (मन्त्र) पढ़कर सुनाता है और 'किताब' और 'हिकमत' अर्थात् आध्यात्मिक-दार्शनिक विद्या (आन्तरिक ज्ञान) की शिक्षा देता है। आयत में "किताब" शब्द से बाह्य शिक्षा और "हिकमत" से आन्तरिक शिक्षा अभिप्रेत है। तथा इसी कारण इन दोनों का पृथक्-पृथक् वर्णन किया गया है। यदि ये दोनों एक ही वस्तु होती तो उनके पृथक्-पृथक् वर्णन की कोई आवश्यकता न थी। केवल किताब का शब्द ही पर्याप्त था। 'सूरत (सूक्त) वश्शमस' में कहा गया है कि जिसने आत्मा को पवित्र और स्वच्छ कर लिया वह कृतकृत्य हो गया और जिसने उसको (उसकी आध्यात्मिक मांगों को) दबाया, अर्थात् ठुकराया, वह टोटे में रहा। इस आयत में आन्तरिक सुधार और आध्यात्मिक संस्कृति की ओर ध्यान दिलाया गया है, जो तसव्वुफ़ का आधार है। 'सूरते लुक़मान' में है कि अल्लाह ने तुम पर अपने बाह्य और आन्तरिक उपकार किये हैं अर्थात् तुम्हारी संस्कृति के लिए प्रकट और गुप्त दोनों प्रकार की शिक्षा उपस्थित कर दी है।

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इस प्रकार सूफ़ियों का प्रसिद्ध-सिद्धान्त पूर्ण तौहीद (अद्वैत) उपनिषदों के अद्वैतवाद से पूरा मेल खाता है।

संदर्भ-सूत्र

१. कभी ऐ हक़ीक़तेमुन्तज़र, नज़र आ लिबासे-नमाज़ में।
कि हज़ारों सिजदे तड़प रहे हैं मेरी जबीने-नियाज़ में।।—(इक़बाल)

२. कभी क़िब्लारू जो खड़ा हुआ तो यह दिल से आने लगी सदा।
तेरा दिल तो है सनम-आशना, तुझे क्या मिलेगा नमाज़ में।।

३. जिस्मेस न जानेम न रूहेम न अक्लेस। मा हस्तिए सिर्फ़ेम नईनेम न आनम्।।

४. आइना दिल चूं शबूद साफ़ी व पाक। नक़्शहा बीनी बुरूँ अज आबो ख़ाक।।
ऐ बिबुरदारख्ते हिस्हा सूए-ग़ैब। दस्त चूं भूसा बुरूँ आवुर्ज़ ज़ेब।।

५ चूं बिजोशीद अज़ दरूँ चश्मासनी। जेज़्तिज़ाबे चश्महा गर्दी ग़नी।।

६. ज़ोके ई बादा न दानी बख़ुदा ता न चशी।

७. पञ्ज हिस्से हस्त जुज़ ई पञ्ज हिस। आं चु ज़र्रे सुर्ख़ ई हिस्हा चुमिस।।

८. चूं शुद हुब्बे नज़ारा दामनगीर। गश्त मुतलक़ बदामे क़ैद असीर।

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THE FIRST VERSE OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

SRI JAIDEVA SINGH, VARANASI

The first verse of the Bhagavadgītā is taken by all Commentators as a simple inquiry by Dhṛtarāṣtra regarding the fate of the battle which his sons and Pāṇḍavas fought, but Abhinavagupta maintains that this strikes the keynote of the entire teaching of the Gītā. Not that he scouts the idea of the actual battle; nobody can, for that is obvious on the surface. But he believes that there are two levels of reference in this verse—one, the plain reference to Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, the other, the spiritual battle that is for ever going on between the higher and the lower self.

Abhinavagupta interprets *māmakaḥ*—as 'mameti kāyatīti māmakaḥ avidyāpuruṣaḥ.' Broadly it may be interpreted as the lower sklf steeped in ignorance. Pāṇḍu means *śuddha* i.e., pure. Abhinavagupta interprets Pāṇḍavāh-vidyāpuruṣocitā vidyātmānaḥ'—those who have the pure, higher knowledge. The Pāṇḍava, therefore, is the symbol of the higher self. In the words of the Gītā, these two represent the *daivī* and the *āsurika* forces.

The great savant explains 'Kurukṣetre' thus : "*Kurūṇām—karaṇānāṁ yat kṣetram anugrāhakam*" In Kuru, he sees a suggestibility of *karaṇa* i.e. the senses. *Kurukṣetram*, therefore, means that which is the field of the sense i.e. the body. Kurukṣetra has been called 'dharmakṣetra', because it is by means of the body that all the *dharmas* can be performed.

In stead of 'samavetā yuyutsavaḥ', all the Kashmir recensions of Bhagavadgītā read 'Sarvakṣatra-samāgame'. Abhinavagupta explains this to mean 'Sarva-kṣatrāṇām kṣader hiṁsārthatvāt parasparavadhya-ghātaka-bhāvena vartamānām rāga-vairāgya-krodha-kṣamā-prabhṛtināṁ samāgamo yatra"—that which is the meeting-place or junction of mutually opposing tendencies like passion and dispassion, anger and forgiveness.

The whole verse, according to Abhinavagupta, would mean that this body, the mortal frame of man, is the meeting place of both virtue and vice; the individual is a composite of higher and lower tendencies between which there is a pepetual struggle. The Gītā unfolds the drama of this struggle, and points out the way by means of which the lower self can be transformed and integrated to the higher.

The idea contained in the first verse may be further elaborated in line with the interpretation of Abhinavagupta. Kuru in Kurukṣetra is the imperative form of the verb 'Kṛ'—to do. 'Kurukṣetra' may, therefore, also suggest the field of work. Saṁsāra is *karma-bhūmi*—the field of action, a veritable Kurukṣetra, and this Kurukṣetra is dharmakṣetra.

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Saṁsāra is not a cleverly laid trap for the soul; it is the soul's opportunity. Man has a bipolar existence. The 'I' and the 'You' are born together and this necessitates certain duties and obligations. It is only in a social environment that the higher powers of the soul are developed. That is why saṁsāra is both *kurukṣetra* and *dharmakṣetra*. We have sundered Reality into the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of earth, but truly speaking each one of us is the citizen of the united kingdom of heaven and earth. It is in such a context that the message of the Gītā has been delivered.

Abhinavagupta has given an interpretation of *Māmakāḥ* and *Pāṇḍavāḥ*, but not of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Shri Krishna Prema throws a very enlightening suggestion regarding the meaning of Dhṛtarāṣṭra in his 'Yoga of the Bhagavadgītā'. Says he, "Dhṛtarāṣṭra, on the other hand, represents the empirical ego, the lower and transient personality which blinded by egosim and foolish infatuation, wields a nominal sway over the kingdom of the body which it has unjustly seized, the word Dhṛtarāṣṭra meaning one who has seized the kingdom (Dhṛtaṁrāṣṭram yena saḥ). Although he arrogates to himself the title of king, yet his rule over the kingdom is merely nominal, for the real power lies with his Āsurika sons, just as the human personality which so proudly says "I" is the sport of a continual succession of involuntary desires and passions which are the real rulers of the body it calls its own." (Prolegomena : XXV).

This interpretation of Dhṛtarāṣṭra fits in very well with the interpretation of *māmakāḥ* and Pāṇḍavāḥ as given by Abhinavagupta.

Duryodhana, as the very name indicates, is the lower desire hard to control. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the empirical ego is completely dominated by him (the lower desire). Kṛṣṇa as charioteer is the manifested Ātman, the inner ruler. Sañjaya, the charioteer and adviser of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, is the link between the higher and the lower minds. Thus the symbolism is complete.

The first verse of the Gītā refers not only to the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas but also to the perpetual struggle between the dark and the higher forces. The whole book teaches us how we can emerge triumphant over the dark forces of life by carrying out the humblest duties with perfect detachment. The teaching is given in a battlefield, because life is in a sense a battle-field, but in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan :

"As the dialogue proceeds the dramatic element disappears. The echoes of the battle-field die away, and we have only an interview between God and man. The Chariot of war becomes the lonely cell of meditation, and a corner of the battle-field where the voices of the world are stilled, a fit place for the thoughts on the Supreme." (*Indian Philosophy*—Vol. I, p. 521).

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THE NATURE OF SPACE, TIME AND CAUSALITY ACCORDING TO ŚAṄKARA AND F. H. BRADLEY

By

DR. AJIT KUMAR SINHA, KURUKSHETRA

The problem of change is an age-long question. Philosophers have been trying to find out from the earliest period in the history of philosophy whether change is real or unreal. Certain philosophers came forward with the answer that change was real, and others maintained that it was unreal. Śaṅkara thinks that change is unreal. The fact that Śaṅkara arrives at such a conclusion follows from the general scheme of his metaphysical theory that whatever is obtained through empirical experience must be illusory and unreal in its nature. We get the idea of change through actual experience; it implies that there must be some unchanging reality upon which the idea of change is superimposed by *avidyā* or nescience. The problems of space, time and causality are closely connected to the problem of change. Śaṅkara arrives at the conclusion that space, time and causality are unreal, and that Brahman or ultimate reality transcends them completely. He devotes relatively less time to the discussion of the nature of space and time. But the problem of causality occupies a central position in his metaphysical system.

Bradley also thinks that change is unreal. He thinks that change is impossible for it involves internal inconsistency; and anything that involves internal discord is merely an appearance, and not reality. He, therefore, thinks that change is unreal because it is unable to satisfy the ultimate criterion of non-contradiction. He rejects space, time and causality as unreal appearances on the same ground. In the following pages the arguments of Śaṅkara and Bradley against the reality of space and time will be critically examined.

Śaṅkara's View

Śaṅkara maintains that space, time and causality are not ultimately real. In his view, they are only empirically real. Brahman or ultimate reality transcends the limitations of space, time and causality. It is spaceless and independent of space.[1] Anything that is in space is divisible. Space, therefore, must be an effect, and consequently, an appearance, since it is divisible.[2] It is the origin of all things in the world; and hence, the things which spring from it are appearances. It follows from this that all pluralities are appearances. Brahman being spaceless is devoid of plurality. Space is an empirical category, and is applicable only to the phenomenal world of manifoldness. It is the revealer of names and forms. It is relative to the mind apprehending things. Brahman is timeless without having earlier or later. It is above the 'three times' (i.e., past, present and future).[3] The concept

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of time implies the succession of a plurality of events. In other words, the succession of time involves division; and since time involves division it is an effect, and consequently, it is not real. Space and time involve each other. They are relative to the mind apprehending things in the phenomenal world. They owe their origin to the mental modifications. They are empirically real, but ontologically unreal. Brahman is independent of past and future. It has nothing prior or posterior to it. The fact that Brahman is independent of time implies that it is of infinite duration, i.e., it is eternal; and the fact that it is devoid of any parts or divisions indicates that it is infinite.

Śaṅkara maintains that Brahman is independent of causality. Causality implies sequence of causes and effects. Sequence of causes and effects implies finite entities in space and time. Causation, therefore, can belong only to the finite objects, but not to Brahman. Brahman is neither the cause of something else outside it nor is it the effect of something. It is changeless and independent of Becoming. However, in a sense Brahman may be regarded as the cause of causes into which all effects finally get dissolved. Here Brahman is a cause only in a qualified sense, namely, qualified by *māyā*.

In a sense, therefore Brahman can be defined from the causal point of view. Brahman is both the material and the efficient cause of the world. These two types of causes are indentical with reference to Brahman. When Brahman is considered from the standpoint of efficient cause, nothing is to be considered to be outside Brahman which is to be moulded or transformed into the world. On the other hand, when Brahman is viewed as the material cause, the former is not to be considered as undergoing change and modification. Thus, there is no material outside which Brahman moulds into the form of the world, nor does Brahman itself undergo any transformation.[4] Brahman is both the material and the operative cause of the world.

Śaṅkara advocates the *vivarta* view of causation or causation without transformation. Causation implies distinction of cause from the effect. But since Brahman is undifferentiated and secondless it cannot be regarded as the cause of the world. Brahman does not get transformed into the world. The world is, therefore, nothing but appearance even though the world-appearance subsists in Brahman. Brahman is the real Being on which all appearance are superimposed by *avidyā* or ignorance. In other words, Brahman is the real Being on which the diversified phenomena with illusory names and forms are superimposed. Brahman is the ground of causation, and yet it is unaffected by the causal process. Transformation, change creativity, etc., do not constitute the real nature of Brahman, but only the latter's accidental marks. Śaṅkara, therefore, thinks that the cause is real, but the effects are appearances.[6] Brahman is the ultimate ground of the phenomenal world, and yet it transcends the world. The world is not even organically related to Brahman. The world is a construction of *māyā*. Therefore, viewed from the side of the world, Brahman is the material cause of the universe, but when viewed from the side of the pure Being or ontological reality Brahman transcends causality.

Śaṅkara refers to the authority of the Upaniṣads where it is repeatedly Stated

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that the world springs from Brahman and that it is finally dissolved into Brahman. It simply means that Brahman is the material cause of the world, and that the apparent changes of the world are sustained by the ultimate world-ground. Śaṅkara anticipates an objection: 'how can reality which is pure and intelligent be the cause of the world which is impure and non-intelligent'? Śaṅkara replies to this possible objection by pointing out that it is not necessary that the effect should be exactly identical with the cause.[7] It is found that living things grow out of the non-living, such as, scorpion from the cowdung. Likewise, inanimate things grow out of the living things, such as, nails and hair from the living organisms. Hence, it cannot be urged that the world should necessarily be intelligent if Brahman is intelligent. Brahman is real, but the world is an illusory appearance. Śaṅkara refers to another objection raised by the Sāṅkhya philosophy. The objection states that when the unintelligent and impure world gets dissolved and merged into Brahman the latter also becomes impure and unintelligent. Śaṅkara replies to his objection by pointing out that when the various types of gold ornaments are melted they attain the state of original and pure gold. He gives another example to illustrate his point. A magician produces various objects through his magical charm, but when the spell of the magic is over, the objects created through magical charm disappear, but the magician himself does not disappear. Śaṅkara, therefore, contends that reality remains unchanged though the appearances undergo change and transformation. Reality remains unaffected by all causal changes of the phenomenal world. The changes taking place in the phenomenal world are as unreal as the illusion of a snake in a rope.

Even though Śaṅkara denies causation from the ontological standpoint, he does no deny it from the empirical standpoint. He upholds the doctrine that the effect pre-exists in the cause. This is called the doctrine of *Satkaryavada*. Śaṅkara criticises the *Nyaya-Vaisesika* doctrine of causality that the effect is something not contained in the cause. He argues that the effect must exist prior to its manifestation in the cause. For instance, oil can be pressed out of seed, but not out of sand. If the effect is not already contained in the cause, an agent cannot bring it out through any amount of effort. An agent simply brings forth the effect from the cause. The effect exists in the cause in an unmanifested form. The cause moves towards the effect, and manifests the latter, the cause continues into the effect, as, for instance, clay continues into a jar. Cause and effect are the two aspects of the same thing; they are basically of the same nature.[8] For instance, curd is not basically different from milk. Śaṅkara, therefore, concludes that cause is non-different from the effect.[9] Finally, he says that the effect is the appearance (*vivarta*) of the cause. Cause is real and effect is unreal.

Bradley's View

Bradley maintains that space and time are appearances. The Absolute transcends space and time. He points out that it is not possible for us to formulate self-consistent ideas of space and time.

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Bradley examines the nature of space first. He points out at the very outset that the problem of space presents a difficulty which is involved in its very nature, viz., the continuity and discreteness of sapce.[10] The nature of space necessitates that it be endless, and at the same time it also necessitates that it has an end, for dual nature of space can be explained on this ground. Attempts have been made to explain the nature of space by ignoring one of its aspects or the other, but still contradiction involved in the nature of space has not been removed.

Bradley sets out to examine the enigma of space antithetically as follows :—

Space is not a mere relation.[11] For it consists of parts, and these parts are also spaces which would be a collection of solids. The relation would join spaces which would not be space, if taken as a mere inter-relation. This leads to the position that space is nothing but a relation of space. But such a position is self-contradictory. On the other hand, if any space is taken as a whole, then it is more than a relation. But the conception of parts without relations does not convey any sense.

If it is assumed that extended space has parts, then those parts also would be extended, and the latter would have further parts and so on *ad infinitum*; and that would lead to no solution of the problem. If space is capable of being divided without limit, then it admits of differences within itself. These differentiations within space involve relations. But when space is divided into its sub-parts indefinitely it is found that space consists of nothing more than relations.

If it is argued that space of a part of it is a solid, then also it involves self-contradiction. For a solid thing is extended; the extended is a collection of relations, and that collection would be a further collection of related parts and so on *ad infinitum*.[12] Thus space invariably involves relations and any relational experience gives us knowledge of appearance, and not of reality.

If it is assumed that space is empty, then it does not convey any meaning, and its mode of existence is inconceivable. The conception of empty space is a mere abstraction.

Space can never be considered as a whole. For either it has boundary or it has not. If space is assumed to have boundaries, then the latter as the limits of space, differentiate it from all that is non-spatial. This implies a further system of relations between space and that which is not space. In that case the spatial is related to the non-spatial which implies that there is lack of spatial terms in the end. On the other alternative, space may be regarded as with boundaries. In that case space must be without differentiations. On both the alternatives space is the relation of itself to a non-existent other. Space, then, is differentiated by others which have no terms at one end.

Bradley next turns to examine the nature of time. Time is sometimes considered in terms of sapce.[13] For instance, time is considered to be a line extending from past to present, and from present to future like a stream. If time is conceived in terms of space, then the criticisms that have been levelled against space, also hold good of time. In that case time would be a relation, and yet would be incapable of being beyond relation. Further, if time

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is considered to be a relation between units without duration, then the whole time considered by itself does not admit of any parts. But time without parts is unintelligible. For time necessarily implies the terms 'before' and 'after'. Consequently a time which does not involve this diversity cannot be regarded as time at all. Time, therefore, has to be considered under relation. And if time is conceived in terms of relations, the difficulties connected with relation and diversities crop up again. If it is assumed that time is to be understood only in terms of 'now', then the question arises whether this 'now' is a simple and indivisible notion.[14] But even 'now' implies 'before' and 'after' preceding and succeeding it. Consequently, time is not a simple and indivisible notion, but it involves complexity within its very nature, Obviously, then, diversity is involved in the conception of time even if it is conceived in terms of the present. There is some process within 'now' and involves a lapse and thus introduces diversity within it. Time involves a relation to past and future, and this relational experience reveals only the partial and contradictory appearance, and not reality underlying it. To conclude, the conception of time, like the conception of space, presents, an insoluble dilemma, and it cannot be conceived in any other way than relations and time as a system of unresolvable relations involves self-discrepancy.

However, Bradley points out that even though space and time are appearances they are not completely incompatible with the nature of the Absolute.

Bradley maintains that causality is also an appearance like space and time. He points out that cause may be regarded as an attempt to account for change relationally. For instance, we find that in the process of causal sequence *A* becomes *B*, and this alternation is not regarded as incompatible with *A*. But if *A* changes to something different there must be reason for that change. Bradley points out at the very outset that an attempt to find some adequate reason for change is useless by its very nature. For *A* is not *B*, nor is it a relation to *B*. If *A* is considered to be changed into *AB*, then it is no longer the same as *A*.[15]

If, for instance, *AC* is assumed to be the cause of *B*, then let it be considered whether the addition of *C* makes any difference to *A*. If it is supposed that the addition of *C* makes a difference to *A* then in that case *A* is already altered due to the presence of *C*, and thus the problem of relation breaks out within the very cause itself. In order to avoid this dilemma it may be suppposed that *A* and $C+D$ becomes $A+C$ and so *B*. But this sort of argument leads to indefinite regress without solving the problem at all. On the other hand, it may be assumed that in $A+C$, which is the cause of *B*, their relation makes no difference either to *A* or to *C*, and yet accounts for the effect. But it has been pointed out that any conjunction of elements, as in the case of $A+C$, is unintelligible.

Bradley points out that causation lies in the sequence of time and differences. Mere identity cannot explain the relation of cause and effect. But in that case the diversity has to be reconciled with unity which involves difficulty. Bradley, therefore, comes to the conclusion that causation is not real, but that it is only an appearance.

Causation involves the same dilemma as the problem of time. In the analysis of

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the conception of time it was found that it must be composed of parts, and yet it cannot be made up of parts. Likewise the same difficulty is involved in the problem of causation. If a solid fragment is taken off from a flow of events, which has no change, then it must endure for ever. In that case it can never pass into an effect, and consequently, it can never be a cause. On the other hand, if it is supposed that cause cannot be continuous, then it would be absolutely without any duration. In that case the entire succession of events would consist of unreal non-entities having no change in themselves.

Bradley maintains that change and motion are also appearances like space, time and causality. The possibility of change has been criticised from the very earliest period in the history of philosophy. Bradley restates the criticisms of the conception of motion. Motion, on the one hand, implies the existence of the same thing at two places successively in one time, and on the other, the process involved in motion must have unity. In other words, the thing moved must be one and also the time involved must be one. Now, motion would not be possible if there were many times without relation, and not as parts of a single temporal whole. But if time is merely one it cannot be at the same time many, and in that case also motion would be impossible. Further, motion in space does not give solution to the problem of change. Besides, change involves contradiction. For if an object changes it cannot be permanent; and on the other hand, if it is not permanent, what is it that changes? The source of the difficulty about change consists in the impossibility of bringing together in an intelligible manner the opposed elements of unity and diversity. Let us suppose that A contains change then it at once becomes A^1, A^2, A^3, etc. This leads to self-contradiction for the different states of A must exist within one time, and yet they cannot exist together because they are successive. If change is considered to be taking place in one single time, then there cannot be any possibility of change at all. In brief, the problem of change offers insoluble difficulties from whatever angle it is viewed. Change, therefore, belongs to the realm of appearances.

Comparison and Criticisms.

Both Śaṅkara and Bradley agree that the ultimate reality is non-spatial, non-temporal and non-causal. Reality transcends the categories of space, time and causality. Space, time and causality are mere appearances. However, the methods of approach to the problem of space, time and causality in Śaṅkara and Bradley are slightly different.

Śaṅkara opines that *māyā* is the source of all appearances. *Māyā* contains the seed potentials of diverse phenomena. *Avidyā*, which is *māyā* in its individual aspect, constructs everything that is finite and phenomenal. All finite entities have their locus in experience. The finite entities are not mere non-entities, but rather they are something positive though their nature is indescribable. *Māyā* is something that appears. The appearances are pragmatically real. Reality is different from the appearances which are illusory and unreal in their nature. Śaṅkara observes that the categories of our understanding cannot be applied to Brahman which is trans-empirical. It is true that we make anthropomorphic fallacy by

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trying to superimpose the categories of our understanding on reality which transcends our experience. Śaṅkara's view seems to be quite consistent with his own system when he says that the ultimate reality is non-spatial, non-temporal and non-causal even though the existence of space, time and causality can be justified for all practical purposes. But the defect in Śaṅkara's view lies in the fact that from the standpoint of reality the empirical facts do not exist at all. However, if we take for granted the basic principle of Śaṅkara's metaphysics that reality is non-dual, then the conclusions naturally follow that Brahman is non-spatial, non-temporal and non-causal. Brahman has neither anything outside nor inside, and neither anything before nor after. It is neither the cause of anything nor is it the effect of something else. Space refers to the finite entities which have location here or there. Time refers to the succession of finite entities through past, present and future. Likewise, causation refers to the antecedent and the consequent, before and after. So far we do not see any point of objection that may arise out of Śaṅkara's conclusions. The conclusions seem to be perfectly compatible within Śaṅkara's own system.

Bradley adopts a method that is slightly different from that of Śaṅkara, and he tries to show that all finite entities involve self-contradictions; and consequently, they are appearances. Bradley tries to simplify the problem of reality by pointing out that if appearances are self-contradictory, reality must be non-contradictory. He assumes in advance of any proof that self-contradictoriness is not an aspect of reality. We shall try to show in the following pages that there is no endless division and contradiction in the finite entities as Bradley holds. The difficulties are due to the fact that, on the one hand, Bradley tries to explode the appearances as internally self-discrepant, and on the other hand, he tries to preserve the appearances somehow within the Absolute. If the appearances are really self-discordant, then it follows that the Absolute itself is nothing but a conglomeration of self-discordant elements. But Bradley tries to evade this objection by pointing out that the discordant elements in the appearances are somehow resolved in the Absolute. But this expression, somehow, seems to be an unwarranted assumption. Śaṅkara, however, evades all these difficulties by pointing out that the appearances do not exist at all because *māyā* is not an ontological principle.

J. A. Gunn remarks that Bradley first raises the dust and then complains that he cannot see through it. Bradley first sets up a standard for the ultimate truth, and then if anything falls short of it, he condemns that as an appearance. Bradley gets involved in his self-made dialectical difficulties. Śaṅkara also is keen on setting up dialectical patterns to show that contradictions are necessarily involved in any finite experience.

J. L. McIntyre observes that nothing of the nature of reality can be known through the study of the phenomenon for the phenomenon is radically different from reality, however closely the former may be related to the latter. Bradley holds that the appearances are self-contradictions. It is true that the proposition 'A is not non-A' is formally valid. Or it may be said that 'a unity is not non-unity'; so far as the form of the proposition goes it is perfectly intelligible. But the crux of the difficulty is : what is the meaning of the term

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'non-unity'? Diversity is not necessarily non-unity. Śaṅkara also is unable to explain the nature of diversity from the standpoint of his metaphysics of non-duality.

McIntyre points out that the difficulty with Bradley's doctrine of time is that no moment of time seems to be an irreducible unit. Each unit has still smaller units within itself, and so on the process does not terminate anywhere. McIntyre points out that time is continuous, and therefore, any division that is made is arbitrary and unreal. Śaṅkara also is keen on justifying the validity of his logic rather than tallying his logic to nature.

The term 'self-contradiction' in the metaphysical systems of Śaṅkara and Bradley seems only to be a catchword. It does not signify anything definitely. The self-contradiction of the appearances seems merely to be a verbal affair. Śaṅkara and Bradley are not able to show that the appearances are actually self-contradictory by their very nature. The appearances appear to be self-contradictory only when they are apprehended in the way in which Śaṅkara and Bradley suggest us to be apprehended. Their doctrine of appearances is subservient to their doctrine of reality. They have not given us a theory of appearance, but merely a theory of reality. Bradley forgets that thought is not only analytic but also synthetic in its nature. The analytic and synthetic aspect of thought go *pari passu*. Bradley is unable to see this fact, and, therefore, all the difficulties crop up in this view of reality.

Let us take an example which Wildon Carr discusses quite tactfully. Bradley opines that motion implies that what is moved is in two places at one time. Wildon Carr asks that if there is absolute contradiction in the conception of motion how can it appear? For such an absolute contradiction is incompatible with appearance. Absolute contradiction in the appearances is unthinkable, for that is fatal to the way of appearing of an appearance itself. Even if motion is considered to be an appearance, motion actually appears as a fact. But if, as Bradley shows, a thing cannot move because motion is a contradiction, then motion could not have appeared as a motion. Carr comments :

> "....there is no escape by saying that the inconsistencies only appear to appear : such an expression could only mean that the assertion of inconsistency was erroneous, or else it would convert mere appearance into endless series. I maintain that the inconsitencies Bradley finds in our ordinary conceptions are not merely fatal to the reality of their conception, but even to their appearance. They cannot be a full or a true analysis of appearance : what appears is not, and cannot be thought to be, inconsistent with itself."[17]

Bradley contends that space has endless parts within parts, and finally it turns out to be nothing but a system of relations. Here also there is a defect in Bradley's way of thinking. The conception of divisibility of a part into further parts is based on thinking.

The defect of Bradley and Śaṅkara's view of causation is due to their defective view of time. They think that cause must occupy finite time in order to act. They think that causation is a series of static events; and since one event cannot pass into another without involving insoluble contradiction, causation is an appearance. This assumption on the part

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of Śaṅkara and Bradley is wrong. Space or time is a continuum without any intermediate breaks or gaps. Likewise, causation is also a continuum.

We come to the conclusion, then, that Śaṅkara and Bradley's analysis of space, time and casuality as self-contradictory is defective because of certain basic false assumptions. Space and time are the two aspects of the same reality. They are not independent of one another, but they are inter-dependent on each other. Space-time is a continuum. The conception of space-time as a continuum has been proved and established mathematically and experimentally by modern physics.

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JĪVAGOSVĀMIN'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

By

DR. JADUNATH SINHA, CALCUTTA

Sanātana-Gosvāmin and Rūpa-Gosvāmin were the disciples of Caitanya (1485-1533 A. D.). He gave them instructions about philosophy and religion and infused spiritual power into them. They gave instructions to their nephew, Jīva-Gosvāmin, and taught him religious works, especially the *Bhāgavata*. Rūpa Gosvāmin was his spiritual guide. At their instance Jīva (1600 A. D.) wrote several works on philosophy and religion in the light of Caitanya's teachings, and propounded his doctrine of *acintyabhedōbhedavāda*—the theory of unthinkable difference and non-difference or of identity-in-difference. His principal philosophical work is the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha* or *Ṣaṭsandarbha* consisting of *Tattvasandarbha*, *Bhāgavat-sandarbha*, *Paramātmasandarbha*, *Śrīkṛṣṇasandarbha*, *Bhaktisandarbha* and *Prītisandarbha*. His *Sarvasaṁvādinī* is a supplementary commentary on the first four Sandarbhas. Here a brief account of his philosophy of God will be given.

The *Bhāgavata* speaks of the supreme Reality as nondual knowledge, sometimes called *Brahman*, sometimes *Paramātman*, and sometimes *Bhagavat*.[1] *Brahman* is the Absolute. *Paramātman* is the Supreme Self. *Bhagavat* is the Lord or God. Jīva avers that they are not three different entities but the same reality, and that the first two are the incomplete manifestations of God, who is the complete reality. The one reality of the nature of infinite bliss is apprehended in a general way by the adepts in the cult of knowledge, who identify themselves with him in the course of their spiritual discipline and meditation, but who are incapable of apprehending the variety of supreme essential powers (svarūpaśakti) in him, or who are incapable of distinguishing between him and his powers.[2] The *Bhagavad-Gītā* speaks of God as the foundation of Brahman,[3] the former being the higher reality than the latter. Jīva is of the same view. He considers Brahman to be the indeterminate form of God, who is the Supreme Person. God is first apprehended as the indeterminate Brahman, and then as the determinate Lord invested with manifold determinations, qualities and powers. Brahman is so called because it is the largest or infinite reality.[4] Brahman is an incomplete manifestation of God because it is His indeterminate Being. It is not apprehended as invested with determinations and qualities, whereas God is apprehended as invested with a variety of forms, qualities and determinations. First, there is the apprehension of the indeterminate Brahman; then there is the apprehension of the determinate Lord or God.[5] Brahman is indeterminate while God is determinate. Determinate knowledge presupposes indeterminate knowledge. Brahman is the essential nature of God, being characterized by nondual knowledge or undifferentiated consciousness. He is apprehended through

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nondiscursive knowledge by an aspirant for the supreme knowledge, who is incapable of apprehending the special forms, powers and qualities of God. Brahman is pure being and self-manifest consciousness, infinite, eternal, supernatural and immaterial, and is manifested to the aspirants who pursue the path of knowledge. He is the indeterminate, infinite existence-consciousness-bliss devoid of the powers and qualities of lordship. The essential characteristic of God, pure nondual knowledge, distinct from his powers of lordship, is called Brahman.[9] The Lord invested with complete powers of lordship and the like is the complete, all-inclusive reality.[10] The immediate knowledge of Brahman acquired by the worshipper of Brahman, who pursues the path of knowledge, and who meditates on him as nondifferent from his finite self. It is also acquired by the worshipper of God (Bhagvat) incidentally through his grace. But a devotee of God does not experience Brahman as identical with his pure finite self, but as partly different from him and partly non-different from him. He apprehends his own self also through the grace of God as an eternal part of him, a spark of the divine sun, as his power of finite consciousness (jivaśakti). Power is partly different and partly non-different from the powerful being.[11] Jīva does not hold that the indeterminate Brahman only is real, and God is its mere phenomenal appearance as Śaṅkara holds. Nor does he hold that the determinate Lord or God only is real and that the indeterminate Brahman is not real like Rāmānuja and Madhva. He holds that the indeterminate Brahman is an incomplete and imperfect manifestation of the determinate Lord, who is not a phenomenal appearance of Brahman.

When God is manifested or apprehended by a mystic as the Inner Controller of his finite self, he is called Paramātman or the Supreme Self. He is the supreme psychic principle, the indwelling Spirit immanent in the finite selves, whereas Brahman is the supreme cosmic principle immanent in the universe.[12] He impels the finite embodied selves to perform their actions by infusing into their bodies His power of finite selves (Jīvaśakti),—which is His part. The finite selves are His powers called jīvaśakti. He does not constrain them to perform their actions, but impels them to do what they intend to do. They derive their relative freedom from Him, which is limited by divine freedom.[13] Jīva describes Paramātman as transcendent of māyā or prakṛti and the physical universe, and yet he describes Him to be qualified by a part of God's essential power of pure infinite consciousness (citśakti) and abounding in the power of unconscious māyā, and possessed of the power of being the Inner Controller of the finite selves.[14] Paramātman is the knower of all cognitions of the finite selves, self-existent, independent, pure, equal to all, calm, eternal, immutable, beyond the subtle prakṛti and the gross universe, and the witness and support of all finite selves.[16] The essential characteristic of Paramātman is the character of being the Supreme Person dwelling in the finite selves as their Inner Controller (Antaryāmin). He is not the experiencer of the fruits of their actions in the form of joys and sorrows, but their mere spectator.[15] Paramātman is an incomplete manifestation of God. He is intuited by the yogin through meditation.

God (Bhagavat) is the complete reality. He is eternally possessed of all the powers

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and qualities of lordship of the physical universe and the transcendental spiritual universe. He is never devoid of them and never acquires them.[17] Although He is not the direct cause because of His being neutral yet He impels the finite selves to do their actions through His essential powers as their Inner Controller (Antaryāmin) or Supreme Self (Paramātman), and He impels prakṛti also to produce its effects, and creates, preserves and destroys the universe as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, who are his own parts (svāṁśa).[18] God is the supreme essence of all—as the sun is the essence of all its rays of light—possessed of the largest number of qualities, invested with the power of supreme love, and the fit object of the supreme love of his devotees. He is the supreme end of their life.[17] He is invested with supreme sovereignty (aiśvarya) and supreme beauty and loveliness (mādhurya). He is the supreme beauty and the highest good. He is the source and embodiment of the ideals. He is the omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent Lord possessed of all excellent qualities.[20]

Brahman is pure being, self-manifest, conscious, infinite, eternal, supernatural, immaterial and transcendent. But the Lord (Bhagavat) is the supreme determinate Person possessed of the six qualities of lordship and invested with a spiritual body and spiritual sense-organs and enjoying his spiritual wealth of essential powers and qualities and residing in his eternal spiritual abode. God is ubiquitous and possessed of infinite knowledge, volition and action. He is an independent, omniscient and omnipotent Person. But Brahman is indeterminate, infinite being-knowledge-bliss devoid of the powers and qualities of lordship.[21]

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* explains the etymological meaning of the word "*Bhagavān*". The word "bhaga" means lordship. The letter "*bha*" means the maintainer and protector. The letter "*ga*" means the master, guide and creator. Jīva explains the letter "*bha*" as the maintainer of devotees and their protector. He explains the letter "*ga*" as leading the devotees to the attainment of love for God as the fruit of their devotion to him, making them attain the abode of God and creating or manifesting excellent qualities in them. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* explains the word "*bhaga*" as the sum total of entire lordship—entire virility (vīrya), entire renown (yaśas), entire fortune (śrī), entire knowledge (jñāna) and entire detachment (vairāgya). Jīva explains lordship as subjecting all to one's power, renown as fame due to excellent qualities, and detachment as the absence of attachment to worldly things of enjoyment. He explains *virility* as unthinkable power like that of a wish-giving gem, renown as excellent spiritual quality, *fortune* as all kinds of wealth, and *knowledge* as omniscience. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* explains the letter "*va*" as the Supreme Self that is immanent in all creatures, that is the abode of them, and that exists in them. The word "*bhaga-va*" is the aggregate of the letters "*bha*" "*ga*" and "*va*". The word "*bhagavavān*" means the Supreme Being who is possessed of "*bhagava*". The word "*Bhagavān*" is an abbreviation of the word "*bhagavavān*", and denotes the Supreme Brahman called Vāsudeva. It is used in its primary sense to denote the Supreme Lord endowed with the powers and qualities of the highest lordship. It is used in its metaphorical sense to denote any other Being inferior to him.[22]

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The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* speaks of the six qualities of lordship in another way. They are infinite knowledge (jñāna), power (śakti), strength (bala), sovereignty (aiśvarya), virility (vīrya), and effulgence (tejas). The Lord is possessed of all these qualities and devoid of their opposite qualities, e.g., ignorance, powerlessness, weakness, dependence, impotence and absence of radiance. He is devoid of all bad qualities of prakṛti and its modifications, since He is transcendent Infinite Spirit. Śrīdhara regards the Lord as devoid of sattva, rajas and tamas of prakṛti, actions generated by them, and their fruits, merits and demerits. Jīva explains *knowledge* as the strength of the internal organ, *power* as the strength of the external sense-organs, and *effulgence* as radiance of the body. The sum total of these qualities constitutes the quality of lordship.[23] The Lord has a spiritual body and spiritual sense-organs. "The knowledge by which He is known, visioned, and attained is untainted, pure, supreme and unchanging". Śrīdhara explains higher knowledge (parāvidyā) as the integral knowledge by which God is directly experienced and attained due to complete destruction of nescience or ignorance.[24] Jīva holds that the Lord is experienced through devotion or love, and that Brahman is experienced through higher knowledge by a Jñānin, and that Paramātman is experienced through meditation which is a special characteristic of devotion. Brahman is experienced through devotion also in which knowledge predominates. Quiet devotees (sānta-bhakta) experience Brahman through devotion mixed with knowledge.[25] There is one Supreme Reality that is apprehended as Brahman, Paramātman or Bhagavat according as the particular essential qualities are manifested or not manifested; so that they are distinguishable from one another, though they are not different realities.[26]

Jīva distinguishes between God's essential characteristics (svarūpa-lakṣaṇa) and distinctive characteristics (taṭastha-lakṣaṇa). The former constitute the nature of God, and the latter are inferred from their effects. Existence, knowledge, bliss, infinitude omniscience, and eternality are His essential characteristics.[27] God is the creator, preserver, destroyer and moral governor of the world, revealer of the Vedas, merciful to the devotees and remover of māyā. These are His distinctive characteristics. His being of the nature of a relisher and being relished, or being a lover and being beloved also are His distinguishing characteristic. Śaṅkara regards His distinguishing characteristics as inessential characteristics which are falsely attributed to the indeterminate Brahman, and considers them to be the attributes of the Lord (Īśvara) or God who is a phenomenal appearance of Brahman due to nescience (avidyā). Jīva avers that God is real and that His distinctive characteristics are real. Both essential and distinctive characteristics are the real attributes of the determinate Lord, and not of the indeterminate Brahman.[28]

Innumerable excellent qualities exist in the Lord, which constitute His nature. He cannot be known completely apart from His qualities of lordship. The knowledge of the Lord with his qualities of lordship is higher knowledge (parā vidyā). The indeterminate Brahman apart from its qualities of lordship is not known by it as Śaṅkara maintains. The Lord reveals himself through Higher knowledge as possessed of the qualities of lordship.[29] Madhva also holds the same view. He says, "God is manifested as He really is in His

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natural form. He is of the nature of knowledge, lordship and Power."[30] So He is known as possessed of these qualities. Jīva agrees with Madhva.

Jīva recognized three kinds of powers in God : (1) the internal essential power (svarūpa-śakti) of infinite consciousness (cit-śakti), (2) the intermediate nonessential power of finite consciousness (taṭasthaśakti, jīvaśakti) and (3) the external, nonessential, unconscious power of māyā. The last two powers are not His internal powers, because they do not enter into His essential nature, and because He is not touched by them. But they always exist in him as their abode, and cannot exist apart from Him.[31] He produces the finite embodied selves with the help of his jīvaśakti and māyāsakti, their souls are the eternal parts of jīvaśakti, and their mind-body-complexes are the effects of His māyāśakti. He produces the Physical universe with the help of His māyāśakti, the finite selves cannot enter into his essential nature. Māyā, prakṛti and the physical universe cannot touch His essence. His unconscious power of māyā cannot exist and function without the support and guidance of His higher power of pure infinite consciousness.[32] His māyāśakti is manifested in prakṛti composed of sattva, rajas and tamas in equilibrium. Prakṛti is modified into the physical universe. It is included in māyāśakti. God's essential power (svarūpaśakti) and power of finite consciousness (jīvaśakti) are conscious, but His māyāśakti is unconscious. His essential power and māyāśakti are opposed to each other.[33] His jīvaśakti is His subordinate power (aparā prakṛti), because it is inferior to His supreme essential power of infinite consciousness. It is superior to His unconscious māyaśakti. It is intermediate between these two powers.[32] The finite selves and māyāsakti and its product, the world, are real. They are not phenomenal appearances due to nescience (avidyā) as Śaṅkara maintains.

God's essential power (svarūpaśakti) is of three Kinds : (1) power of being (sandhinī), (2) power of consciousness (samvīd) and (3) power of bliss (hlādinī). Through the first power God eternally exists; through the second power he is eternally conscious and possessed of eternal knowledge; and through the third power he is eternally blissful.[35] The power of being is that by virtue of which God exists and imparts existence to all things and beings at all times and places. The power of consciousness is that by virtue of which God is conscious and omniscient and imparts consciousness and knowledge to other beings. The power of bliss is of the nature of perfection of consciousness by virtue of which God is blissful and imparts bliss to other beings. God's essential power is one, because He is one of the nature of eternal being, consciousness and bliss. His existence is consciousness. His consciousness is bliss. The three kinds of powers are distinguished in His one essential nature according as we emphasize the three aspects of his power.[36] They are fundamentally one divine power.

The finite selves' higher integral knowledge (parā vidyā) by which they know God and His essential power of infinite consciousness (cit-śakti) is a mode of His cit-sakti infused into them through His grace to release them from their bondage, which is due to the false identification of their pure souls with their unconscious bodies, mind (manas), intellect (buddhi) and egoism (ahaṁkāra)—the effects of māyā or prakṛti. Their pure devotion (bhakti) and love (prīti) by which they know God as the Beloved and His infinite love

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are modes of His power of infinite bliss (hlādinī śakti) infused into them through his grace to give them a taste of it.[37]

God's yogamāyā or ātmamāyā is His essential power of self-manifestation and self-concealment. It is a special manifestation of his power of consciousness by which He reveals Himself to others, by which He can make the impossible possible, by which He can reconcile contradictory qualities with one another, and by which He manifests himself in a human form, which is an embodiment of His eternal consciousness.[38] God, in human form, is not manifest to all, being veiled by yogamāyā.[39] He conceals his transcendental divine nature in His human form by His power of yogamāyā from the ignorant persons who despise Him as an ordinary mortal.

Māyā charms and deludes the finite selves who are averse to God and generates their attachment to the world and their psychophysical organisms. But yogamāyā charms those who are inclined towards God and produces their attachment to Him. Māyā cannot be overcome by the finite selves without the intercession of God's essential power or yogamāyā.

Jīva holds that there is an unthinkable relation of difference and nondifference or identity between God and His powers.[40] The Śruti speaks of the spontaneous powers of God and also difference and identity between Him and the finite selves and the world. So there is difference as well as identity between God and his powers on account of his inconceivable power.[41] Power and the substance which is possessed of the power constitute one entity. The entity is substantive (viśeṣya) and the power attributive (viśeṣaṇa). The bliss of God is the substantive and His powers are the attributives. There is an inseparable relation between the substantive and the attributives. The substantive qualified by the attributives is the entity. The finite selves are the eternal parts of God's jīvaśakti., and not of His essential power of infinite consciousness. They are different from Him because they are spirits endowed with finite consciousness and bliss, and because they can never possess His infinite consciousness and bliss. They are identical with Him because they are conscious transcendent spirits beyond time, space and causation.[42] The world is different from Him because it is unconscious, physical and noneternal. It is identical with Him, because it is a modification of His unconscious māyāśakti, and because it cannot exist apart from Him. It is His power, though it is His external inessential power existing outside His essence.[43]

Jīva holds that God is devoid of homogeneous difference (sajātiya bheda), heterogeneous difference (vijātiya bheda), and internal difference (svagata bheda). He is self-existent, and does not depend upon any other homogeneous or heterogeneous Being. He is the abode of His powers and modifications, and acts with the aid of His own powers. He is nondual, and the repository of His three kinds of powers, which cannot exist without Him,[44] and consequently, cannot constitute internal difference within Him. Hence, God is devoid of the threefold difference.[45]

It may be argued that the comrades of God, the abode of him, and the finite selves, being conscious like Him and having separate existence, there is homogeneous difference in him. Jīva replies that they are not self-existent, but depend for their existence upon

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God, and that they would not exist if He did not exist. The abode of God (Vaikuṇṭha) and his comrades living there are the special manifestations of His essential power. The finite selves are parts of God invested with His jīvaśakti. Hence, there cannot be homogeneous difference between them and God.[46]

It may be argued, that there is heterogeneous difference between the physical universe and God, because the former is a modification of māyā, material, unconscious, and full of pain, whereas God is immaterial, conscious and full of bliss. Jīva replies that māyā is a power of God, that it is not self-existent but depends for its existence upon Him, and that māyā and the universe are not independent of Him. Hence, there is no heterogeneous difference between them and God.[47] Further, materiality and pain are not positive entities but mere negations of consciousness and pleasure, they are products of māyā, and, consequently, cannot have heterogeneous difference from God.

God is one homogeneous unit of consciousness and bliss. There is no material difference in His nature. There is no quality other than consciousness and bliss in Him. Hence, there is no internal difference in Him. He is devoid of threefold difference. Yet the finite selves and the universe are real and exist in him as his different powers. There is an unthinkable identity-in-difference (acintyabhedābheda) between them and God. He can reconcile and harmonize contradcitory and conflicting powers and qualities in His nature by His super-rational power (acintyaśakti).

Rāmānuja advocates internal difference in God between Him and the finite selves and the world, which are His attributes (viśeṣaṇa), and recognizes inseparable relation (apṛthaksiddhi) between them. They constitute the body of God who is their soul. Jīva criticizes Rāmānuja's view.[49] Madhva reconciles many qualities of God with his conception of viśeṣa. He harmonizes the plurality of finite selves and physical things with the entity of God with the help of viśeṣa, although he advocates eternal difference among them. Jīva criticizes Madhva's view.[50] Yet Jīva's doctrine of inconceivable identity-in-difference (acintyabhedābheda) serves the same purpose as Rāmānuja's doctrines of internal difference and inseparable relation and Madhva's doctrine of viseṣa. Jīva agrees with Madhva that God is the harmony of contradictory powers and qualities.[51] Though Sanātana and Rūpa suggest the doctrine of superrational identity-in-difference, Jīva has the credit of firmly establishing it on a philosophical foundation, which is elaborated further by his followers.[52]

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2. *Bhāgavat-sandarbha*, 3; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, pp. 49-50.
3. Brahmaṇo hi pratiṣṭhā' ham. XIV, 27.
7. Sarvato bṛhattamatvāt brahmeti tat paramasya puṁso bhagavataḥ padam eva;

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brahmaṇaśca bhagavata eva nirvikalpa-sattā-rūpatvāt. *Bhgavatsandarbha*, 7; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 55.

5. Nirvikalpatayā sākṣātkṛteḥ prāthamikatvāt, vicitra-rūpādi-vikalpa-viśeṣaviśiṣṭasya bhagavatastu sākṣātkṛteśtad-anantarajatvāt. Ibid.
6. Tadīyasvarūpa-bhūtam tad brahma tatsākṣātkārāspadaṁ bhavati. Ibid.
7. Jñāna-yogena parabhrahma īyate. *Kramasandarbha*, iii. 32, 26.
8. *Laghuvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, X, 3,24; X, 87, 1-2.
9. Tatra śakti-varga-lakṣaṇa-tad-dharmātiriktaṁ kevalaṁ jñānam brahmeti śabdyate. *Bhāgavat-sandarbha*, 7; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 454.
10. Paripūrṇa-sarva-śakti-viśiṣṭaṁ bhagavān iti. *Bhaktisandarbha*, 7; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 454.
11. Brahma-jñānamapi śrī-bhagavat-prasādotthaṁ śrūyate..bhagavad-upāsakaistu bhaktyā kiñcid bhedena gṛhyate. *Bhaktisandarbha* 135; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 519.
12. Bhagavad-rūpa pūrṇāvirbhāvam tat tattvaṁ jīvādi-niyantṛtvena sphurad vā pratipadyamānaṁ vā paramātmeti sabdyate. *Bhāgvatasandarbha*, 3; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 52. *Laghuaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* on *Bhāgavata*, X 87, 17.
13. Parmātmane sarva-jīva-niyantre. *Bhāgavatasandarbha* 4; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 53. yena hetu-kartrā ātmāṁsa-bhūta-jīva—pravesana-dvārā saṁjivitāni santi......svasva-kārye pravartante tat paramātma-rūpaṁ viddhi. Ibid, 4; p. 53.
14. *Kramasandarbha* on *Bhāgavata*, iii, 32, 26. antaryāmitvamaya-māyāśakti-pracuracicchaktyaṁsa-visiṣṭaṁ (brahma) paramātmā. *Ibid*, i, 2, 11.
15. *Bhāgavata*, ii, 7, *Kramasandarbha*, ii. 10, 8.
16. Paramātmanaḥ svarūpa-lakṣaṇam īsvaraḥ pumān iti. *Bhaktisandarbha* (C. U.), p. 178 *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, ii, 2, 1. (N. S. P., Bombay, 1948).
17. *Bhāgavatasandarbha*, 3; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 52. "God is the all-in-all of qualities and attributes." Lotze : *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 80.
18. *Bhāgavatasandarbha*, 4; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 53.
19. Śri-bhāgavata eva....raśmīnāṁ sūryavat sarveṣāṁ parama-svarūpatvāt, sarvādhika-guṇa-śālitvāt, parama-premayogyatvam iti prayojanañca sthāpitam. *Tattvasadarbha*, 45; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 33.
20. *Laghuvaiṣnavatoṣanī* on *Bhāgavata*, X, 3, 13. *Prītisandarbha* (edited by Navadvip Chandra Das, p. 493).
21. *Laghuvaiṣnavatoṣani*, X, 3, 24; X, 87, 1-2. cp. "For the soul there are three realizations :(1) the realization of the psychic being as the divine element in the evolution; (2) the realization of the cosmic Self which is one in all; (3) the realization of the Supreme Divine from which both individual and cosmos have come, and of the individual being (Jivātman) as an eternal portion of the Divine." (*Śrī* Aurobindo, *More Lights on Yoga*, p. 76).
22. Evam eṣo mahāśabdo vāsudevasya vācakaḥ, na tvanyasyetyarthah. Tadevaṁ parameśvare niratiśay-aiśvaryādi-yukte mukhyo' yaṁ śabdaḥ. anyatra tu gauṇah. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 69. (Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta). *Viṣnupurāna*, X, 5, 77.

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23. *Viṣṇupurāna*, VI, 7, 79; *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 70.
24. Yena Jñāyate'parokṣa-vṛttyā sākṣāt-kriyate niḥśeṣā-vidyā-nivṛttyā prāpyate taj-jñānam parā vidyā. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 72. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, VI, 5, 87, Śrīdhara's commentary.
25. Jñānayogena parabrahma īyate; bhakty-aṁśa-viśeṣena yogena paramātmā; suddhayā bhaktyā tu svayaṁ bhagavān iti viveccaniyam. *Kramasandarbha*, iii, 32. 26.
26. Ekasyaiva tasya tattvasya svarūpa-dharma-viśeṣā-virbhā-vānāvirbhāvābhyāṁ tattad-āvirbhāva-bhedaḥ. Ibid, iii, 29, 37.
27. *Laghuvaiṣāavatoṣanī*, X, 87, 2; cf. *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta*, ii, 20, 299-300; *Taittirīya-Upanisad*, ii, 1,2; ii, 7, 1; iii, 6, 1; *Bṛhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad*, iii, 9, 28; iv, 3, 32.
28. Ubhābhyām api bhāgavatvam eva paryavasāyayati, na tu nirviśeṣabrahmatvam. *Laghuvaiṣāavatoṣanī*, X, 87, 2.
29. Bhagalakṣaṇatvena kevalādvayasvarūpam eva ucyate iti pratyākhyātam. Bhaga-viśiṣṭasyaiva bhāgavato brahmavat para-vidyā-mātra-vyañgyatvena svaprakāśatvaṁ spaṣtam eva, *Sarvasaṁvadinī*, p. 73.
30. *Mādhva-Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-Sūtra*, ii, 2, 41; *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 73.
31. Sā ca trividhā antarañgā, taṭasthā, bahirañgā ceti atr-ottarayor-anantarañgatvaṁ tābhyṁ parameśvarasyā-liptatayā śaktitvañca. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 61.
32. Parā aparasyā bahirañgāyā āśrayabhūtā Ibid, p. 62. Jīvaḥ parama-cid-eka-rasasya tasya bahiścara-cit-paramāṇuḥ. *Kramasandarbha*, iv. 25, 4. Asya taṭas-thatvaṁ jīvatva-prasiddhe-rīśvaratva-koṭā-vapraveṣāt, *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 239.
33. svarūpaśaktimāyāśakti paraspara-viruddhe. *Bhāgavatsandarbha*, 12; *Ṣaṭsandarbha* (edited by Shyam Lal Gosvāmī, Calcutta), p. 61.
34. *Laghuvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* (edited by Puri Das Gosvāmī, Dacca, 1946), X, 14, 28.
35. Hlādini āhlādakāriṇi sandhinī santatā samvid vidyāśaktiḥ. *Bhāgavatasandarbha*, 118; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 191.
36. Ekasyaiva tattvasya saccidāandatvāt śaktir-apy-ekā tridhā bhidyate. *Ibid*, p. 191. cp. *Lights on Joga*, p. 35 (Srī Aurobindo).
37. Hlādinīsāra-vṛtti-svarūpā bhāgavatī prītiḥ. *Prītisandarbha*, 78. Bhaktir-hi bhakta-koṭi-praviṣṭā tad—(bhagavad)-ārdrībhāvayitṛ-tacchakti-viśeṣaḥ. *Bhaktisandarbha*, 180; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 557.
38. Ātmamāyā svarūpaśaktiḥ. *Bhāgavatasandarbha*, 23; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 73. Īśvarasya yogamāyā cid-ghana-vigrahā-virbhāvaḥ. *Ibid*, 40; p. 106. Yogamāyā durghaṭana-ghaṭanī cicchaktiḥ. *Ibid*, 45; pp. 92 & 87. *Laghuvaisṇavatoṣanī*, X, 14, 22.
39. Nāhaṁ prakāśaḥ sarvasya yogam āyā-samāvṛtaḥ. *Bhagavad-Gitā*, VII, 25.
40. *Ibid*, VII, 24.
41. Svamate tvacintya-bhedābhedāveva acintya-śaktimattvāt. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 149
42. Jñānāśrayo jñānaguṇascetanaḥ prakṛteḥ paraḥ. Śuddha-svarūpatvān-nitya-nirmalatvam. *Paramātmasandarbha*, 35; Ṣaṭsandarbha, pp. 224 & 234. cp. "The soul is a spark of the Divine Spirit." (*More Lights on Yoga*, p. 30). "The individual spirit is part of the 'Many' side of the One", (*Lights on* Yoga, p. 32).

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"The imperishable soul in us has come out of the Transcendence." (*Synthesis of Yoga*, p. 255). (Sri Aurobindo).

43. *Laghuvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, X, 87, 36-37; X, 3, 19; X, 70, 5; X, 14, 28.
44. Advayaṁ cāsya svayaṁ-siddha-tādṛśā-tādṛśa-tattvāntarā-bhāvāt,svaśaktyeka-sahāya-tvāt, paramāśrayaṁ taṁ vinā tāsām asiddhattvācca. *Tattvasansarbha* (edited by Gaur Kishor Vedantatīrtha), p. 37.
45. Sajātīya-vijātīya-svagata-bheda-rahitaṁ jñānam eva paraṁ tattvam. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 28)
46. Tat-svarūpa-vastv-antarāṇaṁ ca tacchakti-rūpatvāt na taiḥ sajātiyo'pi bhedaḥ. *Ibid*, p. 56.
47. Na cāvyakta-gata-jāḍya-duḥkhādibhirvijātiyo bhedaḥ, avyaktasyāpi tacchaktirūpa-tvāt. Ibid.
48. Paraspara-viruddhānāṁ sarveṣāmeva dharmāṇāṁ yugapad-ekāsrayattvāt. *Sarvasaṁvādinī*, p. 57; *Ibid*, pp. 36-37.
49. *Ibid*, pp. 37-38; *Paramātma-sandarbha*, 37; *Ṣaṭsandarbha*, p. 234.
50. *Bhāgavata*, X, 16, 40; *Sarvasamvādinī*, pp. 36-37.
51. Śakti-saktimatoścāpī na vibhedaḥ kathañcana. Avibhinnāpi svecchādibhedairapi vibhāvayati. Quoted in *Sarvasamvādinī*, p. 74.
52. This paper is the gist of two chapters of my forthcoming book "*Jīva Gosvāmin's Philosophy of Identity-in-Difference.*"

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साङ्ख्ये मुक्तिस्वरूपं तदुपायश्च

लेखकः
श्रीरामनारायणत्रिपाठी, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय

सत्त्वपुरुषान्यताप्रत्ययो मोक्षः, ख्यातिरित्यनर्थान्तरम्। सत्वं बुद्धितत्वं सत्वादिगुणत्रयात्मक-प्रकृतितत्त्वं वा जडपरिणामिप्रकृतितत्त्वाद् विभिन्नोऽहमपरिणामी दृशिरूप इत्याकारकः प्रकृत्यवधिकपुरुषान्यतारूपसाक्षात्कारः। स च स्थूलसूक्ष्मप्रपंचप्रकृतिपुरुषाणां यथार्थज्ञानाद् भवति। तदित्थम्——सांख्यशास्त्रादिभ्यो व्यक्तादीनां पंचविंशतितत्त्वानां भेदतःश्रवणेनतत्वसंख्यां तत्स्वरूपपंचावगत्य स्थूलभूतरूपकार्यात् तत्कारणं पंचतन्मात्रमनुमायतैः पंचतन्मात्रैर्ज्ञानकर्मतदुभयात्मकैकादशेन्द्रियैः तत्कारणमहंकारं तेन तत्कारणं महत्तत्त्वं ततो गुणत्रयात्मकं प्रधानंच क्रमशोऽनुमाय व्यक्ताव्यक्तयोश्च पारार्थत्वेन पुरुश्चैतन्यादिविशिष्टस्तद्विपरीतोऽनुमेय इत्येवंरूपेणसांख्योक्तपरस्परसाधर्म्यवैधर्म्यालोचनात्मकमननेनासम्भावनाविपरीतभावनानिरसनपूर्वकं तत्त्वस्वरूपं विनिश्चित्य श्रद्धातिशयपूर्वकनिरन्तरचिरकालपर्यन्तदृढ़ाभ्यासरूपेण भावनामयेन निदिध्यासनेन तत्वसाक्षात्कारः सम्पादनीयः। अयमेव ऐकान्तिकात्यन्तिको दैहिकदैविकभौतिकतापत्रयोन्मूलको हेतुः। एवं तत्त्वविषयज्ञानाभ्यासाद् दृढ़तरतत्त्वज्ञानवासनया अनादिमिथ्याज्ञानसंस्कारं तत्कार्यंच समुच्छिद्य सत्वपुरुषान्यतासाक्षात्कारि निरुपद्रवभूतार्थस्वभावं 'नाहं कर्तृत्वादिविशिष्टो नापि प्रसवधर्मा न मे कुत्रचित् स्वामिता' इत्येवं रूपं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते। तस्मान्मोक्षः। यदुक्तमन्यसांख्याचार्यैः 'वैराग्यात् पुरुषकैवल्यं ज्ञानवैराग्याभ्यांच' इति, तद् 'ज्ञानेन चापवर्गः' वैराग्यात्प्रकृतिलयः' इति वदता सांख्यकारिकाकृता नाभिमतम्। एवं ज्ञाने जाते सति 'अनेन पुरुषेणाहं दृष्टा' इत्यात्मानं मन्यमाना प्रकृतिस्तदर्थमविवेकख्यातिनिबन्धनान्युपभोगसाधनानि शब्दादीन्यजनयन्ती विवेकज्ञानसामर्थ्याद् धर्माधर्माज्ञानवैराग्यावैराग्यैश्वर्यानैश्वर्यसप्तरूपरहिता प्रसवधर्मशून्या स्वव्यापारव्यासक्तत्वेन तादृशी विवृतरूपारूपामात्मानं परपुरुषेण दृष्टां सतीं दर्शनमात्रसंजातह्रिया संयतस्वभावा कुलवधूरिव स्वां संयमयन्ती व्यापारादुपरता आस्ते। पुरुषोऽपि तदानीं निरस्तरजस्तमस्कया सात्त्विक्या बुद्ध्या सभिन्नो निष्क्रियो नृत्यविरक्तां नर्तकीं प्रेक्षक इव विवेकख्यातिमात्रवृत्या प्रकृतिं पश्यन्नुपेक्षापूर्वक आस्ते। ईदृशी अवस्था मोक्षावस्था। यद्यप्यस्यामवस्थायामपि निवृत्तयोः प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्व्यापकत्वात् संयोगोऽस्ति तथापि तस्मात् संयोगात् सर्गो न जायते तदानीं सर्गारम्भप्रयोजनयोर्भोगविवेकपुरुषार्थयोश्चारितार्थ्येन सत्यपि संयोगे प्रवर्तकाभावान्न प्रवर्त्तते प्रकृतिः।

ननु पुरुषः स्वयगुणोऽपरिणामी निष्क्रियस्तदा कथं तस्य मोक्षादिव्यवस्थोपपद्यते, इति चेन्न; सेनागतपराजयौ यथा तत्फलस्वामिसम्बन्धात् स्वामिन्युपचर्येते तथैव बन्धमोक्षसंसरणानां प्रकृतिगतानां विवेकाग्रहात् पुरुषे उपचारात्। सा अभिव्यक्तविषयोपकरणायतनात्मिका सती प्रकृतिः भोगरूपपुरुषार्थं प्रति स्वयैव बुद्ध्यात्मिकया कर्त्र्या धर्माधर्माज्ञानवैराग्यावैराग्यैश्वर्यानैश्वर्यात्मकैर्भावैः स्वां बध्नाति स्थूलदुःखात्यन्तयोगिनीं करोति। तत्सम्पर्कात् पुरुषः प्राकृतिकं वैकृतिकं दक्षिणं बन्धत्रयमात्मन्यारोपयति। सैव बन्धनकर्त्री प्रकृतिः तत्वज्ञानात्मकेनैकेन भावेनात्मानं बन्धनविश्लिष्टं करोति। तत्सम्पर्कादेव पुरुषो ज्ञानोद्रेकोपरतिधर्माधर्मक्षयाद्युपायैरात्मानं मुक्तं मन्यते। एवं च प्रकृतिरेव देवतिर्यङ्मानुषाश्रया बुद्ध्यादिरूपेण संसरति। तदेव विकल्पवृत्तिनिबन्धने पुरुष आरोप्यते भेदाग्रहात्। आरोपप्रकारस्तित्थम्—

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भोगादयो विकारा हि वृत्तिविशेषा धर्माश्चित्तस्यैव सन्ति किन्तु चित्तचैतन्ययोः सान्निध्यादभेदग्रहे चित्तधर्मान् स्वस्मिन्ना-रोप्य पुरुषः शान्तोऽहं मूढोऽहं दुःखितोऽहमस्मीत्याद्यध्यवस्यति। उपाधेः प्रतिबिम्बपक्षपातित्वाद् दर्पणगतमलिनिमानं दर्पणप्रतिबिम्बितवदने आरोप्य स्वं मलिनवदनमध्यवस्यति। तथैव शान्तघोरमूढात्मिकासु चित्तवृत्तिषु वर्त्तमानं मलिनत्वादिकं बुद्धिप्रतिबिम्बिते चैतन्ये आरोप्य शान्तोऽस्मि दुःखितोऽस्मि मूढोऽस्मीत्यध्यवस्यति बुद्धिपुरुषयोः सन्नि-धानादभेदग्रहे। वर्णितंचैतत् 'वृत्तिसारूप्यमितरत्र' इति योगसूत्रभाष्यवृत्यादिषु। एतेन सिध्यति पुरुषस्यौपाधिको भोगादिः। स चानादिः प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरनादिव्यापकत्वाभ्यां तत्संयोगस्यानादित्वात्।

पुरुषप्रकृतिविवेकरूपे ज्ञाने जाते सत्यपि संचितक्रियमाणकर्मनाशे ऽपि यावत् प्रारब्धकर्मसमाप्तिर्न जायते तावत् पुरुषो धर्माधर्मसंस्कारवशाच्चक्रभ्रमिवद्धृतशरीरः क्षपयति कालं भोगेन,भोगान्नष्टे प्रारब्धे शरीरपातानन्तरं परमकैवल्य-माप्नोति। इत्थं ज्ञानोदयानन्तरं प्रारब्धकर्मभोगं यावज्जीवन्मुक्तिः। भोगानन्तरं शरीरनाशे धर्माधर्मौ कृतार्थौ कारणे बुद्धिलक्षणे लयं गच्छतः। यश्च शरीरारम्भको भूतावयवः स सर्वभूतेषु, भूतानि तन्मात्रेषु, इन्द्रियाणि तन्मात्राणि चाहङ्कारेऽहङ्कारो बुद्धौ बुद्धिश्च प्रधाने प्रलयं गच्छन्ति। सेयं तत्त्वानुपूर्वी यदर्थं प्रधानादुत्पन्ना तस्मिन् परिसमाप्ते पुनः स्वकारणे प्रधाने प्रलीयते। एतेन प्रतिपुरुषं सृष्टिर्भिन्नेति ज्ञायते। प्रकृतिस्त्वेकेति सर्वेषामाचार्याणां मतमृते पौरिकात्। प्रधानमपि पुरुषार्थवशादेव पुरुषस्य शरीराणि) तेषु तेषु जात्यन्तरपरिवर्तनं करोति। स पुरुषर्थोऽधुना चरितार्थो जातः। अतो विनिवृत्ता प्रकृतिस्तदानीमास्ते। तदातीन्द्रियमसंवेद्यं लघु सर्वत्रसन्निहितं प्रशस्तमनिर्मित विशुद्धमक्षयं निरतिशय-मैकान्तिकमात्यन्तिकमुभयं कैवल्यमाप्नोति। एतच्चावस्थानं बौद्धैर्निरुपाधिविशेषनिर्वाणलक्षणमपवर्गो व्याख्यातः। एतत् परं ब्रह्म ध्रुवममलमयमत्र सर्वेषां गुणधर्माणां प्रतिपलयः। एतत् प्राप्य सर्वायासैः सर्वबन्धनैर-नादिकालप्रवृत्त-रागद्वेषवियुक्तो मुक्तो भवति। एषा परममुक्तिः।

ननु 'संसरति...प्रकृतिः' इतित था 'सैव च...त्येकरूपेण' इति ६२-६३ तमकारिकोक्त्या प्रकृतिरेवात्म-नात्मानं बध्नाति मुंचति चेति। अपि च 'पुरुषविमोक्ष...प्रधानस्य' इति च ५६—५८ तमकारिकासु प्रकृतेरेव तदर्थं प्रवृत्तिरपि वर्णिता। तदिह 'कैवल्यार्थं प्रवृत्तेश्च' इति 'पुरुषस्य दर्शनार्थं...प्रधानस्य' इति च –१७–२१ कारिकयोः पुरुषस्य कैवल्यार्थमपेक्षाप्रवृत्ती वर्णिते, इति कथं पूर्वापरसामंजस्यं स्यादिति चेन्न, प्रधानेन सम्भिन्नस्य तद्गतदुःखं स्वात्मन्यभिमन्यमानस्य पुरुषस्य कैवल्यार्थं तद्धर्मारोपेणापेक्षाप्रवृत्तिमत्त्वात्। सच च मोक्षोऽस्मिन् सांख्यसिद्धान्ते कतिविधः? तत्वसमाससूत्रे त्रिविधो मोक्षो निरूपितः। तथा च सूत्रम्—"त्रिविधो मोक्षः", २० इति। तत्र प्रथमो मोक्षो ज्ञाननिमित्तकः, तच्च ज्ञानं विवेकख्यातिरेव, तेन ज्ञानेनाविवेकरूपाविद्यानिवृत्तिरूपः। द्वितीयो वैराग्यनिमित्तः, विषयेषु रागसंगक्षयादिन्द्रियोपशमरूपः। तृतीयो धर्माधर्माक्षयनिमित्तः, तत्क्षयात्तदनुत्पादरूप एव। तदुक्तं पंचशिखाचार्यैः 'आदौ तु मोक्षो ज्ञानेन द्वितीयो रागसंगक्षयात्। कृच्छ्रक्षयात तृतीयस्तु व्याख्यातं मोक्षलक्षणम्' इति। क्वचिच्चायं श्लोकः किंचित्पाठान्तरेणोपलभ्यते तत्रापि नार्थे कोऽपि भेदः। यद्यप्यत्र द्वितीय तृतीयौ न तात्त्विकमोक्षौ तथापि तयोरैकदेशिकान्यताख्यात्या तावद् बन्धापगमेन ज्ञानद्वारभूतत्वेन च गौणो मोक्षव्यवहारः।

मोक्षस्तु कस्माच्चिदपि बन्धादेव भवति। अतस्तदर्थं बन्धः स्वीकरणीयः। सोऽप्यतात्त्विकज्ञानाद् विपर्ययविकल्पादे र्जायते 'विपर्ययादिष्यते बन्धः' इति। सोऽपि त्रिविधः, तथा च तत्वसमाससूत्रम्—'त्रिविधो बन्धः, इति प्राकृतिको वैकृतिको दक्षिणकश्च।' तदुक्तं पंचशिखाचार्येण 'प्राकृतेन तु बन्धेन तथा वैकारिकेण च। दक्षिणाभिस्तृतीयेन बद्धो जन्तुर्विवर्त्तते।' इति।

तत्र प्रकृतिरेवात्मेत्यवगत्य ये प्रकृतिमुपासते तेषां प्रकृतिको बन्ध इति वाचस्पति-सर्वोपकारिणीप्रभृतयः। अष्टौ प्रकृतयस्ताः परत्वेनाभिमन्यमानस्य प्राकृतो बन्ध इति भावागणेश-तत्वसमाससूत्रवृत्तिकार-प्रभृतयः।

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एतादृशानामुपासकानां प्रकृतावैकलक्षमन्वन्तरकालपर्यन्तं लयो भवति। लयो नाम स्थूलशरीरं विना लिंगशरीरेण सहावस्थानम्। तत्र भोगरहितः प्रकृत्या सहास्ते पुनः समाप्तेऽवधौ संसृतिभ्रमणं भवति। नह्येतेनैव प्रकृतिलयोऽपि तु वैराग्यादपि। तदुक्तं 'वैराग्यात् प्रकृतिलयः' इति (सां० का०)।

एवं त्रिविधं बन्धमपेक्ष्य त्रिविधो मोक्षो व्याख्यातः। एतेषां बन्धानां विनाशे पूर्वोक्तास्त्रयस्तत्त्वज्ञान-रागसंगक्षय-धर्माधर्मक्षया एव हेतवः। वस्तुतस्त्वेतेषां त्रयाणामेकस्मिन्नेव क्रमशः पर्यवसानं तथा तदुपायानामपि क्रमिकत्वेन पर्यनुयोगो ज्ञेयः।

सङ्केतितप्रकाशः

१. सत्त्वपुरुषान्यताप्रत्ययः, सां० त० कौ० ६१।

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PURUṢA

By

DR. K. C. VARADACHARI, TIRUPATI

The word Puruṣa is used to denote the soul (ātman). It is used in the Veda (Ṛg. Yajuṣ, Sāman. Atharvan) in connection with the creation and praise of the Puruṣa (Puruṣa-sūkta). Usually it is translated to mean the embodied being or Personality. Its first use is Cosmic or even transcendent and creation itself is shown to be a kind of Sacrifice of Puruṣa, Yajña. Later we find that embodiedness or having a body was dropped and the term Puruṣottama was used by the Bhagavad-Gītācārya, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, to designate the Supreme Creator.

Whether it is a body of matter or from which all matter came into being, the Supreme Self of all is called a Person or Puruṣa.

The word has been derived by some from another word used in the Ṛg-Veda : Puriśa, meaning abundantly filling (*pur* : to fill and *iśa*, as abundant). Some have tried to derive Purīśa from the *Pur* to mean the city or town and īśa to be the lord : the embodied soul is said to be the lord of the City with nine gates (*navadvāra-purī*), the human body).

However, it appears that Puruṣa can be derived also from the root *pu* : meaning to purify. The Puruṣa is one who is *pure* and untouched by all the works of the body or the effects. It is seen that this conception has been a metaphysical concept in respect of the Puruṣa in Sāṅkhya and those who follow it.

Puruṣa means the pure Being. The concept parallel to this is the concept of God as *Actus Purus* : pure activity. This is the view held by Aristotle of God, who is the opposite of the world wherein impure material mixed activity is available. Indeed the self or soul is utterly free from the material activity and thus its pure nature as inactive is affirmed as a resolute differentiam from matter, even as the word Nirguṇa is the refutation of the triguṇa in respect of the soul.

Puruṣa as *actus purus* or pure activity which is detached from the triple activity of matter which are darkening and capable of causing suffering is the very nature of the Puruṣa in Sāṅkhya. Indeed one type of activity is granted to the soul which is otherwise stainless or guiltless in respect of matter : it passively looks on and identifies itself with material modifications (*vikṛtis*) and enjoys too. This Sākṣi-caitanya is its nature and this theoretical on-looking is pure in so far as it is not affected by the dances of Nature.

Thus it is suggested that the word Puruṣa seems to reflect two concepts viz. (i) the pure activity concept as suggested in the word *puruṣa* ($\sqrt{pu}$) and (ii) as the self indwelling in the body with nine gates (*puriśa*). But see Bṛh Up. I, iv. 1. where puruṣa is so called because

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'pūro'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmāna auṣat tasmāt Puruṣa auṣati'...He is of all things consumed by fire of all sins. The above suggestions get a peculiarly prominent affirmation from quite an unexpected source. It is the concept of the *Person*. Person is usually held to be the embodied being : so it has metaphysical and even morphological affinity with the Vedic word *Puruṣa*. The use of this term in a technical sense as representing a function or a mask in Greek drama leads us to suspect whether it has not quite a natural origin. Especially the gods have each a representative divine function and this function demands a dress or apparel or *form*, which goes along with its *name*. The actors who have to impersonate really, that is, to act as another, have to take up the form suitable to the name. This form-adoption is done by means of making a likeness which will suggest the original. In other words, the persona is an impersonation for an original which is thus suggested when one perceives the impersonating form which is similar to that. By itself without that knowledge of the original this would hardly convey any sense. Indeed it is this that makes drama a mirror of reality which it evokes through suggestion made through masks (forms similar or identical to the original).

In Sāṅkhya philosophy this becomes very luminous indeed because all the processes of prakṛti are but masks of the Puruṣa and ahaṅkāra really is the *basic* mask of the Puruṣa (impersonation), and it is that which makes one mistake the copy for the original, the persona for the person. This is the basic illusion which has to be transcended. When some philosophers compared our life to a drama it was clear that the function of an enacted drama is to lift the veil of identity between the persona and person, and make us see the person without the veil. This cathartic conception and midwifery conception of drama have been lost sight of and the enjoyment theory is substituted. But real enjoyment consists in this discovery of the duality of persona and person, and transcendence over persona so to attain the person. The puruṣa and person concepts are so close that it is quite likely that the two were originally from the same root (*dhātu*).

The denial of the ātman whilst accepting puriśa concept in Buddhism throws some light over the struggles with this concept of the embodied self.

Really that which is clear is that there was a time when the self in so far as it entertained creativity created for itself a body (out of elements already existing). The person was a potential enjoyer and created for itself by its activity (which resembled thought or buddhi) sustained by an original desire (tṛṣṇā) (Icchā) its body or a sequence of bodies : at the beginning sheaths are the intellectual body, mental body, subtle bodies and gross bodies which went *pari passu* with the worlds of the different elements or its own environment. Then it became what it can call its extension of person or personality. Even now this stage is seen when we claim rights which are defined as personality. Even property is said to be an extension of Personality.

Psychological definitions of personality have this same exterior behaviour pattern. Thus these indicate a person but consider that without these personality-factors the person is a ghost or something like that.

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The metaphysical philosopher on the other hand discovered that the person is the eternal witness sustaining the process of creation up to the limit and enjoying the inventiveness that he has. The person discovers his potentiality or personality in creative adventure in evolution.

The Puruṣa thus is said to sacrifice in creation (yajña) by projection of himself. The whole process of creation is the projection of the personality of the Divine Person. It is his aiśvarya, vīrya, jñāna, bala, śakti and tejas that are exhibited at each point.

The individual soul in its person has thus same possibility but due to lack of inward stability of jñāna or saccidānanda, it identifies itself just as an actor or even as the audience does, and feels intimacy with the created rather than with the creator.

There are two types of persons, those who have finished their creativity for it is shown to be finite, and those who have not. The first type returns to the person from its own personality and the second moves from person to the personality losing consciousness of its own person.

The one which has seen the limits of its own personality yearns no more for it; whereas those who have not progress hoping for an infinite enjoyment of their creation. Of course the latter is bound to discover the limits for it is seen that there is an automatic reverse after reaching the end of the creativity in the organic or material world.

The concept of the Puruṣa thus is closely linked up with the concept of the Person and as such it is likely that one would be able to discover an Indo-Germanic root which will place them together. The euphonic element also suggests this identification. Person has been derived by some scholars from *per*=through, *son*—sound. Thus a person is one who is known through sound. Sound would probably mean talk or language. It seems in drama a character is known through his sound or talk. This derivation is most fanciful. Here we have a case of deriving the meaning from the character. The persona as a mask or garb or make-up for a character to represent a character or person is understandable, though to derive person from dramatis persona is rather a reversal of interpretation.

Therefore it appears that person is the original word and it closely corresponds to the Sanskrit word Puruṣa which has had a hoary history.

It appears that the word person or puruṣa had undergone many changes. One of them at least is that it became *paras* and later *paraśu*. The great Rāma of the Axe (Paraśu-Rāma) was originally Puruṣa Rāma (Rāma Jāmadagnya). Waddell has made certain remarks in his Indo-Sumerian studies.

The Vaikhānasa Āgama considers that the original Transcendent Godhead is Puruṣa.

My studies on the correspondences between the Five Nights, Five Daytimes and Five Agnis lead me to the conclusion that the avatāra known as Paraśurāma was in fact the fulfilment of the Fivefold Fires-Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Apnuvana, Aurva and Jamadagni, who were all discoverers of the five levels of Fire or five different kinds of fire—(my *Idea of God* : chapter on the Pāñcarātra Conception of God).

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1. Ṛv. III. 21.4; X, 50.8; X.90. X.90 X. 173 (*Puruṣa*) : Puru ṣa : ṚV. X.26. AV.X.7 Grassman. *Worterbuch.* Smith · *Smaller Latin English Dictionary. Puruṣa* from Skt. *√pu* : *Pur* in Italian, Spanish, French, Latin. *Bhagavad Gita : Upaniṣad :*
2. Ahaṅkāra is earlier than Buddhi in Gītā and not a product of Buddhi as in Sāṅkhya.

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SENSATION IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

By

DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA, CHANDIGARH

I. INTRODUCTORY

The concept of sensation was never crystallized in Indian Philosophy : it always remained amorphic. The reason is not far to seek. In the first place, the transcendental trends of Indian thought could not permit any place for the lower stages of human consciousness, for the study of those sense-data which are engaging Experimental Psychology at the present day, and for the ways in which stimuli of external objects are mechanically transformed into psychical states (*Cf.* Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, 1951, p. 52). Secondly, even realistic systems like Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concentrated almost their whole attention on the abstract categorization of physiological phenomena. For instance, for each unit of sensation Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika would collect "all whiteness" under the name of "the quality of white colour" (*Cf.* Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1, 1951, pp. 312-313). Moreover, the realism of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika was, when objectified, based on abstract objectivity. Thus the difference between one sensation and another was ascribed to the existence of some specific differences amongst the atoms themselves (*Ib.*, p. 318), so that the study of sensations, as such, was considered to be beyond the scope of philosophy.

It is the purpose of this paper to bring to light, from stray sources, some data on the concept of sensation in Indian Philosophy.

II. SANSKRIT TERMS FOR "SENSATION"

While it is undeniable that Indian philosophy had a hazy idea of sensation as a concept, no specific, widely used term for it has come to light. *Ad hoc* terms have been used here and there. They may be detailed as follows :—

(1) *Indriyārtha-sannikarṣa*—(lit. "Contact with a sensuous object"), as used in *Nyāyakośa*, (Poona, 1928, page 142). The Terminologist would hardly call it a term, for it is only a definitional name, borrowed from Gautama I. 1.4. The *Kośa* explains it as that knowledge which is due to some organ of sense.

(2) *Rūpa*—This term occurs among the *Skandhas* (Pali *Khandhas*) of Buddhist philosophy, but is enormously comprehensive, as it also includes "the four elements, the body, the senses and sense data" (Das Gupta, *Ib.*, pp. 93-94).

(3) *Indriya-buddhi*—This very interesting term, which should literally mean "sense-affection" was used by Caraka. It occurs in I. 8.13 in the Benares edition of *Caraka Saṁhitā*

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(1948, p. 108), where it is stated : "There are five sensations (*pañcendriyabuddhayaḥ*), visual sensations etc. (*cakṣurbuddhyādikāḥ*). Now they arise from the contact of sensuous organs, sensuous objects, mind and soul (tāḥ) *punarindriyārthasattvātmasannikarṣājāḥ*, are momentary and absolutely certain (*kṣaṇikā niścayātmikāśca*)". This term occurs in a list which starts with "five organs" (*pañcendriyāṇi*) and is preceded by "five objects of sense" (*pañcendriyārthāḥ*). It is a pity that this valuable term never passed current in Sanskrit Literature, evidently because the concept of "sensation" was not yet crystallized among the speakers of the language. Monier-Williams renders *Indriyabuddhi* as "perception by the senses", an evidently incorrect rendering, for senses cannot "perceive" an object, nor can anyone perceive anything by sensations alone.

(4) *Vyavasāya*—This term can only be inferred from Gautama I. 1.4 where the expression *vyavaṣāyātmaka* occurs. Now Vidyābhūṣaṇa renders this expression as "certain in nature" (The *Nyāya-Sūtras of Gautama*, Allahabad, 930, p. 3), and there is no doubt that from contemporary literature, this rendering can be verified. But the context of the Sūtra 1. 1.4, according to the present writer, should compel us to render *vyavasāya* here as "sensation", as the following data will indicate :

(a) Another epithet of *pratyakṣa* in the Sūtra, *viz*., "*avyapadeśya*" should lead us to deduce that the *pratyakṣa* experience, according to Gautama, was untouched by any conceptual or mental element. For *avyapadeśya* means "unnameable", implying that the experience being absolutely direct, would be beyond the scope of language and consequently conception.

(b) A remarkable support in favour of the implication that the epithet *avyapadeśya* implies freedom from any mental element would be offered by the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* by Viśvanāthapañcānana Bhaṭṭa (Benares, 1905, p. 237,) where *pratyakṣa* is strikingly defined as a "cognition without the agency of cognition" ('*jñānākaraṇa kaṁ jñānaṁ pratyakṣam*), *i. e.* in which there is no mental element, the experience being direct.

(c) The term *vyavasāya*—has been loosely defined by the *Nyāyakośa* on p. 825 as "anterior", *i. e.* elementary knowledge, standing for sensation. This definition, poor as it is, has been inferred from *anuvyavasāya*—"subsequent knwoledge." *Annvyavasāya*—has been traditionally defined loosely by a mere example : "I know the pot", after the pot has been discerned. The essence of the term has thus been missed. The anterior stage was not that of "knowing" the pot, but just a sensational experience of the entities. summed up as pot, there being no cognition in the conceptual sense of the term. It is this misunderstanding which unfortunately led Das Gupta to render *vyavasāya* as "determinate knowledge" (*Ib*., p. 343, footnote, and to use the traditional explanation of *anuvyavasāya* as being *anu*—"after" and *vyavasāya*—"cognition'.

(d) That *vyavasāya* cannot mean "determinate knowledge" is further supported by Vātsyāyana's Comments on Vyavasāya—(*Gautama*, 1.1.4) :

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"It is the experiencer's senses which effect *vyavasāya.* Only subsequently, by the mind, *anuvyavasāya* is effected." Vātsyāyana thus tells us clearly that there is no mental element in *vyavasāya*, so that, in modern phraseology, *vyavasāya* means "sensation". (*sarvatra pratyakṣaviṣaye jñāturindriyeṇa vyavasāyaḥ paśčāt manasā* (*a*) *nuvyavasāyaḥ. vyavasāya*—thus means "sensation" while *anuvyavasāya* perception. It must be admitted, however, that though an authority like Vātsyāyana understood *vyavasāya* in the sense of "sensation", exactly as Gautama intended it, it was, so far as the present writer is aware, never used subsequently in the sense of "sensation".

III. SENSE-DATA : THEIR ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school is of the opinion that "the contact of sense with its appropriate object leads to the direct presentation of that object to consciousness' (Radhakirshnan, Ib., p. 52). To effect this, the organs of sense possess certain potentialities". Thus, according to Gautama (3.1.34), sight is due to rays from the eyeball, though that ray is never perceivable (3.1.43). The Buddhist goes further and says that "the organ of sense produces a penetration into objects, and it is by the greatness of this penetration that determinate knowledge directing towards objects, is called "*pratyakṣa*"—(*Vaiśeṣika Upaskāra*, Chowkhambha Edition, VIII. 1.2, p. 199)[1] Dharmakīrti and Diṅnāga would not accept this determinate knowledge as "*pramāṇa*", but they ascribe all determinate knowledge to sense-data.

The above data undoubtedly give some idea of the origin and effectiveness of sense-data, but they throw little light on the nature of sense-data.

According to *Nyāyakośa* (*Ib.*, p. 142) sense-data can give only indeterminate knowledge and so have only a secondary role in the field of Epistemology.

According to Sāṅkhya, the *buddhivṛtti*—through its gate, *viz.*, the external organs, the sense-organs, goes out and there comes in contact with its required object of cognition and thereafter assumes the form of that object. If, *e.g.*, the *buddhivṛtti* has to cognize a colour, it will go out through the ocular organ and assume the form of the colour (*Sānkhyabhāṣya* I. 87) (*cf.* the 8th Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935, p. 398-399).

A similar theory is well-known in Vedānta, according to which all sense-data are due to a *Vṛtti* from Consciousness (*caitanya*), which assumes the form of an object like pot when it is contacted by it (*Cf. Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, Bombay, Śaka 1833, p. 41). Even in NYĀYA (*cf.* Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *ib.*, p. 234). "The knowledge of the object produced from the contact of the sense with the object takes the form of 'colour', 'taste' etc." Here it will be immediately noticed, however, that it will be erroneous to speak of the knowledge of the object from mere sensuous contact.

IV. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SENSE—DATA

There is no doubt that on very rare occasions, there is an effort in Indian philosophical literature to handle sense-data in a little concrete form. Thus "touch" has been defined in

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Vaiśeṣika Upaskāra, as quoted by the Nyāyakośa (p. 1041) as "an object which can be cognized only by the taetile organ," but on the whole, the presentation of sensuous phenomena is highly abstract. Thus in the *Siddhāntamuktāvali*., (*Ib*., p. 260 while describing the *pratyakṣa* cognition of substance by mere contact of the sense-organ with the substance, the *pratyakṣa* of inherence in that contact is attributed to "inherence in conjunction," *saṁyukta-samavāyataḥ*, and so on. Again, this author, on pp. 209-10 attributes all sensuous and physical activity to "consciousness-producing" soul (*indriyāṇāṁ śarīrasya ca paramparayācaitanya-sampā dakaḥ...ātmā*), and consequently on p. 207 speaks of the negation of the rise of congnition in the mind, the sole source of cognition being the Soul. This tendency to abstraction in all sensuous matters, attributing them either to the Soul or to atoms has been aptly described by Das Gupta (*Ib*., p. 316). According to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, "No single sensation that we receive from the external world probably agrees with any other sensation, and this difference must be due to the existence of some specific differences amongst the atoms themselves."

Nevertheless, here and there we find instances of observation. Thus the *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*. (*Ib*., pp. 126-7) describes auditory sensations, their momentariness and relativity. In *Gautama* 3.1.12, the reciprocal effects of senses have been described: "When we see an acid substance, water overflows our tongues" (Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Ib., p. 84).

CONCLUSION

The above data, it may be presumed, will give us the following points :—

(1) The data on sensation in Indian Philosophy are very scanty.

(2) Gautama, and his commentator Vātsyāyana had happily visualized the essence of sensation but unfortunately their followers failed to follow them.

(3) The tendency to extreme abstraction has injuriously affected even realistic systems of Indian philosophy.

(4) It is hoped that further data on sensation in Indian Philosophy will be ascertained by the forthcoming researchers.

REFERENCE

1. The present writer owes the above citation to the courtesy of Dr. D. N. Shastri, formerly of the Kurukshetra University.

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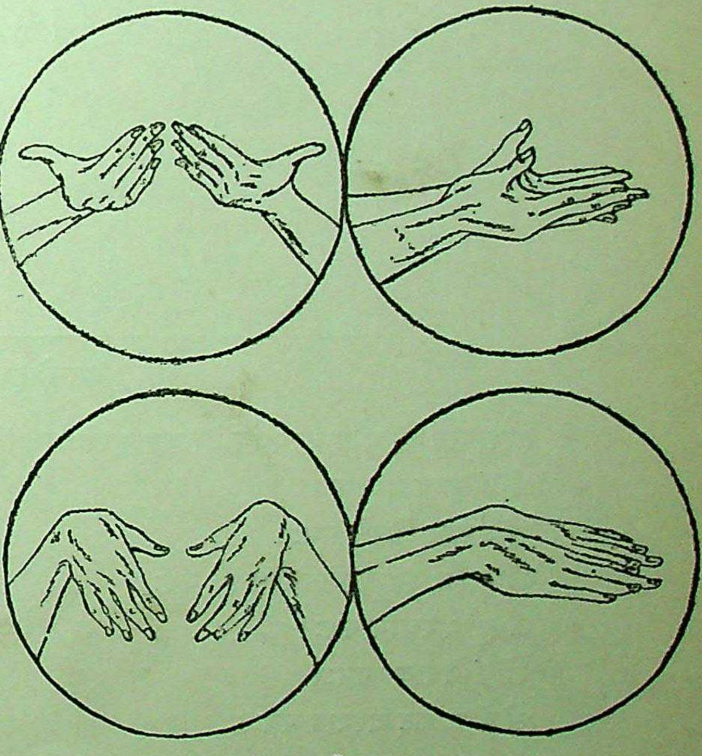
बालिद्वीप की उपासना

लेखक

डा० लोकेशचन्द्र और श्रीमती डा० शारदा रानी

इण्डोनीसिया का प्राचीन नाम नूसान्तर (नूसद्वीप) अथवा द्वीपान्तर है। द्वीपान्तर में 'अन्तर' समूह-वाची है, अर्थात् द्वीपों का समूह, द्वीपान्तर। यह वहां के प्रख्यात ऐतिहासिक ग्रन्थ 'नागरकृतागम' में इसी अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। इन द्वीपों की माला में रामायण के बालि की स्मृति को सजीव बनाये हुए बालिद्वीप है। पन्द्रहवीं शती में जब जावा में इस्लाम की विजय हो गई तब इसी छोटे से द्वीप में महान मजपहित् वंश के उत्तराधिकारियों और अन्य हिन्दुओं ने शरण ली। भारत से बाहर यह हिन्दू-धर्म का एक प्राचीन प्रहरी है जहां चारों वर्ण, भटार वरुण, भटार शिव और विराट हिन्दू-साहित्य हमारे अन्वेषकों और साधकों की बाट जोह रहे हैं। इस लेख में हम वहाँ की उपासना का किंचित् दिग्दर्शन कराएंगे। यह ताडपत्र पर लिखे हुए 'सूर्यसेवन' नामक ग्रन्थ में वर्णित है।

बालि के उपासना-पण्डित 'पदण्डा' कहलाते हैं। ये प्रायः शैव हैं। उपासना से पूर्व पदण्डा बाह्यशुचि बनता है। वस्त्र, मेखला, उत्तरीय, योगपट्ट आदि धारणकर पैर, मुँह और हाथ धोता है। फिर पद्मासन में बैठता है जिसके लिए पारिभाषिक बालि-शब्द 'पशील' है। बाह्य-शुचि होकर, ध्यान, जप आदि से अभ्यन्तर-शुचि बनता है क्योंकि उसकी यह भौतिक काया शीघ्र ही शिवत्व का अधिवास बनने वाली है। देव ही देव की अर्चना कर सकता है—शास्त्रों का वचन है कि 'नादेवो देवमर्चयेत्'। शिव का अवतरण होता है, उनके स्तोत्र और साधना सम्पन्न होती है। मन्त्र-साधित पुष्प पूततोय में डालने से वह शिवामृत बन जाता है। अन्त में शिव पदण्डा की 'ङिलि' (आत्मा) से चले जाते हैं और अब पदण्डा वस्त्राभूषण उतारता है। उपासना की समाप्ति होने पर श्रद्धालु 'तोयतीर्थ' लेने के लिए आते हैं। प्रत्येक प्रक्रिया मंत्र से सम्पन्न होती है।



तालविधान

सर्वप्रथम तालविधान (लोन्तार में तलवेदन) मुद्रा के साथ धूम्रपात्र पर पदण्डा कतिपय ऐसे मंत्र उच्चारण करता है जिसमें शिव की पंचमूर्ति (सद्योजात, ईशान, अघोर, तत्पुरुष, और वामदेव) का स्मरण है।

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इसके अनन्तर मंत्रों द्वारा दक्षिण और वामकरों का शोधन, फिर नाराचमुद्रा और तदनन्तर प्राणायाम होता है,—पूरक, कुम्भक और रेचक।

करशोधन

तत्पश्चात् चुपचाप अस्त्रमंत्र का जप करके 'प्रथम' तोयतीर्थ बनाया जाता है—

ॐ अं हृदयाय नमः।

ॐ अर्काय शिरसे नमः।

ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वर्ज्वालिनीशिखायै नमः।

ॐ हुँ कवचाय नमः।

ॐ वं नेत्राय नमः।

ॐ हूँ रः फट् अस्त्राय नमः।

प्रथम तोयतीर्थ का प्रारम्भ निम्न से होता है—

ॐ परमशिवगङ्गाय नमः।

ॐ ह्रां ह्रीं वौषट् परमशिवामृताय नमः।

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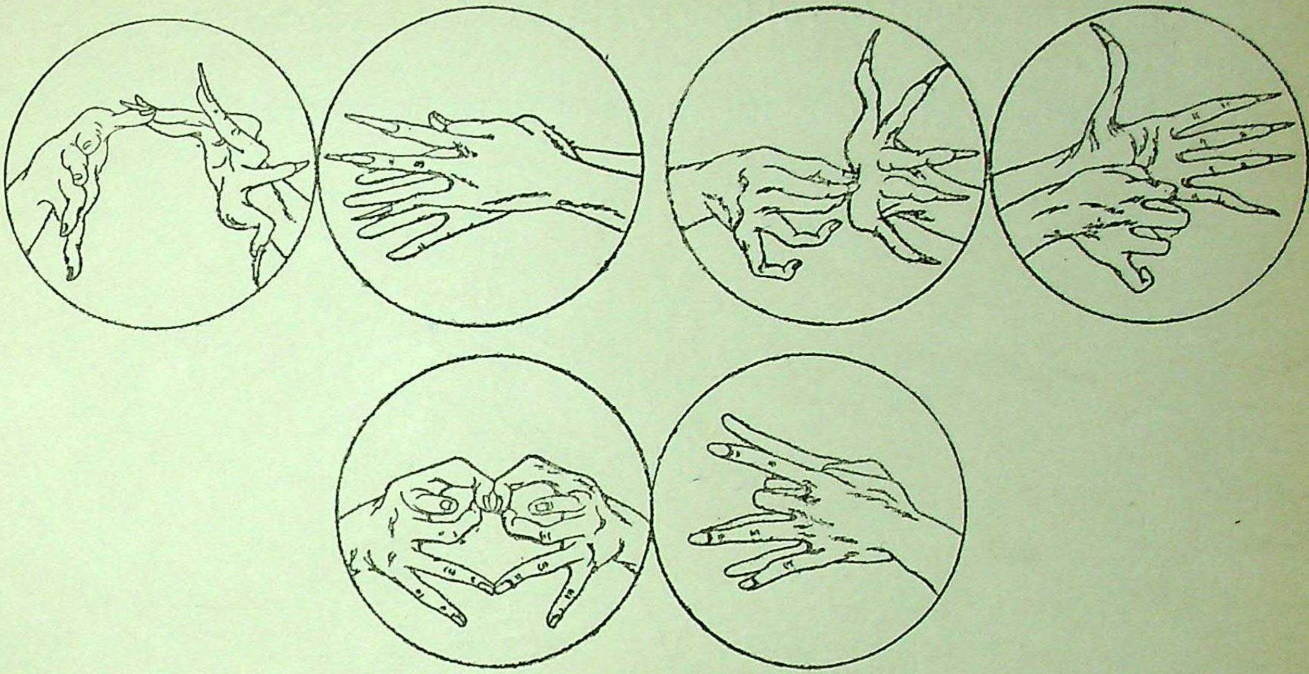

नाराचमुद्रा

प्राणायाम

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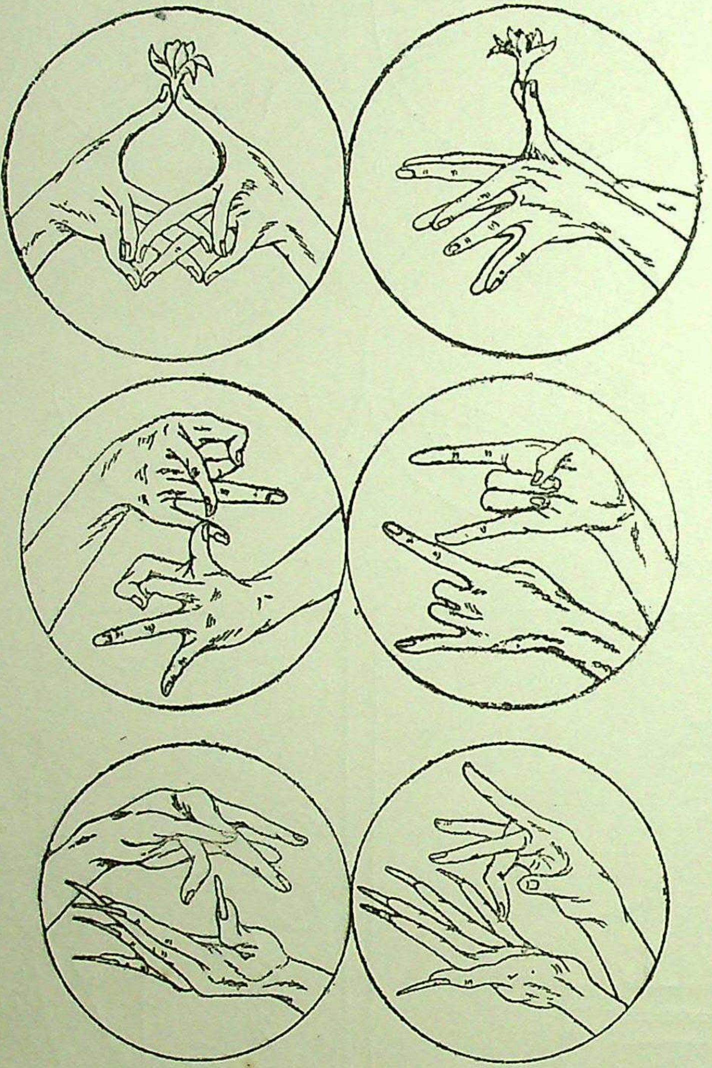
तदनन्तर जल पर 'अक्षर' (अ उ म) लिखते हुए, अक्षर के उत्पत्ति और स्थिति-क्रमों के मंत्रों का उपांशु उच्चारण करते हैं।

फिर अग्निमण्डल, सूर्यमण्डल और चन्द्रमण्डल का त्रिमण्डल-मन्त्र और त्रितत्त्व-मुद्रा हैं —



ॐ इं ह्लि श्रि क्प्रें अश्र उं द्वादशकलात्मने सत्त्वरजोऽधिपतये। ॐ अग्निमण्डलाय नमः स्वाहा। ॐ इं ह्लि श्रि क्प्रें अश्र उं द्वादशकलात्मने सत्त्वतमोऽधिपतये। ॐ सूर्यमण्डलाय नमः स्वाहा। ॐ इं ह्लि श्रि क्प्रें अश्र उं द्वादशकलात्मने सत्त्वसोमाधिपतये। ॐ चन्द्रमण्डलाय नमः स्वाहा।

त्रितत्त्व-मन्त्र

ॐ ॐ शिवतत्त्वाय नमः। ॐ ॐ विद्यातत्त्वाय नमः। ॐ ॐ आत्मतत्त्वाय नमः।

त्रितत्त्वमुद्रा और त्रितत्त्वमंत्रोच्चारण के अनन्तर क्रमशः कूटमन्त्र का उच्चारण, ब्रह्मांग अथवा शिवीकरण का न्यास, शिवांगन्यास, गर्भमंत्र तथा अष्टग्रहमंत्र का उच्चारण, चतुःसन्ध्या अथवा चतुस्तर्पण, ऋषिचतुष्टयतर्पण तथा घण्टास्तव का पाठ होता है।

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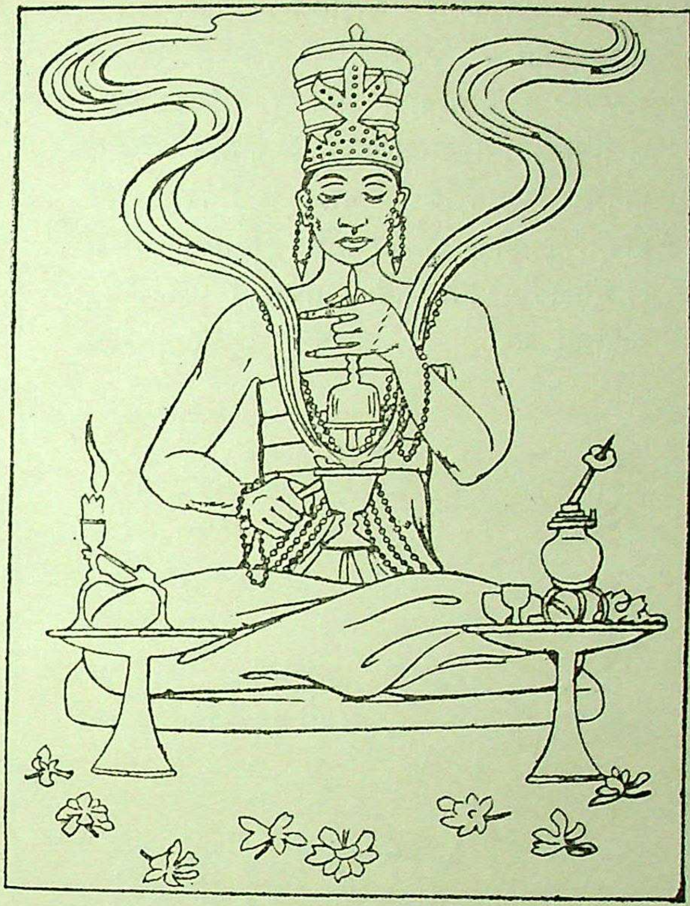

घण्टास्तव

ओंकारः सदाशिवस्तवं जगन्नाथो हितङ्कर।
अभिवादवदनीयघण्टाशब्दः प्रकाश्यते॥
घण्टाशब्दं महाश्रेष्ठं ओंकारं परिकीर्त्तितम्।
चन्द्रनादविन्दुना दत्तं स्फुलिंगशिवतत्त्वं च तम्॥
ऊँ घण्टा आयान्तु पूज्यन्ते देवा अभवभवकर्मसु।
वरणलब्धसन्देहं वरं सिद्धिः निःसंशयम्॥

घण्टास्तव के पश्चात् बारी आती है क्रमशः पङक्षम (अर्थात् ओं क्षमस्व मन्त्र), संस्कार व्वै (अर्थात् जल-संस्कार), सप्ततीर्थ (अथवा अप्सुदेव मंत्र), सप्त-ओंकार-मन्त्र, स्तव-भटार (अर्थात् भटार-स्तव) और सप्तगंगा-स्तुति की। इनमें से पङक्षम, अप्सुदेव-मंत्र , सप्त ओंकार-मंत्र और सप्तगंगा-स्तुति इस प्रकार हैं—

पङक्षम (अर्थात् ओं क्षमस्व)

ऊँ क्षमस्व मां महादेव सर्वप्राणिहितङ्कर।
मां मोच सर्वपापेभ्यः पालयस्व सदाशिव॥

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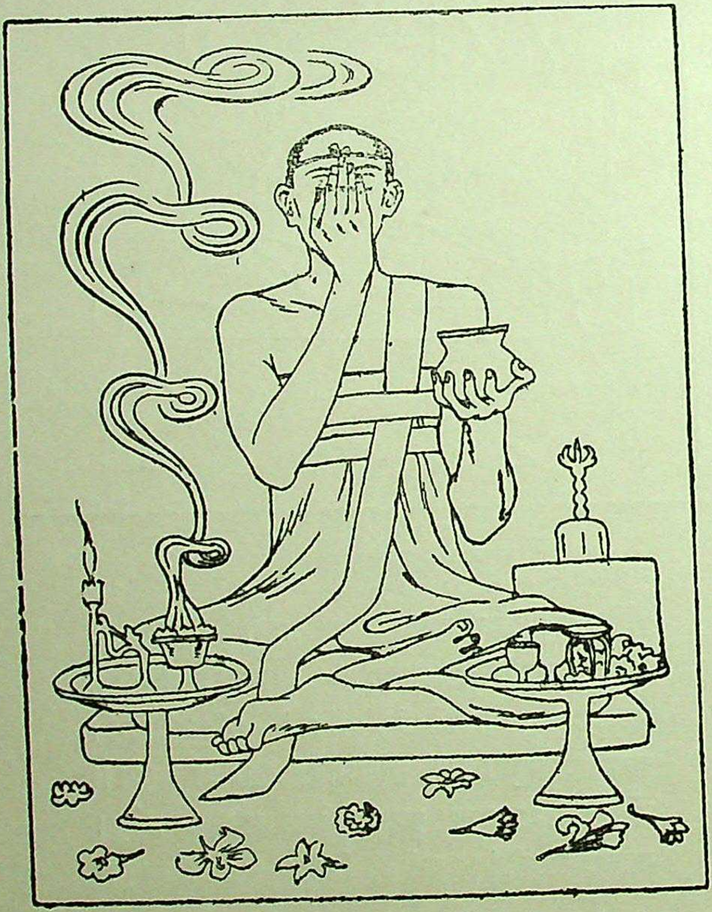
पापोऽहं पापकर्माहं पापात्मा पापसम्भवः।
त्राहि मां सर्वपापेभ्यः केनचिन्मम रक्षतु॥
क्षन्तव्याः कायिका दोषाः क्षन्तव्या वाचिका मम।
क्षन्तव्या मानसा दोषास्तत्प्रमादं क्षमस्व माम्॥
हीनाक्षरं हीनपादं हीनमन्त्रं तथैव च।
हीनभक्ति हीनविधिं सदाशिव नमोस्तु ते॥
ॐ मंत्रहीनं क्रियाहीनं भक्तिहीनं महेश्वर।
यत्पूजितं मया देव परिपूर्ण तदस्तु मे॥



सप्ततीर्थ अथवा अप्सुदेव मन्त्र

अप्सुदेव पवित्राणि गङ्गादेवि नमोऽस्तु ते।
सर्वक्लेशविनाशिनि तोयेन परिशुध्यते॥
सर्वपापविनाशिनि सर्वरोगविमोचने।
सर्वविघ्नविनाशिनि सर्वभोगमवाप्नुमात्॥

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सप्त-ओंकार-मन्त्र

ॐ ॐ परमशिवशून्यात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ सदाशिव निष्कलात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ सदारुद्र अन्त्यात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ महादेवनिरात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ ईश्वरपरात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ विष्णु अन्तरात्मने नमः।
ॐ ॐ ब्रह्मब्रह्म आत्मने नमः।

सप्तगङ्गा

ॐ गंगा सरस्वती सिन्धुर्विपाशा कौशिकी नदी।
यमुना महती श्रेष्ठा सरयू च महानदी॥
ॐ गङ्गा सिन्धुसरस्वती सुयमुना गोदावरी नर्मदा।
कावेरी सरयू महेन्द्रतनया चर्मण्वती वेणुका।
भद्रा नेत्रवती महासुरनदी ख्याता च या गण्डकी।
पुण्याः पूर्णजलाः समुद्रसहिताः कुर्वन्तु मे मंगलम्॥

ॐ गङ्गादेवि महापुण्ये नमस्ते विश्वभामिनि।
यमुने परमे पुण्ये नमस्ते परमेश्वरि॥
नर्मदे च देवि पुण्ये नमस्ते लोका राधिनि।
धरिण्यै मलहारिण्यै नमस्तुभ्यं महेश्वरि॥
दैविको दैविकजस्त्वं शिवपृष्ठ नमोस्तु ते।
नैरंजने जगतक्लेशहारिण्यै ते नमो नमः॥
मन्दाकिनि सुरदेवि नमस्ते मलहारिणि।
जम्बुशंखमहादेवि देवी देवनियोगतः॥
मेरुप्रदक्षिणां कृत्वा क्लेशान् नारायणप्रिय।
पर्बताश्वमुखपुण्ये शिशुक्लेशान् विनाशय॥
क्षीरेक्षुश्च दधिघृतं सुरयक्षीव निर्मलम्।
पातु नः क्लेशनाशनं युष्मभ्यं तु नमो नमः॥

ॐ भगवति गङ्गे नमस्ते शीतले नदि।
सलिलं विमलं तोयं स्वयम्भूतीर्थभाजनम्॥
ॐ सुभिक्षे अष्टस्तेयदोषकिल्विषनाशने।
पवित्रे सुमहातीर्थे गङ्गाथापि महोदधिः॥

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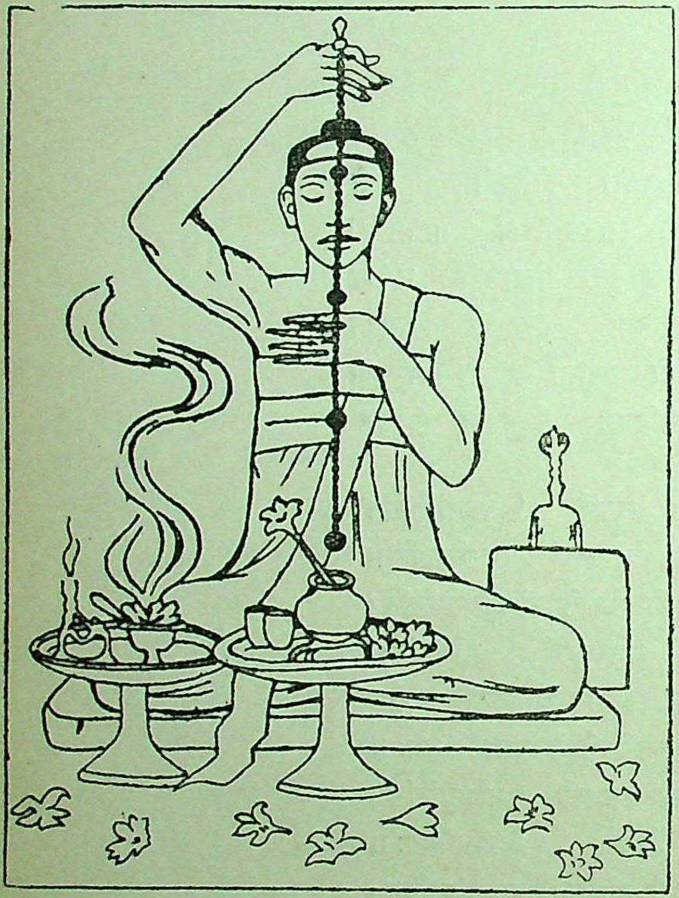
ॐ वजपाणिमहातीर्थे पापशोकविनाशने।
नदि पुष्पालये नित्यं नदि तीर्थतया प्रिये।।
ॐ तीर्थोदधि सकुम्भश्च वर्णदेहमहात्मनाम्।
मुनीनां मंगलस्तांच ह्येवापि सदिवौकसः।।
ॐ सर्वविघ्ना विनश्यन्तु सर्वः क्लेशो विनश्यतु।
सर्वदुःखविनाशाय सर्वपापं विनाशय।। नमः स्वाहा।।
ॐ पंचाक्षरं महापुण्यं पवित्रं पापनाशनम्।।



सप्तगंगास्तुति के अनन्तर मन्त्रोच्चारण के साथ तुंजु वलुत्वन अर्थात् कल्पक नामक पुष्प और यदि वह न हो तो कोई भी अन्य सुगन्धित पुष्प जल में डाला जाता है। उदकांजलि और पाद्यार्घ्य, जिसे 'पंपाद्य' कहते हैं, दिये जाते हैं और मृत्युंजय देव का अनुकीर्त्तन करते हुए दीर्घायु और सप्तवृद्धि के लिए प्रार्थना की जाती है। सप्तवृद्धि के अन्तर्गत निम्नलिखित वृद्धियां आती हैं—

आयुर्वृद्धिर्यशोवृद्धिर्वृद्धिः प्रज्ञासुखश्रियाम्।
धर्म-सन्तानवृद्धिश्च सन्तु ते सप्तवृद्धयः।।

इसके अनन्तर पदण्डा तत्सम्बन्धी मत्रों का उच्चारण करते हुए अपने शरीर पर चन्दन लेप करता है,

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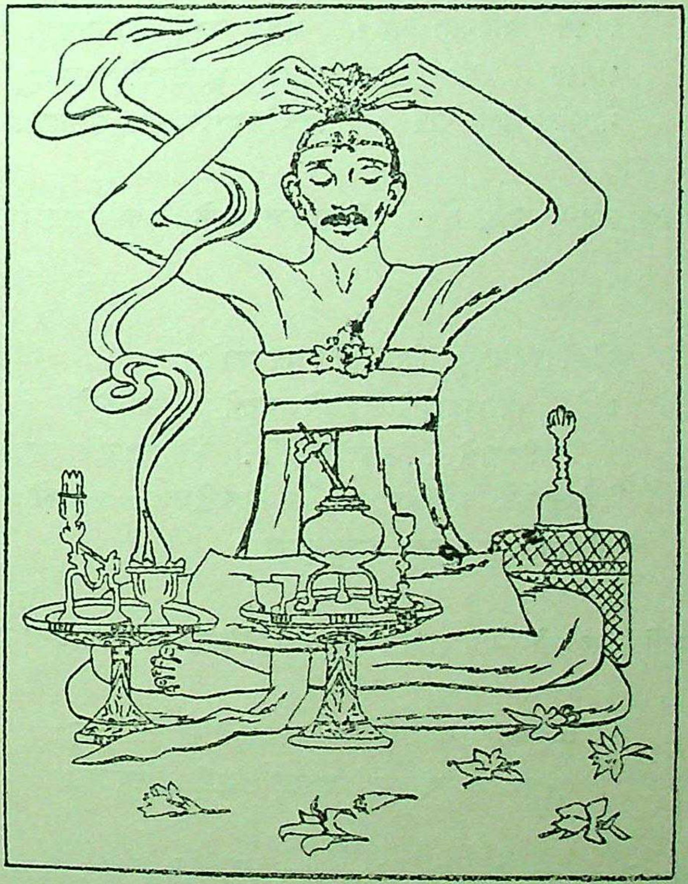
शिरोवेष्ट पहनता है और शिव का प्रतीक शिवसूत्र, अर्थात् यज्ञोपवीत , ब्रह्मा का प्रतीक कौपीन तथा विष्णु का प्रतीक मेखला धारण करता है।

इस प्रकार शिवसूत्र, कौपीन और मेखला धारण करके पदण्डा १०८ मनकों की गणित्री ले उपांशु जप करता हुआ ध्यान में मग्न हो जाता है। उसकी आत्मा शरीर को छोड़ ङिलि आत्मा में लीन होकर शिखान्त (तुंङ्तुङिरम्बुत) द्वादशांगुल में आ जाती है। अग्निपुराण (३०३.१४) में भी यही वर्णन है—

आत्मानं योजयित्वा शिखान्ते द्वादशांगुले।
संशोष्य दग्ध्वा स्वतनुं प्लावयेदमृतेन च।।

इसके उपरान्त जब शिव ङिलि आत्मा में विराजमान हो जाते हैं तब पदण्डा ग्रीं-मत्र का उच्चारण करता है, तत्सम्बन्धी मत्रोच्चारणपूर्वक सूर्य को जलांजलि अर्पित करता है और पायुक (छोटे पात्र) में पड़े हुए जल का निम्नलिखित मंत्र से अमृतीकरण करता है—



ॐ एहि सूर्य सहस्रांशो तेजोराशे जगत्पते।
अनुकम्पय मां भक्त्या गृह्यमाणो दिवाकर।।दिवाकराय नमो नमस्ते।।

यही जल अर्चना के अन्त में भक्तों में वितरित किया जाता है।

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पायुक-जल का अमृतीकरण करने के पश्चात् पदण्डा शिव के स्तोत्र स्तव-भटार, सूर्य के स्तोत्र राजतंत्र या स्तव, सूर्य और शिव, ब्रह्मा तथा विष्णु के समवेत स्तोत्र त्रिभुवन-मंत्र का पाठ करके निम्नलिखित क्षमा-मंत्र का उच्चारण करता है—

क्षमा मंत्र

क्षन्तव्याः कायिका दोषाः क्षन्तव्या वाचिका मम्।
क्षन्तव्याः मानसा दोषास्तत्प्रमादं क्षमस्व माम्।
हीनाक्षरं हीनपादं हीनमन्त्रं तथैव च।
हीनभक्ति हीनविधि सदाशिव नमोऽस्तु ते॥
क्षमस्व मां जगन्नाथ सर्वपापनिरन्तरम्।
सर्वकार्यहीनदेहं प्राण मम सुरेश्वर॥
त्वं सूर्यस्त्वं शिवङ्करः त्वं रुद्रवह्निलक्षणः।
त्वमेव सर्वगतः कुरु मम कार्यं प्रजापते॥
क्षमस्व मां महाशक्ते ह्यष्टैश्वर्यगुणात्मक।
नाशयेत् सततं पापं सर्वलोकदर्पणकारण नमः स्वाहा॥

इसके अनन्तर अनुग्रह-मंत्र द्वारा अनुग्रह की याचना करके निम्नलिखित मंत्र द्वारा प्रायश्चित्त का संकल्प किया जाता है—

ॐ विष्णुर्विष्णुरादित्यदेवविष्णुप्रजापतेः।
क्षेत्रे वाराहकल्पे प्रथमे चरणे कलियुगे
...कालमासे...कालातीते... योगनक्षत्रमिताय।
वेदोक्तफलं प्रतिकामनया सर्वप्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये।
सौभाग्यमस्तु तदस्तु अस्तु स्वाहा।

अन्त में निम्नलिखित श्लोक-मंत्र द्वारा एक पुष्प की क्रिया करके उपासना समाप्त कर दी जाती है—

एकपुष्पं च निर्मलं पद्मसंयोगि संस्थितम्।
एकपुष्पशिवत्वं च पश्चात् शरीरसंस्थितम्॥

इसके अनन्तर शिव पदण्डा के शरीर को छोड़कर चले जाते हैं और आत्मा नुन्तुन आत्मा में पुनः स्थान ग्रहण करती है।

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DRAMATICAL PICTORIAL AND VERBAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PAST EVENTS AT THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI

By

K. V. Abhyankar

There are two passages in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali which refer to dramatical representations and narrations of ancient stories and events. The first passage refers to the hearing of what an actor (नट) or a discourser (ग्रन्थिक) speaks when the genitive case-affix is added to the words नट and ग्रन्थिक (cf. नटस्य श्रृणोति, ग्रन्थिकस्य श्रृणोति) as contrasted with the hearing of what is heard from the preceptor as a lesson, when the ablative case-affix is added to the word उपाध्याय or the like (cf. उपाध्यादधीते). The passage is as follows :—

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥७।४।२९॥ उपयोग इति किमर्थम्। नटस्य शृणोति। ग्रन्थिकस्य शृणोति। उपयोग इत्युच्चमानेऽपि अत्र प्राप्नोति। एषोषि हि उपयोगः। आतश्चोपयोगो यदारम्भका रङ्ग गच्छति नटस्य श्रोष्यामो ग्रन्थिकस्य श्रोष्याम इति।. . .तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते साधीयो य उपयोग इति। कश्च साधीयः ? यो ग्रन्थार्थयोः। अथवा उपयोगः को भवितुमर्हति ? यो नियमपूर्वकः। तद्यथा। उपयुक्ता माणवका इत्युच्यन्ते य एते नियमपूर्वकमधीतवन्तो भवन्ति॥

2. The other passage mainly refers to the narration of stories by a story-teller or by a discourser when a causal construction is specifically prescribed by the Vārttikakāra with the story-teller as a causal agent. See for instance कंसं घातयति (ग्रन्थिकः)। बलिं बन्धयति (ग्रन्थिकः). The Vārttīka is as follows : आख्यानात् कृतस्तदाचष्टे इति कृल्लुक् प्रकृतिप्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम्॥ Pāṇ. III. 1.26 Vār. 6. The Vārttika means: To a verbal derivative in the sense of a story or a narrative, the causal affix णिच् (इ) is added in the sense of narrating, in which case (1) the kṛt affix is dropped, (2) the root is restored to its original condition and (3) the object of the activity shown by the root, is put in the accusative case. कंसं घातयति and बलिं बन्धयति are given as instances where कंसवध and बलिबन्ध are names of narratives or dramas as they prevailed in those days, to which the causal affix णिच् is added, the kṛt affix अ (in बध and बन्ध) is omitted and the words कंस and बलि are put in the aecusative case. कंस+वध+अ+णिच्+शप्+ति=कंस+अम्+हन्+इ+अ+ति=कंसं घातयति Similarly बलिं बन्धयति।

3. In the course of his comment on the Vārttika Patañjali discusses the justification of the use of the present tense when the action in question such as the killing or the binding has taken place long ago. The passage is a pretty long one wherein the use of the present tense is justified by Patañjali. He has given the analogy of the use of the present tense in

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the expression कंसं घातयति which is used when the activity of killing kaṁsa takes place on the stage at the time of the enactment of the drama Kaṁsavadha, as also when the action of killing is shown in pictures in a serial order.

4. The passage is as follows :

इह तु कथं वर्तमानकालता कंसं घातयति बलिं बन्धयतीति चिरहते कंसे चिरबद्धे च बलौ ?

अत्रापि युक्ता।

कथम्।

ये तावदेते शोभनिका नाम, एते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयति प्रत्यक्षं च बलिं बन्धयन्तीति।

चित्रेषु कथम् ?

चित्रेष्वपि उद्‌गूर्णा निपतिताश्च प्रहारा दृश्यन्ते कंसकर्षण्यश्च।

ग्रन्थिकेषु कथं यत्र शब्दगडुमात्रं लक्ष्यते ?

तेपि हि तेषामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति आ विनाशादृद्धीर्व्याचक्षाणाः सतो बुद्धिविषयान् प्रकाशयन्ति। आतश्च सतः, व्यामिश्रा हि दृश्यन्ते। केचित् कंसभक्ता भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः। वर्णान्यत्वं खल्वपि पुष्यन्ति। केचिद्रक्तमुखा भवन्ति केचित् कालमुखाः॥ त्रैकाल्यं खल्वपि लोके लक्ष्यते। गच्छ हन्यते कंसः। गच्छ घानिष्यते कंसः। किं गतेन, हतः कंस इति॥ (महाभाष्य ३।१।२६, वार्तिक, १५; B.O.R.I. Ed. Vol. II. p. 36 11.13-21)

5. The passage can be translated into English as follows :

"How can the use of the present tense be justified in sentences like कंस घातयति, बलिं बन्धयति (gets Kaṁsa killed, gets Bali tied down) when, as a matter of fact Kaṁsa has been killed long ago, and Bali tied down long long ago?

Here, too the present tense is quite justified.

How is it justified ?

Well, as far as these trainers of actors are concerned, they actually get Kaṁsa killed there, by the actors and Bali also tied down similarly.

(Well, let this be so; the present tense may do as the sight of killing or binding is presented to the spectators); but how can you explain the use of the present tense in pictures?

In pictures too, there are noticed by the eyes, weapons or hands ready to smite, raised up and lowered down, as also strings or ropes dragging Kaṁsa near, for killing. (This spectacle can create an idea of the present tense).

Well, let this be so; but how can the present tense be in the narration of story-tellers where mere word-babbling is noticed?(There is no activity noticed here as in dramas or pictures).

This is not so as you think. In narratives, too, in their course of recalling the stages of prosperity noticeable in the careers of the historic persons Kaṁsa and Bali, the story-tellers make the incidents so vividly manifested to the mind's eye that they appear to the mind as if they are taking place then and there. And this is really so, as there are noticed mixed

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sentiments in the minds of the audience as some of them (siding with Kṛṣṇa), have their faces turned red with fury (by the description of the repeated misdeeds of Kaṁsa), while others (siding with Kaṁsa) have their faces darkened on account of a sense of disappointment and grief. Besides, in the course of narrations of the life-events of Vāsudeva going on for several days, a man is seen to say to another 'well, go and attend the discourse just now, Kaṁsa is being killed,[1] or 'go at leisure, Kaṁsa is yet to be killed', or 'what is the use of going now? Kaṁsa is already killed."

6. The words शोभनिक, चित्र, कर्षणी, ग्रन्थिक and गड्ड in the passage quoted above and the word रङ्ग, in the previous passage deserve a special attention. The word शोभनिक, with the words शोभिक and शौभिक as variants, is of rare occurrence, found only once in the Mahābhāṣya. It is explained by the scholiast Kaiyaṭa as meaning a teacher or trainer of the actors in a drama. The word चित्र can be taken as meaning a picture here, which is its usual sense. It is given, no doubt, as a technical term meaning 'a kind of dance', but there is no sufficient warrant to take it here in the technical sense. The word कर्षणी means a string or a rope. Although it may be used for a string in a puppet show, used in moving the puppets, there is hardly any justification for taking it in that sense here. The word ग्रन्थिक means one who explains a book or a chapter in a book. It cannot refer to persons exlpaining the gesticulations of actors or gestures of dancers unless the usual meaning is much twisted. The word गड्ड is very abscure. However, it can be satisfactorily explained as meaning an unnecessary growth of words which centres round the element of sense which is the most important factor. The word occurs here and once more in the passage उपजानुभवं गड्ड इति (Mahābhāṣya Vol. II. p. 308, l.21). It occurs as compounded with कण्ठ and शिरस् in the Mahābhāsya (Vol. I, p. 437, lines 16 and 17). At all these places it means an unnecessary growth on the body which may or may not be painful. In the Vārāṇasi edition of the Mahābhāṣya the word शब्दग्रन्थगड्डमात्रं taken as his reading by Nāgesabhaṭṭa, is read instead of शब्दगड्डमात्र which appears to be a sort of a correction made later on by a grammarian as he thought it was necessary, although really it was not so, the reading शब्दगड्ड being a proper one consistent with the use of the word गड्ड in the Mahābhāṣya elsewhere, as also quite fitting with the sense of the stanza of Bhartṛhari quoted in this context by Kaiyaṭa, which runs as follows—शब्दोपहितरुपांस्तु बुद्धेर्विषयतां गतान्। प्रत्यक्षमिव कंसादीन् साधनत्वेन मन्यते (Vākyapadīya III. 7.5).

7. The word नट occurs eight times in the Mahābhāṣya, joined with the activities of talking (in नटस्य श्रोष्यामः Vol. I. page 329, lines 6, 8), singing (in अगासीन्नटः Vol. I. p. 492, line 12) and dining (in नटो भुङ्क्ते Vol. I. p. 468, lines 15, 19) and described as सर्वकेशी, रसिक and शैलालिन् (Vol. I. p. 403 l.22, p. 404 line. 16 and Vol. II. p. 394 line. 21, p. 289

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line. 2). There was in fact a school of actors as the word शैलालिन् shows. The word नटभार्या is jokularly described as similar to the consonants which say to the various vowels near them 'we are yours, we are yours'. The passage does not necessarily imply that the actresses were unchaste. All these words रङ्ग, नट, नटभार्या and शैलालिन् show that dramatical representation was common in those days.

8. Different Sanskrit scholars, both western and eastern, have, during the last sixty years or more, drawn different conclusions from the Mahābhāṣya passage quoted above, regarding the kind of dramatic representation prevailing in the days of Patañjali. Some say that the first two parts of the passage which include the words शोभनिक and चित्र refer to a dramatical representation either by moving persons or by moving puppets attended with the *citra* kind of dance which is compared here with the discourse of the story-teller in the third part. Some say that the passage refers to a kind of dramatical representation in which acting, dancing and commenting are all combined. The word शोभनिक is explained by these scholars as one who relates to the audience what is happening. They explain the word चित्र as a kind of dance and they take the word कर्षण्यः as referring to actresses. There are scholars who understand the terms रक्तमुख and कालमुख as applicable to the actors themselves who, on account of strong emotion, have the colour of their faces chaged while they are playing their part or performing their dance.

9. A critical reading of the passage with the context and the style of writing of the author duly taken into account, is enough to show that the main theme of the whole passage is the justification of the use of the present tense, especially when the story-teller is relating vividly the account of an event which has happened long ago. In the two analogies of dramatical representation and pictorial representation, there appears no difficulty in the use of the present tense as the killing of Kaṁsa is actually represented on the stage by the actors in the former, while in the latter it is presented to the sight in the picture. The first analogy can be summed up in the sentence. शोभनिकाः कृष्णरूपिणा नटेन कंसरूपिणं नटं घातयन्ति while the second can be summed up in 'चित्रकाराश्चित्रगतेन कृष्णेन चित्रगतं कंसं हन्यमानं दर्शयन्ति. The passage under question is that in the third part of the long quotation which refers to the discourse given by the story-tellers. It presents a kind of contrast to the two analogies, as borne out by the use of the word कथम् each time, in as much as there is no living person performing the activity of killing nor there is any life-like figure of Kṛṣṇa with a proper dress and a fitting expression of face, shown as smiting Kaṁsa. The event which is past, is described vividly and graphically by mere words which apparently does not justify the use of the present tense. Patañjali removes the difficulty by saying that the narration of the story-teller creates such a vivid picture of the parties in the story, in the minds of the hearers that the hearers actually identify themselves for the time being with the parties so much that even those among the audience who side with Kṛṣṇa gleam red with fury while those who sympathise with Kaṁsa turn dark with a feeling of frustration.

10. To conclude : There were prevalent in the days of Patañjali all the three re-

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pres entation of past events--the dramatical, the pictorial and the verbal—which are referred to in the long passage quoted above. Patañjali in the passage emphasizes the fact that the discourse given effectively and graphically by the story-teller creates in the minds of the hearers the figures of Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa who carry on the fight in such a way that the mind's eye actually witnesses the killing of Kaṁsa justifying fully the use of the present tense, and because the killing is brought about by the story-teller (ग्रन्थिक) the sentence कंसं घातयति (ग्रन्थिकः कृष्णेन) is used. Sanskrit scholars are aware of the fact that teachers, pupils and sympathetic readers of the Uttararāmacarita have their eyes charged with tears when they respectively teach, understand and read the third act of that drama and the truth of Bhavabhūtiś statement अपि ग्रावा रोदित्यपि दलति वज्रस्य हृदयम् is carried home to them. Bhartṛhari has clearly referred to this passage in his Vākyapadīya in the stanza : "शब्दोपहितरूपांश्च०" (वाक्यपदीय ३।७।५)।

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ON THE USE OF THE ABSOLUTIVE IN SANSKRIT

By

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Although the use of the absolutive (gerund) has been quite satisfactorily described by Whitney,[1] Speyer,[2] Renou[3] and other auhors of Sanskrit grammars, it may be useful to add some examples to the not very numerous texts they have collected in substantiation of the 'rules' and the 'exceptions to the rules' mentioned in their books.[4] It may be true that for didactic and informative purposes small collections of facts may suffice, those who wish to penetrate the mysteries of syntax and to study the phenomena from stylistic or comparative points of view should be provided with an abundance of examples. Only then we will be able to understand thoroughly, why for instance the construction exemplified by Budhasvāmin, Bk. 18, 95 *kadācic cāham āhūya nīto dārikayā*—which puts the subject of *ā-hū*-beyond doubt—was often preferred.

Cases in which the absolutive refers to a subject not expressed, but understood are not so rare as Speyer's brief note[5] might suggest. As a rule the agent is indefinite. Cf. Jaim. Br. 2, 64 *yady u vrataprado' nucchiṣṭāśī vā syāt pari vā śiṁsyāt tad adbhir abhyukṣya chāyāyām niṣektavai brūyāt*; Kauś. S. 60, 18 (*devayajanam*) *samam*. . .*ākṛtiloṣṭavalmīkenastīrya* ". . . (should) be) level, scattered over with clods from the fields in their natural shape etc.", there is no principal verb); Mān. G.S. 2,11, 5 *gartaṁ khātvā yat taiḥ pāṃsubhiḥ pratipūryeta tad vā*" (or (a spot), where a pit, which has been dug, can be filled up again by the same earth (i.e. which has been dug out)"; Ath. Par. 23, 13, 2 (a rule for the cleansing of vessels) *sruk srutvaś ca*. . . *udakenaiva soṣṇena samprakṣālya viśudhyati*.

Not rarely the logical subject (agent) or subject and principal verb may easily be supplied : Mahābh. 1, 8374 C *kam upādāya śakyeyaṁ tartuṁ*. . .*āpad* (sc. *mayā*;=1, 221, 10 cr. ed. *kam upādāya śakyeta gantuṁ kasyāpad uttamā*); Pañc. 4, 73. + *evam uktvā sa bhagavāṃs tasyā darśitaḥ* (by him); Kāl. Pur. 93, 32 *tad idānīṃ samākhyātaṃ vyaktikṛtya maharṣayaḥ* (sc. *mayā*); Āsv. G.S. 1, 7, 14. . . .*'juhuyāt. apariṇīya*. . . .*tūṣṇīṃ caturthaṃ* (sc. *'juhuyāt*).

Sometimes one might even be inclined to translate the absolute by a passive[6] : Śat. Br. 1,7,1,18 *varṣaty athauṣadhyayo jāyanta oṣadhīr jagdhvāpaḥ pītvā* (viz. by the cows) *tata eṣa rasaḥ sambhavati*; Āp.Dh.S. 2, 11, 29, 7 *puṇyāhne*. . .*ubhayataḥ samākhyāpya sarvānumate*. . .*satyaṃ praśnaṃ brūyāt* "he should answer (the questions put to him) according to truth on an auspicious day. . .with the consent of all, after having been exhorted (by the judge) to report fully (and be fair) to both sides," Bhāg. Pur. 6, 2, 31 *kva yātā adya te ye māṃ vyakarṣayan pāśapāṇyayaḥ, atha te kva gatāḥ siddhāś catvāraś cārudarśanāḥ, vyamocayan nīyamānāṃ baddhvā* (viz. by others) *pāśair*. . .Another example of a very free use of the absolutive occurs in Budhasvāmin, Bk.

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27, 46 *tato, 'ntaḥpuram ānāyya* (subject is the king, her father) *sā. .pṛṣṭā devīsamūhena.* Notice also the construction Kāl. Pur. 64, 36 *brahmaśaktiśilāṁ* (sic) *śighram uddhṛtya dhriyatām.*

The noun in the instrumental case, which being the logical subject (agent) of the sentence governs the absolutive, may be left unexpressed : Vaikh. Sm.S (a text containing many syntactic curiosities) 3, 1 *yad. . . . vṛttavayaḥsampapannam āhūyārhayitvā kanyālankṛtā dāsyate sa brāhma iti gīyate* "when a girl well adorned shall be given to a . .(young man). . . . who has been invited and honourably received (by the girl's father). . . .". Hence constructions such as Āp. Dh.S. 2, 10, 10, 26, 21 *svāny ādāya nāśyaḥ* "his property shall be confiscated and he shall be banished." Compare also Ṛgvidhāna 2, 17 2 f. *padākramya bhūmau pāṃsumayīṃ kṛtiṃ. . . . cyavate* "if one treads with the foot upon (his) image made in sand on the soil (that person). . . . perishes."

A remarkable construction which occurs several times in the Kauśikasūtra (e.g. 63, 20) is. . . . *sūktenābhimantryābhinigadya dadyād dātā vācyamānaḥ* which must mean : "After he (i.e. the officiant) has with the sūkta performed the consecration (of the rice-dish) and has pronounced the ritual injunctions with regard (to it) the giver (i.e. the yajamāna who presents the oblations to the gods and the brahmans), who is made to pronounce (the ritual words), should give (the oblation[7])", : the unexpressed agent of the passive participle *vācyamānaḥ* is the subject of the two absolutives.

An absolutive may also occur in a nominal sentence of the type Śv.U. 1, 11 *jñātvā devaṃ sarvapāśapahāniḥ*, or extend a well-known nominal phrase : Bāna, Kād. P., §5 *etad ākarṇya devaḥ pramādam.* The unexpressed subject of an absolutive may coincide with a likewise unexpressed noun in the genitive in cases such as Kāl. Kum. 4, 17 *śirasā praṇipatya* (sc. *tvayā*) *yācitāni* (sc. *tava*). . . . *saṃsmṛtya*. . . ., the word group being nominal. The sentence may be without any subject, the thought expressed being quite general : Ṛgvidh. 3, 28, 4 *tatas tu karma kṛtvedaṁ kartavyaṃ dvijatarpaṇam* "then, after this ritual act has been performed, the brāhmaṇas shall be satiated."

In a considerable number of cases the absolutive logically belongs to an agent which in the sentence is referred to by a genitive or dative : Ath. Saṁh. 12, 4, 27 *nāsya śrutvā gṛhe vaset*" she (the barren cow) may not stay in his house after he has heard (the verses referred to in the preceding part of the stanza)"; Mbh. 1, 11, 10, cr. ed. *taṃ dṛṣṭvā śāpamokṣas te bhavitā*; Mbh. 1,41, 9 cr. ed. *tasya me duḥkham utpannaṃ dṛṣṭvā yuṣmān adhomukhān*; Mbh. 1,182, 12 Cr. ed. *teṣāṁ draupadīṁ dṛṣṭvā. . prādur āsīn manobhavaḥ*; Mbh. 3, 59, 10 *kiṁ nu me syād idaṁ kṛtvā kiṁ nu me syād akurvataḥ*; Aśv.Bc. 5,33 *puruṣasya vayaḥsukhāni bhuktvāramaṇīya hi tapovanapraveśaḥ*: Bhāsa, Svapnav. 5, 2 *labdhvā priyām mama tu manda ivādya śokaḥ*; and compare also a construction such as Mbh. 12, 144, 7 *visṛjya dhanasarvasvaṁ bhartā vai śaraṇaṃ striyāḥ*; other instances are : Kauṭ AS Kant. AŚ 3, 14, 1 *gṛhītvā vetanaṁ karmākurvato bhṛtakasya dvādaśapaṇo daṇḍaḥ*; Pañc. 1, 180. . . . *huḍuyugalasya dūram apasaraṇaṁ kṛtvā bhūyo' pi samupetya lalāṭapaṭṭābhyāṁ praharato bhūri rudhiraṃ' patati.* In Kāl, Śak. 2, 9—a line exhibiting a construction which was considered "unusual or rather awkward"[8])—the agent of the absolutive is contained in the genitive belonging to the principal verb : *strīratnasṛṣṭir aparā pratibhāti sā me dhātur vibhutvam*

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anucintya vapuś ca tasyāḥ; cf. also Kāl. Vikr. 2, 10. The nominal case is not always expressed : Kāl. Pur. 46, 16 *dṛṣṭvā yasyaivāgrabhāgaṁ sanetraṁ trāṇāya syād darśanaṁ sūryatulyam* : "(for a person) who has seen..the sight is..".

In the difficult stanza Ka.Up. 4, 6 the absolutive seems to be subordinate to a present participle in the accusative : *yaḥ pūrvaṁ tapaso jātam—adbhyaḥ pūrvam ajāyata—guhām praviśya tiṣṭhantam yo bhūtebhir vyapaśyata..* "who distinguished him who was born of old from austerity—before the (primeval) waters he was born—who has 'permanently entered the hidden place, from the things which have come into existence.." Compare Kāl. Pur. 45, 102 (*kāliḥ*) *pratasthe..tam utsṛjya dvijam* (=*śambhum*). *atha śambhur nijarūpam āsthāya himavatsutām. tam samutsṛjya gacchantīṃ haraḥ smerumukho' nvayāt.* Similar constructions occur in the Vaikhānasa texts (Kāśyapa, Marīci, Bhṛgu-Saṁhitās which are of southern origin), e.g. Kāsy. S. ch. 79 *mahīṁ..devam udvīksya* (*mahī*—is the subject)..*kārayitvā* (the performer is the subject).

One might easily imagine cases of regular constructions in which an absolutive could logically be connected with an object in the accusative; cf. e.g. Mbh. 1, 39, 23....*tāpasarūpeṇa prāhiṇot sa bhujaṅgamān phaladarbhodakam gṛhya rājñe..takṣakaḥ.* The unexpressed patient of an absolutive which while subordinate to a passive verbal adjective, is accompanied by an instrumental of the agent,[9] may be identical with the subject of the sentence: Kathās, 75, 127 *ārūḍhas tāñ ca dṛṣṭvaiva* (sc. *tam*) *dāsibhis tābhir āśu sa rajjutkṣipto gavākṣeṇa praviveśa.* The absolutive may be subordinate to an absolute locative : Daṇḍin, Daś. II, 6 (Nirṇ. 1925, p. 209) *kośadāsam oṁśe 'valambya..mayy abhimukhībhūya tiṣṭhati*; Bāṇa, Kād. §. 16.. *ity abhidhāya gate ca tasmin rājā vaiśampāyanam apṛcchat.*

The construction may at first sight seem irregular when an absolutive occurs in a syntactic group which forms part of a complete sentence without any connection with the subject of that sentence and the principal verb : Kathās. 87, 44 *tena tasyohyamānasya sarpasyākramya pakṣiṇā* ("by a bird which had attached him")..*āsyād viṣalālā viniryayau.*

A curious irregular construction occurs Vaikh SmS. 2, 6 (p. 26, 1.1) *śatam in nv aty ādityaṁ namaṣkṛtyāgantrā samaganmahīti pradakṣiḍaṁ kārayitvā* which was translated by Caland[10] as follows : "causes him to make obeisance to the sun with the mantra : 'A hundred..', and to turn around himself from left to right with....:'To him who comes we have come..' The meaning obviously is: "he makes him, after he has adored the sun, perform a pradakṣiṇā.'

The absolutive may be irregularly used instead of a finite verb : Ai. Br. 7, 9, 7 *ya āhitāgnir jīve mṛtaśabdaṁ śrutvā..*, an uncommon construction, in which one expects *śṛṇuyāt* : "if one who has established the fires, should, whilst alive, hear the report of (his own) death..[11] Hence anacolutha such as Kāl.Pur. 46,34 f. *ity uktvā..sutānīdātuṁ śambhave angikṛtya viṣṛṣṭās* (viz. by Himavān who is also the subject of *aṅgikṛtya*) *te hy anuprāpur maheśvaram.*

Sometimes an irregular construction found in an older text has been rectified in a later edition, e.g. Rām. 2, 64, 15 *dvipo 'yam iti matvāham bāṇenābhihato mayā*: crit. ed. 2, 58, 13....*matvā hi...*

Sometimes two or more persons can be alternate subjects in one sentence : Kāsy. S.

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22, p. 634, l. 16 ff. *karṣayitvā*. . . *saṃsthāpya*. . . . *prakṣālya* (subject : the *ācārya*). . . *adbhiḥ prokṣya* . . . *gṛhaṁ gatvā*. . . *ācāryāya dakṣiṇāṁ dadyāt* (subj. the sacrificer) ; 23, p. 36, l. 16 ff. ;[12] MarīciS., p. 6 (in the corrupt Trivandrum edition) *ācāryaḥ snātvā*. . . . . . *abhyarcya*. . . (yajamāna) *ācāryādibhyo dakṣiṇāṁ dattvā*. . . . *sthāpako devam ādāyācāryaḥ śirasā kumbhaṁ dhārayan*.[13] In the Telegu edition (1927) the same passage reads as follows : *ācāryaḥ*. . . . . . *snātvā*. . . *praviśya*. . . *abhyarcya praṇamet. yajamāna*. . . *dadyāt*. . . . *sthāpakā*. . . *ādadyuḥ* etc. In Kāśy. S. ch. 16, p. 22, l. 2 an absolutive and an absolute locative, each of them referring to another subject alternate : (*alaṅkṛtya*) *dhānyopary aṇḍajādyāstṛte saṁsthāpya*. . . In the Vaikh. Sm.S. constructions of the type 2, 12 *śiṣyaṁ vāpayitvā snātaṁ puṇyāhaṁ vācayitvā* "he has the pupil shaved and bathed. . .", which occur also in other texts, are not rare; cf. e. g. 3, 1; 3, 14; 3, 23 etc.[14]

After a considerable number of absolutives, subject of which is the ācārya, the principal verb at the end of the sentence has another subject in Kāśy.S. 22, p. 33, l. 1 ff. : *vṛkṣam ārādhya*. . . *hutvā śāli*—. . . –*niṣpāvā ity ete saptadaśadhānyā bhavanti*.

Cases of ambiguity are not absent : Budhasvāmin, Bk. 18, 330 *tac ca mauktikam ānīya potas tena prapūritaḥ*.

In slovenly style tautologies are not always avoided : Kāl.Pur. 6, 28 *manobhavasya vacanaṁ śrutvātha caturānanaḥ vivakṣur api tad vakyaṁ śrutvā utsāhakārakaṁ śarvasya mohane brahmā cintāviṣṭo' bhavat*. . . Occasionally an author is tempted to substitute an absolutive for a passive verbal adjective : Kāl.Pur. 85, 56 *tena yatra tadā labdhvā aśvān*. . . *tad aśvatīrthaṁ vikhyātam*.

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9. Cf. also Hendriksen, *o. c.*, p. 123 ff.
10. W. Caland, *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtram*, English translation, Calcutta 1929, p. 48.
11. A.B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 296 proposes *jīvet* instead of *jīve*; Āśv. Ś.S. 3, 13, 11 has *yasmin vāhitāgnau jīvaty eva mṛtaśabdaḥ* and *yasmin*. . . *jīvaty eva mṛta iti yadi śabdaḥ*.
12. Cf. also F. Knauer, *Das Gobhilagṛhyasūtra*, II, Dorpat 1886, p. 119 ff.
13. See T. Goudriaan's translation etc. of the Kāśyapa-Saṁhitā (which is to appear as a thesis of Utrecht University 1965, Appendix 3).
14. See A. Beth, *Variatieverschijnselen in het-oud-Indisch*, Thesis. Utrecht 1943, p. 95 f.

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THE SANSKṚIT-CONJUNCTS OF TWO DISSIMILAR CLASS-NASALS AND THEIR TRANSFORMATION IN PRĀKRIT

By

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The five class-nasals of Skt. do not seem to possess an unrestricted scope of application and one cannot form conjuncts with any two of them at one's own sweet will. In fact we find in Skt. the following combinations only, which are constituted of such nasals : (1) *ṅ*+*n* e.g. *diṅnāga*, (2) *ṅ*+*m* e.g. *prāṅmukha*, *vāṅmaya*, *parāṅmukha* etc; (3) *ṇ*+*m* e.g. *mṛṇmaya*, *ṣāṇmāsika*; (4) *n*+*m* e.g. *janma*, *manmatha* etc. (5) *m*+*n* e.g. *nimna*, *pradyumna* etc. While considering the transformation of the above conjuncts in Pkt. one is likely to fall back upon the sūtra *adhomanayam* (II. 78) of Hemacandra, which is of a generic character. But it would be found that this rule does not become applicable with regard to the last two kinds of conjuncts i.e. the conjuncts, as noted in the forms *janma* and *manmatha* or *nimna* and *pradyumna*; because here *m* or *n* the second member of the conjunct-group has not been assimilated to its preceding nasal namely *n* or *m* respectively. In other words according to Hemacandra's mode of explaining the phenomenon the former has not been elided with the necessary doubling of the latter. Here we find the contrary situation i.e. the preservation of the second member of the conjunct-group and the concomitant absorption of the preceding nasal to it.

Bound for the task of explaining such a phenomenon Hemacandra felt the inadequacy of his preceding rule and framed two more specific rules, namely *mnajñorṇaḥ* (II. 42) and *nmomaḥ* (II. 61). They suggest that in any combination of *m* and *n* the second sound should predominate i.e. *mn* should develop into *ṇṇ* and *nm* into *mm*. So the above words should develop like this : *janma*>*jamma*, *manmatha*>*mammaha* (or *vammaha*), *nimna*>*ṇiṇṇa*, *pradyumna*>*pajjuṇṇa* etc. It may be stated that the same condition obtains in Pāli as well.[1]

So far as the first conjunct i.e. *ṅn* is concerned it is not possible to know the result of assimilation. Because words, which possess this kind of conjunct, are very rare and the common ones, which come frequently within our notice e.g. *diṅnāga*, *diṅnatha* etc, avoid the conjunct altogether in Pkt by modifying the word *dik* (=noninflected *diś*)[2] into *disā*. So we leave the treatment of the conjunct i.e. *ṅn* for the present.

The other two conjuncts, namely *ṅm* and *ṇm* deserve serious consideration. The rule *ṅañaṇano vyañjane* (I. 25) of Hemaeandra dictates the modification of the preceding nasal into anusvāra in such cases, which rule out altogether the scope of application of Hemacandra's sūtra II. 78, mentioned above. This reduces both the above conjuncts to *mm* (i.e. anusvāra, followed by the second class-nasal). Hence as a result of this modification one notes that the words, which possess the above two kinds of conjuncts, namely *ṅm* and *ṇm*,

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show the development of the same into *ṁm* in Pkt. as is noted in the following : *parāṅmukha*> *parāṁmuha*, *prāṅmukha*>*paṁmuha*, *ṣaṇmukha*>*chaṁmuha*, *ṣāṇmāsika*>*chaṁmāsia* etc.

It is interesting to note that Pischel accepts the above changes, which are suggested by the grammar. In section 278 he states : "If nasals of two different classes combine together *ṅma*, *ṇma* become changed to *ṁma*, *nma* to *mma*, *mna* to *ṇṇa*, in Amg. JM. JŚ also to *nna*."[3] In support of his statement Pischel cites certain examples, among which the following also occur : *avaraṁmuha*=*aparāṅmukha*, *chaṁmuha*=*ṣaṇmukha*, *diṁmoha*=*diṅmoha*, *paraṁmuha*=*parāṅmukha*, *ummuha*=*unmukha*, *jamma*=*janma*, *niṇṇa*=*nimna*, *pajjuṇṇa*=*pradyumna* etc. Pischel's statement about the modification of the above-stated conjunt-group in Pkt.—particularly of *ṅm* and *ṇm* to *ṁm* is obviously based upon an assumption. According to his belief when a word possessing a class-nasal immediately before a stop shows the transformation of the nasal element from one group to another in course of modification of the word from Skt. to Pkt. the class-nasal should be substituted by the anusvāra, but when the nasal element before the stop does not show any modification whatsoever in course of evolution of the word, in which the nasal occurs, the class-nasal is allowed to remain undisturbed. A few examples would clarify the matter : the Skt. word *paṅkti*, when transformed into Pkt. shows the change of the nasal *ṅ* to *n*, since as a result of transformation the nasal sound instead of standing before the guttural *k* stands before the dental t, to which the former is assimilated. Here Pischel would advise the reproduction of the nasal element by the anusvāra. But when the Skt. word *kaṇṭaka* becomes transformed into *kaṇṭaa* in Pkt. there does not stand any probability of the transformation of the nasal element from one group to another due to the occurrence of the cerebral *ṇ* before the cerebral stop *ṭ* in both cases. So Pischel would allow the class-nasal *ṇ* to stand in the Pkt. vocable and not advise its substitution by the anusvāra.[4]

Now in pursuance of this rule Pischel suggests the transformation *ṅm* and *ṇm* to *ṁm*. But the change of *nm* to *mm* and *mn* to *ṇṇ*, which he suggests on the strength of the grammar, seems to go against his theory and here in each case the substitution of the preceding class-nasal by the anusvāra becomes an absolute necessity, because in transformation of the conjuncts here there is a definite scope for the alteration of the preceding nasal from one group to another. Pischel understands this difficulty, but due to occurrence of definite rules for the change of *nm* to *mm* and *mn* to *ṇṇ* in the grammar, he accepts them.[5] He expresses doubts whether this kind of modification is to be made with regard to the conjuncts *ṅm* and *ṇm* also. His hesitation becomes clear from his words, which occur as : "If for nasal+nasal an exception is to be made and consequently *parammuha* and *chammāsia* are to be written remain uncertain."[6] However Pischel's original stand does not suffer from alteration despite this kind of doubt confronting him on the way. So he unequivocally states that *ṅm* and *ṇm* develop into *ṁm* in Pkt. which is definitly the result of his mature consideration and thinking.

But Pischel's statement does not seem to be agreeing with facts. Because in numerous words we find the change of the Pkt. conjuncts *ṅm* and *ṇm* into *mm* in Pkt. instead of *ṁm*, which Pischel suggests. There are authoritative sources too, which justify this kind of modification. In the *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo* we find the word *pammuha* for Skt. *prāṅmukha*, *parammkha* for *parāṅ-*

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mukha, *chammuha*·for *ṣaṇmukha* and *chammāsiya* for *ṣāṇmāsika* i.e. here in the conjunct-group the preceding nasal has not been substituted by the anusvāra, as would be demanded in case of compliances with Pischel's formula, but by the same class-nasal, which comes immediately after it (the preceding nasal).[7]

In fact a rough survey in literature particularly of the important texts like the *Setubandha*, *Gauḍavaha* and *Gāthāsaptaśatī* would indicate the correct situation regarding the transformation of the above-stated nasal conjuncts in Pkt. We find the Skt. word *parāṅmukha* occurring in the *Setubandha* in its Pkt. form, which represents the nasal conjunct as *ṁm* three times, but on four occasions the same has been transcribed by *mm*. We find also the word *vivarammuha* (*Setu.* 6, 41), which also preserves the latter. In the *Gauḍavaha* we find the word twice (ślokas 868, 878), but here too *ṅm* shows the transformation into *mm*. In the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* we find the same phenomenon, which is evidenced in forms *parammuhīe*(1, 33; 1, 87), *parammuhaṁ* (3, 17), *parmmuhīa* (4, 68) and *parammuhattaṇaṁ* (7, 88) etc.

The condition in literature thus indicates that the Skt. conjunct *ṅm* shows generally the tendency to be developed into *mm* instead of *ṁm*, which Pischel prescribes and which nevertheless sporadically appears. In the like manner it is possible for us to infer that the same condition obtains also with regard to *ṇm* ,which too develops into *mṁ*. In other words it is possible for us to assume that here in all the consonant-groups the second nasal has assimilated the first.I n fact this is the normal development, which alone can be expected in the transformation of such nasal conjuncts in Pkt.

Now it may be stated that this is logical and can be presumed from the fact that when Skt. conjuncts of two consonants become transformed in Pkt, one of the constituents of these conjuncts is found to assimilate the other—evidently the stronger the weaker. Since here we find the conjuncts constituted of two nasals only, it is quite natural that here one nasal should absorb the other leading ultimately to the survival of one member of the group. This justifies the assimilation by *m* of its preceding guttural nasal *ṅ* or the cerebral nasal *ṇ* in a conjunct-group constituted of *ṅ* or *ṇ* and *m*(i.e. *ṅm* and *ṇm*) when such a conjunct becomes transmitted in Pkt. In fact the representation of the Skt. conjunct-group *ṅm* or *ṇm* by *mm* ought to have reflected the correct phonetic transformation, that alone could be expected in such a condition.

It appears to us that in Pkt there developed later on a tendency to represent a nexus of two class-nasals of a homogenous group by a conjunct of anusvāra and a class-nasal. This happens obviously after the Skt. conjuncts have undergone assimilation and developed into nexuses of two identical class-nasals in the Pkt. stage. To take some concrete examples, the Skt. vocable *prāṅmukha* becomes *pammuha* at first as a result of assimilation and then subsequently by this process of transformation it becomes *paṁmuha* and in the same manner we find : *parāṅmukha*>*parammuha*>*paraṁmuha*, *ṣāṇmāsika*>*chammāsia o*>*chaṁmāsia*, *ṣaṇmukha*> *chammuha*>*chaṁmuha* etc. This becomes clear from a study of the vocables of the Aśokan inscriptions, which exhibit indisputably the transcription of the conjuncts of two homogenous class nasals (after they become the products of assimilation in Pkt.) by the nexuses of the

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anusvāra and a class-nasal. Let us cite certain examples in support of our statement : *dhaṁma* (=*dhamma*=*dharma*) Girnar I, III; *taṁbapaṁnī* (=*tammapaṇṇī*=*tāmraparṇī*) (Kāl. Sāh. *taṁbapaṁṇi*) Gir. II.; *aṁñe* (=*aññe*=*anye*) Shah; *aṁne* (=*anne*=*anye*) Kāl. Dhau. V; *ānaṁṇaṁ* (=*āṇaṇṇaṁ*=*ānṛṇya*) Gir VI; *aṁnāni* (=*annāni*=*anyāni*) Kāl. Dhau. Jau. VIII; *puṁnaṁ* (=*puṇṇaṁ*=*puṇyam*); Kāl IX; *maṁñate* (*maññae* Māg. *manyate*), Dhau. X, *apuṁne* (=*apuṇṇa*=*apuṇya*) Kāl. X etc. All such words—particularly the word *dhaṁma*, where the conjunct is product of development of two dissimilar consonants(i.e. $r+m=rm>mm$)show clearly that the next of the anusvāra and the class-nasals are definite indications of the occurrence of the conjuncts of two homogenous class-nasals, the latter being in fact a precondition to the former.

Now it may be enquired as to why there happened this kind of representation of the conjunct-group constituted of two homogenous class-nasals by the nexus of the anusvāra and a single class-nasal, which we find in the speech. It is very difficult to get any convincing reply. Perhaps this was a later expedient, that was devised for bringing about simplification in transcription of the double nasals, which might have involved some complications in reproduction.

Now let us come back to our proposition. In opposition to Pischel's statement that the Skt. conjuncts *ṅm* and *ṇm* develop into *ṁm* in Pkt. we have made attempts to show that the above conjuncts develop into *mm* at the first phase of transformation. This is caused by the law of assimilation and in the above conjuncts the second member of the group is found to have assimilated the first, as a result of which a conjunct of double class-nasals (of the same kind) (i.e. *mm*) appears in the speech (Pkt.). This represents the actual development of the Skt. conjuncts *ṅm* and *ṇm* in Pkt. But later on as a mark of simplification in transcription of the conjunct of double class-nasals (of the same kind)the substitution of the anusvāra for the preceding class-nasal was devised. This led to the change, which Pischel mistook for the normal developments of the above-stated conjuncts in Pkt. As we have shown above, this does not reflect the correct picture of the situation.

It is commonly admitted and we have shown before that the Skt. conjuncts *mn* and *nm* in course of evolution in Pkt. betray the assimilation of the first component of the conjunct by the second, which reduces them to the consonant-clusters like *ṇṇ* and *mm* respectively in Pkt. In the case of conjuncts like *ṅm* and *ṇm* we have observed the same kind of assimilation, viz. the absorption of the first component to the second and its consequent disappearance yielding place to the assimilated nasal consonant. This perhaps enables us to frame such a rule that in course of transformation in Pkt. the Skt conjuncts of two dissimilar class-nasals ordinarily show the assimilation of the preceding nasal by the following and in such a combination the predominance lies always with the second constituent, which determines the shape of such conjunct in Pkt. If this statement is found to be true this decides once for all the type of form, which Skt. conjuncts of dissimilar class-nasals would assume in Pkt. setting all disputes and discrepancies to rest. Here one should note that the result of our investigations contradicts the statement of Pischel.

We have stated before, that it is very difficult to say what should be the development

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of the Skt. conjunct *ṅn* in Pkt. on account of the want of suitable evidences. The only instances *diṇṇāga* and *diṅnātha* do not help us to come to any definite conclusion, since, as we have mentioned before, the Skt. nexus *ṅn* is split in Pkt. owing to the transformation of the Skt. word *diś* (=*dik*) into *disā* in Pkt. Be that as it may, on the evidence of the above facts the Skt. conjunct *ṅn* could be expected to fall in line with others, which have shown the assimilation of the preceding nasal by the succeeding. In the absence of concrete examples bearing out the use of this nasal-conjunct in the speech the statement remains a hypothetical one and lacks support, which is present in the other nasal-groups.

REFERENCES

1. Geiger, Pāli Literature and Language § 52.4, Please see also the foot-note (5)
2. Cf. Hemacandra I. 19. In Pāli one notes the same phenomenon. Here too the word *dik* (=*diś* uninflected) becomes changed to *disā*.
3. "Treten Nasale verschiedener classen zusammen, so werden *ṅma*, *ṇma* zu *ṁma*, *nma* zu *mma*, *mna* zu *ṇṇa*, Amg. JM. JS auch *nna*." In the Mss. coming down from the Jaina sources the dental *n* is found to survive in the interior of a word, when such dental *n* is doubled. But the non-Jaina texts do not maintain this and preserve cerebral *ṇ* universally.
4. Pischel, Die Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen § 269.
5. In Pāli we find the identical development. Here *nm* becomes changed to *mm* and *mn* to *nn*. In Pkt. the first development is found exactly but so far as the second is concerned there happens further modification of the latter (i.e *nn*) to *ṇṇ*. So there occurs a fundamental agreement in the trend of modification. Geiger has categorically mentioned such changes in his Pāli Lit. and Lang. § 52.4.
6. "Ob für Nasal+Nasal aber nicht über-haupt eine Ausnahme zu machen ist, also auch *parammuha*, *chammāsiya* zu schreiben ist, bleibt unsicher." Pi chel's Grammatik §269.
7. In Pāli too *ṇm* develops into *mm*, which is definitely known from the transformation of the word *ṣaṇmāsa* into *chammāsạ* in the speech. Vide Pāli-Prakāśa by Vidhuśekhara Sastri § 62, p. 36. But we do not find the mention of this phenomenon in Geiger's work.
8. In Pāli too the same phenomenon happens and among two class-nasals, which combine together to form a conjunct the second assimilates the first. This is definitely known from the following statement of Geiger : "Where a mute is combined with a mute or a nasal with a nasal, the first consonant is assimilated to the second" Pāli Lit. and Lang. § 51. But it is interesting to note that Geiger takes into consideration only two nasal conjuncts, namely *mn* and *nm*, whose developments have been shown. But other conjuncts, which we have treated above, have not been duly noticed by him.

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANSKRIT PARTICLE 'API'.

By

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The meaning of the common particle *api* seems to be quite simple. In fact, however, the problems connected with its etymology and semasiology are rather complicated.

In his etymological dictionary M. Mayrhofer gives the following comparison to other Indo-European languages : Avesta *aipi*, Old persian *apiy*, Armenian *ev* ("and"), Greek *epi* Gotic *if-tuma* ("later"), Illyr. Nom. propr. *Epi-cadus*, Lithuanian *ap*, *api-*, etc.

The relations between Old Indian *api* and Greek *epi* are of special interest, their development being quite different. The Indo-European particle *epi* is in Sanskrit usually an adverb, in Greek a preposition. Cf. the reverse development of the Indo-European particle *eti*, which in Old-Indian *ati* is a preposition, in Greek *eti* an adverb. It is not always a sharp line between an adverb and a preposition (cf. Thumb-Hauschild : *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, p. 392, also foot-note).

The primary signification of Greek *epi* is "upon". As a preposition it is construed with gen., dat., and acc. It may follow its case. As an adverb it means "thereon", "on top", "thereby", "besides". In compositions it is very frequent as a prefix.

These three principal uses are found also in Old Indian, especially in the Vedic language (cf. Grassmann). As a preposition *api* governs loc., the primary signification being that of immediate proximity. In older language it is often found as a prefix in compositions. In later Sanskrit, on the contrary, its place seems frequently supplied by *abhi* (cf. Monier-Williams). The adverbial use is comparatively rare in the oldest literature (see below).

These three uses in Greek and Vedic correspond to a great extent. In later language, however, the semasiological development shows considerable differences. As a prefix and a preposition *api* loses its importance in Sanskrit, whereas its adverbial use becomes much more important and extended. The lexicographers present an idea of its many-sided use. Bohthling-Roth and Apte give 15 principal significations, while Monier-Williams omits those of less importance.

In the development of *api* I shall confine myself to examining chiefly the following periods and kinds of literature : Early Vedic (Ṛg-Veda), Later Vedic (Upaniṣads), Epic (Bhagavad-Gītā), Drama, Fables.

Our starting-point is the *Ṛg-Veda*. As stated above, the adverbial use of *api* is very rare in the oldest language (scarcely 10 times, cf. Grassamann). It generally precedes the word it emphasizes : *āvartnnaṁ nivartanaṁ yo gopā api taṁ huve*, x.19.4. Cf. *api gopā nī vartatām*,

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X.19.5. Epithetic : *oṣadhīr bāpsad agnir na vāyati punar yan tāruṇīr api*, VIII. 43.7. In X. 104.10 it is found in the combination utāpi.

Even as a part of a composition and as a preposition *api* is not very frequent in Ṛg-Veda. Its growing importance belongs to later periods.

In the *Upaniṣads* the use of *api* has developed considerably. In the eleven principal, "classical", ones I have found it 84 times (not in Aitareya, Īśa and Praśna). The particle stands either alone or in combination with other small words. The following combinations occur : *api ca, ca api, uta api, vā api, eva api, api ha, ha api, uta iva api, ca eva api, ha eva api, api hi na.*

Api is rather often used *concessively*, in many cases in connection with *yadi*, e.g. Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka 1-4.12. *tasmād yady api rājā paramatāṁ gacchati, brahmaivantata upaniśrayati svāṁ yonim.*

Apart from the special cases mentioned above *api* is used generally as an emphasizing particle, sometimes before (15), sometimes after (24) the word to which it belongs. The emphasized word may be a noun, a pronoun, an adjective, an adverb or a verb. A few peculiarities may be mentioned here. The type particle+pronoun+noun is found especially at the end of each section in Taittirīya II. 1-8 : *tad apy eṣa śloko bhavati.*

In Kaṭha I.1.21 and 22 *devair atrāpi vicikitsitam purā*, the particle does not refer to the word immediately preceding it but to the noun *devair* : "Even the gods of old had doubt on this point." This example is, however, quite exceptional.

Api occurs *before* the adverbs *adya, etarhi, tatra, yatra* and *after tatas, tasmād, yathā.*

Only twice it is found before a verb (not at all after) : *api roditīva*, Chāndogya VIII. 10.2 and 4.

Compared with the oldest language the upaniṣadic stile means a considerable development with regard to *api*, which already shows certain characteristics in later Sanskrit. Peculiarities in the Upaniṣads are the different combinations and the many cases with the particle standing before the word it emphasizes. The concessive sense is also rather important.

In the *Epics* we meet with new functions of *api*. In Bhagavad-Gītā VI. 25 is found an example of an interrogative turned into an indefinite by means of *cid+api* : *na kiñcid api cintayet*. This is a use which becomes more common in later language.

Twelve times in the Gītā *api* is combined with *ca*, either before or after, e.g. *svadharmam api cā vekṣya na vikampitum arhasi*, II. 31; *akīrtiṁ cāpi bhūtāni kathayiṣyanti te'vyayam*, II.34. The former order of words occurs 6 times, the second likewise, the difference being only metrical. The former group includes one case of the combination *api+ca+eva*. (XVII. 12). In some cases *api* is—with or without *ca* used in enumeration, e.g. XVII. 10. *yātayāmaṁ gatarasaṃ pūti paryuṣitam ca yat ucchiṣṭam api cā medhyaṁ bhojanaṁ tāmasapriyam.* Likewise without *ca* : *pralapan visṛjan gṛhṇannunmiṣan nimiṣannapi*, V.9. In the following example *api* alternates with *ca* : *karmaṇo hy api boddhavyaṁ boddhavyaṁ ca vikarmaṇah akarmaṇaś ca boddhavyaṁ*

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gahanā karmaṇo gatiḥ, IV. 17. This and other examples show that *api* is often used as an equivalent to *ca*, metrical circumstances being a decisive factor in their use.

There are 19 cases of concessive *api*, the particle occurring mostly after a verb, e.g. I.35 : *etān na hantum icchāmi ghnato'pi*. In three cases the particle precedes a verbal form, so in IV.6 : *ajo'pi sannavyayātmā bhūtānām īśvaropi san*.

When *api* emphasises a single word, it is very rarely prothetic. *api trailokyarājyasya hetoḥ kim nu mahīkṛte*, I.35. The epithetic use, on the contrary, is rather frequent, especially after nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Sometimes a contrast is implied, e.g. XVIII.44 : *kṛṣigaurakṣyavāṇijyam vaiśyakarma svabhāvajam paricaryātmakaṁ karma śūdrasyāpi svabhājam*. Also in VII.23 : *devān devayajo yānti madbhaktā yānti mām api*. Here *api* seems to have the same sense as *eva*. In VIII.6. these two particles also alternate : *yāṁ-yāṁ vā'pi smaran bhāvaṁ tyajaty ante kalevaram taṁ-taṁ evaiti kaunteya sadā tadbhāvabhāvitaḥ*.

Only twice *api* is found after an adverb. Once it stands after a preposition : *ṛte'pi tvāṁ na bhaviṣyanti sarve*, XI.32.

Api occurs in the Gītā nearly one hundred times, in most cases expressive both when it is a concessive and when it emphasises a single word. Sometimes, however, it is a mere expletive for the sake of metrical convenience.

The *dramatic* literature is in many respects of special interest. We here find different characters speak in different ways. Sanskrit and Prākrit passages alternate with metrical portions.

I have examined the following dramas : Svapnavāsavadatta, Śakuntalā, Ratnāvalī, and Uttararāmacarita. In these *api* occurs 71, 222, 163, and 229 times respectively. Compared with the Upaniṣadic and the epic style the particle has here a few more functions.

The combination *api ca* occurs rather often, especially in Ratnāvalī, as conjunctive words between discontinuous verses. *Api* is sometimes equivalent to *ca*, e.g. Śankuntalā III, stanza 14 : *tava na jāne hṛdayam mama punaḥ kāmo divā'pi rātrāvapi*. So also in the enumeration Svapnavāsavadatta I, stanza 9 : *kāryaṁ naivārthairnāpi bhogairna vastrair*.

The particle is rather often used in the beginning of a sentence introducing a *question*, in Uttararāmacarita II even five times in succession : *Apy etat tat tapovanam ? Apy eṣā Pañcavaṭī ? Api sarid iyaṁ Godāvarī ? Apy ayaṃ giriḥ Prasravaṇaḥ ? Api Janasthānavana-devatā Vāsantī tvam ?* Sometimes a combination of particles introduces a question : *api khalu, api nāma*.

Very often an interrogative is converted into an indefinite. In most cases it is some form of *ka*. In Uttararāmacarita I, stanza 27, the expression is doubled : *kim api kim api mandaṁ mandaṁ āsattiyogād aviralitakapolaṁ jalpator akrameṇa*....Other interrogatives used in this way are *katham, kadā, kutas*, and *kva*.

Api is very often used concessively, in Śakuntalā VI. stanza 4 three times : *Cūtānāṁ ciranirgatāpi kalikā badhnāti na svaṁ rajaḥ saṃnaddhaṁ yadāpi sthitaṁ kurabakaṁ tatkorakāvasthayā. Kaṇṭheṣu skhalitain gate'pi*...

A *contrast* is implied in the following passage from Svapnavāsavadatta V : *Gacchadu*

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bhodī. jāva ahaṁ vi tattabhodo nivedaissam. Sometimes the particle is used immediately following a new subject after change of subject, e.g. Ratnāvalī I : *Mayāpi caināṁ devīhaste sagauravaṁ nikṣipatā yuktam evānuṣṭhitam. Śrutaṁ ca mayā : Bābhravyo'pi kañcukī.....*

When the particle *emphasizes a particular word*, it is in most cases epithetic. But there are a few prothetic instances, e.g. Ratnāvalī II : *na kevalaṁ śrutam abhiprāyo'pi lakṣita eva.* The emphasized word is most frequently a pronoun, a noun or an adverb, less often an adjective, a verb or another word. Sometimes with pronouns a deictic function is clearly observed, e.g. in Uttararāmacarita I : *Iyam āryā. Iyam apy āryā Māṇḍavīyam api vadhūḥ Śrutakīrtiḥ.* In many metrical passages the particle seems to be used expletively.

In drama *api* is used abundantly both in prose and verse. But this applies especially to the dialogues, where the particle is often deictic or where it gives expression to gestures and reactions on the stage. In dramatic style, therefore, the use of the particle is more manifold than in other kinds of literature.

The different uses of *api* are not always clearly discernible one from another. The most important group is that in which a particular word is emphasized. When used concessively, on the contrary, the particle refers to a part of the sentence. Sometimes the difference is not quite evident. When a new subject is introduced or when a contrast is implied, a particular word is emphasized but not in the same way as in the main group. When *api* loses its characteristic meaning it is weakened and becomes an equivalent to *ca*. Quite special groups are those in which the particle introduces a question and when it converts an interrogative into an indefinite. In many cases *api* occurs in combination with other particles.

The combination *api ca* is found already in the Upaniṣads. In the Sūtras it introduces certain aphorisms. In poetry it alternates with the inverted order *ca api* according to the demands of the metre. In drama it is found between stanzas. In the fables it sometimes introduces proverbs. Other combinations of particles are typical for the Upanisadic style.

The particle introducing a question is found only in later language, occasionally in poetry, more frequently in drama. To later literature belongs also the use of *api* converting an interrogative into an indefinite, especially in lyric poetry, drama and fables. Following a new subject or implying a contrast the particle is used sometimes in drama.

The concessive use is very frequent in most types of literature. It is found more frequently in drama and aphorisms than in other kinds.

When *api* emphasizes a particular word in the sentence, it is for the most part epithetic. It is prothetic chiefly in older language. In poetry the word-order is free, so prothetic *api* is found here though not very frequently. Rather seldom it is found in drama, more often in aphorisms.

Some of the meanings of *api* may be difficult to be accounted for. So it is not easy to explain the semantic development from the primary signification "upon" in the oldest language to the indefinite use and the interrogative particle in later Sanskrit. Much clearer is the semantic relation between "upon" and the common meanings "further", "also",

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"even" etc. In both cases the idea is that of adding something to something. From this idea the concessive use seems to be derived.

The semantic difficulties are comprehensible when we consider the millennial process, during which the particle becomes more and more important and manifold. This process culminates in classical drama, but traces of it are still discernible in modern languages. (Hindi : *bhī*, with partly the same significations as Sanskrit *api* : also, even, besides, furthermore, etc. cf. Dictionaries of Platts and Bhārgava; Kellogg : Grammar of the Hindi Language, p. 390).

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ON THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'VALI' (MEGH. 35)

By

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Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta (st. 35) describes courtesans of Ujjain, appeasing the Mahākāla with their '*deśika*' or folk dance. He describes them as dancing with chowries in their hands. These chowries (*cāmaraiḥ*) are described as '*ratna-cchāyā-khacita-valibhiḥ*'. Here the word '*vali*' does not seem to be properly explained.

The worst possible interpretation comes from the commentator Vallabhadeva, who interprets the word '*vali*' to mean the 'folds on the belly' (*Udaralekhā*) of the courtesans and justifies his unconvincing (to him also it was perhaps unconvincing) meaning with the remark that—'the folds on the belly (lit. middle portion of the body) of the courtesans become manifest by the lustre of chowry-jewels as they have put on (only) a pair of clothes.'[1] He means that as these ladies had put on only two clothes viz. a petticoat and a blouse and as they had no sari or *uttarīya* (upper cloth), the folds on their uncovered belly became manifest by the light emitting out of the jewels on the chowries.

That this meaning is unconvincing is clear, firstly, from the above explanation which he is required to give, to justify his meaning of *vali* as folds on the belly; and secondly, from the twisted meaning of the word '*khacita*' which he interprets to mean 'prakaṭīkṛta'—a meaning which is not found anywhere, as it generally means 'inlaid' or 'studded with' or 'full of' etc.

Thus the interpretation of the word '*vali*' as 'folds on the belly' is not proper.

Mallinātha seems to have known this difficulty. His meaning appears better. He interprets the word '*vali*' as '*cāmaradaṇḍa*' on the authority of the Viśvakośa.[2] Thus, according to him, the hands of the courtesans are tired by the chowries, whose handles are full of the lustre of the jewels (studded in the *bangles* on their wrists). Thus according to Mallinātha the jewels are studded in the bracelets of the courtesans and the handles of the chowries are full of the lustre of these jewels.

Though, this meaning appears better and more convincing as it is based on the authority of the Viśvakośa, as per his proclamation that he would not write anything which is not supported,[3] it seems that even this meaning is, perhaps, not the one intended by Kālidāsa himself.

The natural meaning of the word '*vali*' seems to be 'fold', 'wrinkle', 'curve', etc. It also expresses the meaning of 'three folds on the belly' as is clear from another stanza of Kālidāsa himself.[4]

However, the spirit of the stanza seems to convey that the handles of the chowries

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also had three curved lines carved in the middle; and that these three carved portions in the middle part of the handles were studded with jewels. *It is these three carved lines,* (studded with jewels,) *that are spoken of as 'valis' by kālidāsa* by their resemblance with the folds on the belly, which also occur on the middle part of the body. Later on, this original meaning of the word '*vali*' (viz. three lines in the middle of the chowry-handle) was transferred to the chowry-handle itself and came to be recorded in the Viśvakośa.

Thus the word '*vali*' originally meant 'three lines on the middle part of the handles' (especially of chowries).

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the meaning of the phrase 'ratnacchāyā-khacitavalibhiḥ' will be further enhanced if the word 'chāyā' is interpreted to mean 'a line' or 'a series'.[5] Thus the expression can be explained as under :—

रत्नानां छायाभिः पङ्क्तिभिः खचिता रूषिता वलयो दण्डमध्यस्थरेखा येषां तैः। एतादृशैश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः।

The reading क्लान्तहस्ताः is accepted by Mallinātha etc. and is accepted by Dr. De in his critical edition published by the Sahitya Academy, Delhi, 1957. But Dr. De records in the footnote another reading viz. कान्तहस्ताः which seems to be better. If that is accepted, the phrase under discussion will mean that the hands of the courtesans are *beautiful* due to the chowries, the lines on the middle part of which are studded with jewels.

As these chowries, studded with jewels in their middle portion, were held in their hands by the courtesans, the lustre emitting out of the jewels studded therein rendered their hands beautiful.

Thus, the proper interpretation of the word '*vali*' throws further light on the meaning of the whole phrase with proper variants.

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१. cf. रत्नच्छायया खचिताः प्रकटीकृता वलय उदरलेखा यैः। तासां हि वासोयुगाच्छादितानां चामरमणिभासा मध्यवलयः प्रकटीभवन्ति। —वल्लभदेव– टीका on मेघ० ३५

२. रत्नानां कङ्कणमणीनां छायया कान्त्या खचिता रूषिता वलयश्चामरदण्डा येषां तैः॥ 'वलिश्चामरदण्डे च जराविश्लथचर्मणि' इति विश्वः।——मल्लिनाथटीका।

३. नाऽमूलं लिख्यते किञ्चित्। St. 30 of मल्लि०'s intro. to his comm.

४. वलीषु तस्याः स्खलिताः प्रपेदिरे।
क्रमेण नाभिं प्रथमोद्बिन्दवः॥ कुमार० ५.२४।

५. छाया पङ्क्तौ प्रतिमायामर्कयोषित्यनातपे।
उत्कोचे पालने कान्तौ शोभायां च तमस्यपि॥
——मेदिनीकोश quoted in अमरकोश Com., p. 322 on st. 157.

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PURAṆIC ETYMOLOGIES

By

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In this paper, it is proposed to discuss etymologies[1] of a few words from the Matsyapurāṇa (=MP) which is one of the older works of the Purāṇa literature.

Marut : The MP gives the following legend during the course of which the etymology of the word *marut* is given:—

Once Diti practised severe penance and observed the Madana-dvādaśī-vrata in order to get a son who would avenge her *putravināśana* and would carve out *Śakravadha* (7.31). Ultimately Kaśyapa was pleased with her on account of the *vratamāhātmya* to grant the fulfilment of her ardent desire and asked her to observe certain rules. Indra was alarmed at this (7.50) and searched for an opportunity to annul this catastrophic situation. Once getting an opportunity to enter her as she failed to carry out strictly Kaśyapa's instructions, he cut the foetus into forty-nine parts with his *vajra* (7.55). At this the forty-nine *bālas* wept aloud. Indra told them, "*mā rodiṣṭa*" (7.58)[2] again and again. The MP further explains why they came to be called Maruts : *yasmān mā rudatety uktā rudanto garbhasaṁsthitāḥ| maruto nāma te nāmnā bhavantu makhabhāginaḥ||*(7.62).

Thus the word is derived from *mā*+$\sqrt{rud}$ (*i.e.* 'do not weep'). The Epic and the Harivaṁśa also give the same etymology, *i.e. mā rudaḥ*[3] (*i.e. mā*+$\sqrt{rud}$). The other Purāṇas, *e.g.* Brahmapurāṇa[4], Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa[5] and Bhāgavatapurāṇa[6], give this incident and derive the word from *mā*+$\sqrt{rud}$. Yāska derives it from (1) $\sqrt{mā}$+$\sqrt{ru}$, (2) $\sqrt{mā}$+$\sqrt{ruc}$, (3) *mahat*+$\sqrt{ru}$ ($\hookleftarrow\sqrt{rav}$), and (4) *mahat*+$\sqrt{dru}$[7]. Maruts' shining aspect' (*sūryavarcasaḥ*, 7.55) in turn reminds one of its derivation from $\sqrt{mar}$, 'to shine'[8].

Rudra : The following is the legend during the course of which the etymology of the word *rudra* is given :

Once, Brahmā approached his wife Surabhi through whom there was the birth of Rudras who resembled the smoke and resembled the sky at the time of the evening twilight and had an excessively brilliant lustre (171.34ff). The MP derives the word *rudra* by remarking—*te rudanto dravantaś ca garhayantaḥ pitāmaham | rodanād dravaṇāc caiva rudrā iti tataḥ smṛtāḥ* (171.37-38). *i.e. rudra* is derived from $\sqrt{rud}$+$\sqrt{dru}$. The Taittirīya Saṁhita[9], the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa[10] and even the

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Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[11] derive it from √*rud.* Yāska derives it from (1) √*ru*+√*dru*, (2) √*rud* and (3) √*ru*[12]. The etymology as given in the MP appears to be a combination of the two alternatives proposed by Yāska *i.e.* √*rud*+√*dru.* May it be ventured to suggest that the 'brilliant red colour' (*cf. naktasandhyābhrasaṅkāśāḥ tigmatejasaḥ* 171.37) reminds the etymology of *rudra* from* √*rud* 'to be ruddy'[13] as suggested by Pischel who "is said to have hit the mark" by Dr. R. N. Dandekar.[14]

Viṣṇu : While giving the etymology of the word *viṣṇu* about which there has been a lot of controversy and speculation[15], the MP. does not narrate a legend. It states :—

viṣṭabdhaṃ yat tvayā sarvaṁ jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam/
jagadviṣṭambhanāc caiva viṣṇur eveti kīrtyase/
viṣṭabhya tiṣṭhase nityaṁ trailokyaṁ sacarācaram/
yakṣagandharvanagaram sumahadbhūtapannagam/
vyāptaṃ tvayaiva viśate trailokyaṃ sacarācaram /
tasmād viṣṇur iti proktaḥ svayam eva svayambhuvā / 248.39-42

Thus the MP derives *viṣṇu* from *vi*+√*sta(m)bh* 'to check, to support' or √*viś*, 'to enter'. The expression *viṣṭabhya tiṣṭhase* finds a prototype in the Ṛgvedic expression *vi astabhnā rodasi* (RV. 7.99.3.). The MP. 2.30 states *prabhavād api tad vyāptyā viṣṇutvam agamat punaḥ.* The Nirukta derives it from √*viś*, 'to enter' or *vi*+√*aś*, 'to reach, attain, fill, penetrate'[16]. Thus the MP. follows the Nirukta in etymologising it and also emphasises the pervading character of the god[17].

Akṣara : For deriving this word the MP. states

na kṣīyase na kṣarase kalpakoṭiśatair api/
*tasmāt tvam akṣaratvāc ca, akṣaraś ca prakīrtitaḥ/*248.38-39

Thus *akṣara* is derived from *a*+√*kṣī* or *a*+√*kṣar.*

Thus from the aforegoing discussion we see that the MP. gives the derivation of a word with reference to particuler activity or aspect in the course of the narration of a legend or without the narration of a legend. It also appears to follow the trend of the Nairuktas, *viz.* all nouns are derived from verbs[18]. This tendency is even noticeable in the Upniṣads as observed by Dr. M. A. Mehendale in connection with the Upaniṣadic etymologies[19]. In some cases also the MP gives an etymology of a word from a particle and a verb. Instead of the usual method of introducing an etymology by *kasmāt* or the use of *tasmāt* or *tena*, we have here the use of the ablative of the noun derived from the verb and this tendency is also seen in the case of the Upaniṣadic etymologies.

N.B. :—Unspecified references as usual refer to the Matsyapurāṇa (Anandashram Sanskrit Series Edition), thus *e.g.* 171.37=MP. 171.37.

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dential address to the Vedic section of the Bhubaneswar Session of All-India Oriental Conference, *Transactions and Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*, 20th Session (1959), pp. 33-34.

2. v. l. *mā rudadhvam* in *ga.*
3. Hopkins, E.W. : *Epic Mythology*, p. 96.
4. *mā rodīr iti*........./Brahmapurāṇa 3.120.
5. *mā roda mā roda*....../ Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 3.5.70.
6. *rudantaṃ*......*mā rodīr iti* / Bhāgavatapurāṇa 6.18.62.
7. *marutaḥ mitarāviṇo vā/mitarocino vā/mahad ravanti-iti vā/* Nirukta 11.13. *Vide* Rajwade V. K., Nirukta, pp. 874-875.
8. Macdonell A. A. : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 81; Keith, A.B. : The *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, HOS Vol. 31, p. 152; for different views about its etymology *vide* Mayrhofer : *A Concise Etymological Dictionary*, Lieferring 16, p. 589. Sāyaṇa derives it from *mahat*+$\sqrt{}$*dru*; *cf. mahati antarikṣe dravanti iti marutaḥ*/Bhāṣya on RV. 1.88.1.
9. *so' rodīt tat rudrasya rudratvam*/Taittiriya Saṃhitā 2.5.1.
10. *yad arodīt tasmād rudraḥ*/Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 6.1.3.10.
11. *katame rudrāḥ/...atha te rodayanti tasmāt rudrāḥ*/Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 3.9.4
12. *rudraḥ rauti iti sataḥ/rorūyamāṇo dravati iti va/rodayater vā/yad arudat tad rudrasya rudratvam iti Kāṭhakam/yad arodīt tad rudrasya rudratvam iti Hārīdrāvikam*/Nirukta 10.5.
13. Referred to by Macdonell, A. A. : *Vedic Mythology*, p. 77.
    According to Grassmann $\sqrt{}$*rud*, 'to shine' (*Worterbuch*, referred to by Macdonell A. A., *ibid.*, p. 17).
14. Dandekar R. N. : Rudra in the Veda, *Journal of the University of Poona*, Humanities Section I, Vol. I, (1953), p. 133.
15. For different etymologies of *viṣṇu*; *vide* Gonda J. *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 4, fn 11, pp. 55, 65.
16. *Viṣṇur viśater vā vyaṣnoter vā*/Nirukta 12.18
17. Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that "the Purāṇa writers invoke these meanings by devising semantic etymology (आर्थी निरुक्ति) for well-known words like Āditya, Brahmā etc...The exegetes of the Purāṇas like their predecessors were not interested in phonetic derivation (शाब्दी निरुक्ति) *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, p. 21.
18. *Cf. nāmāni ākhyātajāni iti Śākaṭāyanaḥ Nairuktasamayaś ca*/Nirukta 1.12.
19. Mehendale M. A. : Upaniṣadic Etymologies, *Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume*, (Bhāratīya Vidyā, V. 18 (XX-XXI 1960-61), p. 41.
20. Mehendale M. A. : *Ibid.*, p. 42.

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DANTURĀ—IN NEW INDO-ARYAN

By

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1. Old Indo-Aryan *danturā*—is attested in Prakrit *danturā-*, *danturiya*—'having projecting teeth' and in New Indo-Aryan in Oriya *dānturā* 'having prominent teeth', Marathi *dātrā*; cf. Sh. (Lor.) *dandur* 'a sort of harrow' as quoted by Sir Ralph Turner under entry no. 6167 of his *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*; with these he also compares Mar. *dātur* m. 'the tree Ficus tsiela', *dātar* f. 'Ficus parasitica' (cf. *dantura-cchada*—'lime tree'). There is a l—form in no. 6168* *dantula*, *dantūlā*– 'having teeth' for which Lahndi (awāṇ.) has *dandla* 'large-toothed', Nep. *dātulo* 'having prominent teeth', Hindi *dātulā*.

2. While OIA *dānta*—indicates both 'tooth' and 'tusk' and indicates ivory in many NIA languages, it is somewhat interesting to note that Koṅkaṇī has preserved OIA *dantura-* in this particular significance in the vocable *hastantra* 'ivory' derived from OIA* *hasti-dantura*– (cf. *hasti-danta-*). No corresponding form seems to have been recorded for any other NIA language, most of which have the basic form *hasti-danta*– either in its loanword aspect or as an inherited element.

3. In this connection it is also worthy of note that Koṅkaṇī preserves another derivative of OIA *dānta*—for which no corresponding forms are available on record from other NIA languages. For 'comb' Koṅkaṇī has the normal form *dāntoṇī* as against Mar. *phaṇī*, Hindi *kaṅgī* etc. The nearest shape of NIA words is contained within the group recorded by Sir Ralph under no. 6157 *dantapavana*—*n.* where the sense is primarily 'tooth stick'. Presumably the Koṅkaṇī form cannot be traced to this source. Two possibilities suggest themselves here : either (a) we have a* *danta-van-ikā* with the *-ika* extension of **danta-van-*, or (b) **danta-phaṇika* the second part of which gives us Mar. *phaṇī* 'comb'. On phonological considerations (a) seems to be the more acceptable.

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THE BASIS OF पाणिनि (8.1.59 AND 65) IN ऋग्वेद

By

V.P. Limaye, Poona

पा 8.1.59 चवायोगे प्रथमा and पा 8.1.65 एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् deal with accentuation of verbs under certain conditions. पतञ्जलि is silent on these two सूत्रs काशिका explains these thus :—

"च वा इत्येताभ्यां योगे प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिः न अनुदात्ता भवति।"

"एक अन्य इत्येताभ्यां समर्थाभ्यां युक्ता प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिः विभाषा न अनुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये।"

काशिका further gives the following examples from the छन्दस् (or वेद):—

"प्रजामेका जिन्वति ऊर्जमेका रक्षति।"
जिन्वति इत्येतत् पक्षे न निहन्यते।।
"तयोरन्यः पिप्पल स्वाद्वत्ति।"
अनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति।
अत्ति इत्येतत् पक्षे न निहन्यते।।

काशिका naturally gives vedic examples under (65) because of the अनुवृत्ति of छन्दस् from (64).

The first of these examples occurs in the following vedic texts :—

अथर्व ४।७।१३ प्रजामेका जिन्वत्यूर्जमेका
राष्ट्रमेका रक्षति देवयूनाम्।।

मै० सं० 2.13.10 has क्षत्रं for राष्ट्रं; तै० सं० 4.3.11. has रक्षति for जिन्वति and व्रतं for राष्ट्रं or क्षत्रं; काठक सं० has क्षत्रं and रक्षति

Schroeder's edition of the काठक संहिता has not given the accentuation; hence it is out of court in this discussion.

The second Vedic citation occurs in ऋ० 1.164.20 and in अथर्ववेद 9.9.20

"तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति
अनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति।।
(पद पाठः—स्वादु। अत्ति।)

पतञ्जलि incidentally refers to the first of these citations while commenting on पा० 1.1.24 ष्णान्ता षट् (kiel. Vol. I pp. 83-4)

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"......एकशब्दोऽयं बहृ्वर्थः। अस्त्येव संख्यापदम्। तद्यथा। एको द्वौ बहव इति॥
अस्त्यसहायवाची। तद्यथा। एकाग्नयः एकहलानि एकाकिभिः क्षुद्रकैर्जितमिति। असहायैरित्यर्थः॥
अस्त्यन्यार्थे वर्तते। तद्यथा। प्रजामेका रक्षति ऊर्जयेका इति। अन्या इत्यर्थः॥
...तद्योऽन्यार्थे तस्यैष प्रयोगः॥"

It is obvious that पतञ्जलि adopts the reading रक्षति in तै० सं० and का० सं० instead of जिन्वति in अथर्व० and मै० सं०

× × ×

After these introductory remarks we shall consider what these two सूत्र s want us to understand.

We should generally accept the following propositions :—

(a) The verb is differently accented according to the nature of the sentence.

(b) The finite verb in a principal sentence is unaccented.

(c) The verb of a subordinate clause is always accented :

Extension of this proposition :

Principal clause in form may be accented as subordinate in sense; thus the first of two antithetical clauses is frequently accented especially when the antithesis is clearly indicated by corresponding words like अन्य-अन्य, 'एक-एक, च-च, वा-वा . . . when the verb of two such claures is the same, it usually appears (accented) in the first only.

(See A. A. Macdonell : A Vedic Grammar for students, 1916 pp. 466-468) In a footnote on p. 468 he observes :

"This accentuation ir more strictly applied in B. than in V. and among the संहिताs least strictly in the ऋग्वेद from what I have stated below about ऋग्वेद in so many citations, I find no warrant for his statement referred to above although one has to prove further to find out the truth of the matter.

× × ×

The following are about thirty places in ऋग्वेद which are, I think, the source material for पाणिनि to frame the सूत्रs in his अष्टाध्यायी which are described above; relevant portions from सायणs commentary, wherever they exist, dealing with the grammar of the words, are adduced, together with comments from 'Worterbucheum Rg-Veda von Hermann Grassmann" which was of exterme help to me in getting my material, so to say, gathered in one place.

First we begin with एक-अन्य rather अन्य which means एक; then we go on to च and finally to वा; we begin with the first मण्डल and end with the tenth in each case, is at all; the accentuation marked is modern; the verbs in question are under lined.

× × ×

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अन्य-अन्य

I 1.95.1 द्वे॑ विरू॑पे चरतः स्व॑र्थे अन्यान्या वत्समुप धापयेते।
हरि॑रन्यस्यां भव॑ति स्वधावाञ्छुक्रो॑ अन्यस्यां ददृशे सुवर्चाः॥
(सा० भव॑ति। 'एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्' इति प्रथमायाः तिङविभक्तेः निघातप्रतिषेधः।)

× × ×

II. 1.164.20 द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परि षस्वजाते।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभि चाकशीति॥
(सा० Being lost in Vedantic, speculative interpretation, सायण has forgotten to take cognizance of the grammatical peculcuarities of this mantra.)

× × ×

III. 2.40.4 दिव्यन्यः सदनं चक्र उच्चा पृथिव्यामन्यो अध्यन्तरिक्षे।
तावस्मभ्यं पुरुवारं पुरुक्षुं रायस्पोषं वि ष्यतां नाभिमस्मे॥
(सायण is silent on our point)

× × ×

IV. 2.40.5 विश्वान्यन्यो भुवना जजान विश्वमन्यो अभिचक्षाण एति।
सोमापूषणाववतं धियं मे युवाभ्यां विश्वाः पृतना जयेम॥
(सायण is silent as above)

× × ×

V. 3.2.7 तिस्रो यह्वस्य समिधः परिज्मनोऽग्नेरपुनन्नुशिजो अमृत्यवः।
तासामेकामदधुर्मर्त्ये भुजमु लोकमु द्वे उप जामिमीयतुः॥
(सायण is woefully silent here-Grassmann rightly remarks [p. 296]—hier mit betontem Verb अदधुः [vgl Pāṇini 8.1.65]); this case is rather difficult as two different words एकाम् and द्वे are placed in juxtaposition

× × ×

VI. 3.55.11 नाना चक्राते यम्या वपूंषि तयोरन्यद्रोचते कृष्णमन्यत्।
श्यावी च यदरुषी च स्वसारौ महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम्॥
(सा० रोचते। 'एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्' इति न निघातः॥)

× × ×

VII. 6.49.3 अरुषस्य दुहितरा विरूपे स्तृभिरन्या पिपिशे सूरो अन्या।
मिथस्तुरा विचरन्ती पावके मन्म श्रुतं नक्षत ऋच्यमाने॥
(सायण is sient on the point)

× × ×

VIII. 6.52.16 अग्नीपर्जन्याववतं धियं मेऽस्मिन् हवे सुहवा सुष्टुतिं नः।
इळामन्यो जनयद् गर्भमन्यः प्रजावतीरिष आ धत्तमस्मे॥
(सायण is silent)

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IX. 6.68.3 ता गृणीहि नमस्ये॑भिः शूषैः सुम्नेभि॑रिन्द्रावरुणा चकाना।
वज्रेणान्यः शवसा हन्ति वृत्रं सिषक्त्यन्यो वृजनेषु विप्रः॥

(सायण is silent; सिषक्ति is accented becau e it begins a पाद here)

× × ×

X 7.83.9 वृत्राण्यन्यः समिथेषु जिघ्नते व्रतान्यन्यो अभि रक्षते सदा।
हवामहे वां वृषणा सुवृक्तिभिरस्मे इन्द्रावरुणा शर्म यच्छतम्॥

(सायण is silent)

× × ×

XI. 7.85.3 आपश्चिद्धि स्वयशसः सदःसु देवीरिन्द्रं वरुणं देवता धुः।
कृष्टीरन्यो धारयति प्रविक्ता वृत्राण्यन्यो अप्रतीनि हन्ति॥

(सायण is silent).

× × ×

चच

XII. 1.26.8 स्वग्नयो हि वार्यं देवासो दधिरे च नः।
स्वग्नयो मनामहे॥

(सा० 'हि च' (पा ८ १ ३४) इति निघातप्रतिषेधः।)

But according to Grassmann (p. 429) vielleicht auch 1.26.8 चवायोगे प्रथमा' (पा० 8.1.59)

× × ×

XIII. 1.35.11 ये ते पन्थाः सवितः पूर्व्यासोऽरेणवः सुकृता अन्तरिक्षे।
तेभिर्नो अद्य पथिभिः सुगेभी रक्षा च नो अधि च ब्रूहि देव॥

(सायण is naturally silent; the evidence is not conclusive, as रक्षा begins also as पाद)

× × ×

XIV. 1.40.6 तमिद्वोचेमा विदथेषु शंभुवं मन्त्रं देवा अनेहसम्।
इमां च वाचं प्रतिहर्यथा नरो विश्वेद्वामा वो अश्नवत्॥

(सा० प्रतिहर्यथ।......इमां च इत्यत्र चशब्दश्चेदर्थः।
चणिति निपातान्तरं न च समुच्चयाद्यर्थः) तेन 'निपातै-
र्यद्यदिहन्त कुविन्नेच्चेच्चण्०' (पा 8.1.30) इति निघातप्रतिषेधः।
(One may reasonably ask : why not becausc of च-इत् ?)

× × ×

XV. 1.74.6 आ च वहासि ताँ इह देवाँ उप प्रशस्तये।
हव्या सुश्चन्द्र वीतये॥

(सायण has nothing to say on accent).

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XVI. 1.76.4 प्रजावता वचसा वह्निरासा च हुवे नि च सत्सीह देवैः।
वेषि होत्रमुत पोत्रं यजत्र बोधि प्रयन्तर्जनितर्वसूनाम्॥
(सा० हुवे।....'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति निघातप्रतिषेधः।)

× × ×

XVII. 1.77.2 यो अध्वरेषु शंतम ऋतावा होता तमू नमोभिरा कृणुध्वम्।
अग्निर्यद्वेर्मर्ताय देवान्त्स चा बोधाति मनसा यजाति॥
(सा० बोधाति।...'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति निघातप्रतिषेधः।
Grassmann (p. 428) 'mit Betonung des ersten Verbs' see ऋ० 1.114.6 cd :
"रास्वा च नो अमृत मर्तभोजनं त्मने तोकाय तनयाय मळ॥"
But the evidence is not conclusive; रास्व being at the beginning of a पाद is accented.

× × ×

XVIII. 1.91.6 त्वं च सोम नो वशो जीवातुं न मरामहे।
प्रियस्तोत्रो वनस्पतिः॥
(सा० वशः।...त्वं च इति च शब्दः चणिति निपातान्तर चेदर्थम्। तद्योगात् 'निपातैर्यद्यदि हन्त कुविन्नेच्चेच्चण् कच्चिन् यत्रयुक्तम्' (पा 8.1.30) इति निघातप्रतिषेधः।
काशिका on the सूत्रः चण् णित्विशिष्टोऽयं चेदर्थे वर्तते। अयं च मरिष्यति।)

× × ×

XIX. 1.114.10 आरे ते गोघ्नमुत पूरुषघ्नं क्षयद्वीर सुम्नमस्मे ते अस्तु।
मृळा च नो अधि च ब्रूहि देवाधा च नः शर्म यच्छ द्विबर्हाः॥
(सा० is naturally silent on the point; the evidence of मृळा is inconclusive)

× × ×

XX. 1.123.12 अश्वावतीर्गोमतीर्विश्ववारा यतमाना रश्मिभिः सूर्यस्य।
परा च यन्ति पुनरा च यन्ति भद्रा नाम वहमाना उषासः॥
(सायण is silent on the point; but it is clearly a case of चवायोगे प्रथमा)

× × ×

XXI. 2.41.11 इन्द्रश्च मृळयाति नो न नः पश्चादघं नशत्।
भद्रं भवाति नः पुरः॥
(सायण is silent on the point, although the case is quite obviously one of चवायोगे प्रथमा)

× × ×

XXII. 3.43.4 आ च त्वामेता वृषणा वहातो हरी सखाया सुधुरा स्वङ्गा।
धानावदिन्द्रः सवनं जुषाणः सखा सख्युः शृणवद्वन्दनानि॥
(सा० वहातः।....'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति न निघातः शृणवत्।...निघातः।)

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XXIII. 3.53.20 अयमस्मान् वनस्पतिर्मा च हा मा च रीरिषत्।
स्वस्त्या गृहेभ्य आवसा आ विमोचनात्॥
(सा० हा०।.. 'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति न निघातः। रीरिषत्।...द्वितीयत्वात् निघातः।)

× × ×

XXIV. 6.34.1 सं च त्वे जग्मुर्गिर इन्द्र पूर्वीर्वि च त्वद्यन्ति विभ्वो मनीषाः।
पुरा नूनं च स्तुतय ऋषीणां पस्पृध्र इन्द्रे अध्युक्थार्का॥
(सायण is silent)

× × ×

XXV. 9.95.3 अपामिवेदूर्मयस्तर्तुराणाः प्र मनीषा ईरते सोममच्छ।
नमस्यन्तीरुप च यन्ति सं चा च विशन्त्युशतीरुशन्तम्॥
(सा० यन्ति। 'चवायोगे प्रथमा' इति न निघातः।')

× × ×

XXVI 10.108.3 कीदृङ्ङिन्द्रः सरमे का दृशीका यस्येदं दूतीरसरः पराकात्।
आ च गच्छान्मित्रमेना दधामाथा गवां गोपतिर्नो भवाति॥
(सायण is silent on the point)

× × ×

वा-वा

XXVII. 1.6.10 इतो वा सातिमीमहे दिवो वा पार्थिवादधि।
इन्द्रं महो वा रजसः॥
(सा० is profuse on this point here).
ईमहे।...न च 'तिङङतिङः' (पा ८.१.२४)
इति निघातः। 'चवायोगे प्रथमा' (पा० ८.१५९) इति निषेधात्। उत्तरवाक्ययोरपि हि वाशब्दयोगात् अन्यथा वाक्यापरिपूर्तेः तिङ्विभक्तेः अवश्यमध्याहारात् तदपेक्षया एषा प्रथमा तिङ्विभक्तिरिति।)
भट्टोजिदीक्षित in his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी echoes this on this सूत्र thus :—
"......इतो वा सातिमीमहे। उत्तरवाक्ययोरनुषञ्जनीयतिङन्तापेक्षया इयं प्राथमिकी।....प्रथमाग्रहणं द्वितीयादेस्तिङन्तस्य मा भूत॥"

Grassmann (p. 1248) remarks thus

"Insbesondere, wenn Hauptsatze die Glieder sind, so its das verb in ersten satz betont.....)

× × ×

XXVIII. 7.16.11 देवो वो द्रविणोदाः पूर्णा विवष्टया सिचम्।
उद्वा सिञ्चध्वमुप वा पृणध्वमादिद्वो देव ओहते॥
(सायण is silent on this point)

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XXIX. 7.104.9 ये पाकशंसं विहरन्त एवैर्ये वा भद्रं दूषयन्ति स्वधाभिः।
अहये वा तान् प्रददातु सोम आ वा दधातु निर्ऋतेरुपस्थे॥

(सायण is silent)

XXX. 10.10.14 अन्यमू षु त्वं यम्यन्य उ त्वां परि ष्वजाते लिबुजेव वृक्षम्।
तस्य वा त्वं मन इच्छा स वा तवाधा कृणुष्व संविदं सुभद्राम्॥

(सायण is silent)

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श्रीपरमगुरवे नमः

उणादिसूत्राणि पाणिनिश्च

लेखक

श्रीहरि अनन्त शास्त्री फडके, कुरुक्षेत्र-विश्वविद्यालय, पञ्जाब

परमाराध्यानामृषिकल्पानां डा० म० म० पद्मविभूषणगोपीनाथकविराजमहोदयानामभिनन्दनग्रन्थगङ्गासम्पर्केण किमपि विलिख्यात्मानं पावयितुमभिलषामः।

अष्टाध्याय्याः पाणिनिकर्तृकत्वे न संशेरते केचन, परन्तूणादिसूत्राणां सम्प्रति शाकटायनकर्तृकत्वेन प्रसिद्धानां पाणिनिःकर्ता शाकटायनो वेति विषये बहवः सन्दिहते। केचन कानिचित्प्रमाणानि प्रदर्श्य शाकटायन एव कर्तेति निश्चिन्वन्ति। अपरे पुनः तानि प्रमाणानि खण्डयित्वाऽन्यानि सङ्कलय्य पाणिनिरेव उणादिसूत्राणां कर्त्तेति सिद्धान्तयन्ति। तथाहि—

(१) वार्तिककारस्तत्र तत्र पाणिनिसूत्रविहितप्रत्ययजकार्याणामुणादिसूत्रविहितप्रत्ययेष्वतिव्याप्त्यादिदोषं प्रदर्श्य तन्निवारणार्थं तत्र तत्र वार्तिकानि निर्माति। तेन ज्ञायते वार्तिककारः पाणिनिमेवोणादिसूत्राणां कर्तारं मनुते नो चेदुणादिसूत्राणां शाकटायनकर्तृकत्वे तद्गतप्रत्ययेषु समागतातिव्याप्त्यादिदोषवारणार्थं वार्तिकप्रणयनं तस्य व्यर्थं समापद्येत, न हि शास्त्रकाराः स्वशास्त्रीयकार्यनिर्वाहार्थं रचितानां सङ्केतानां पारिभाषिकशब्दादीनां वा व्याकरणान्तरसम्पादितप्रत्ययादिष्वतिव्याप्त्यादिदोषवारणार्थं प्रयतमाना दृश्यन्ते।

(२) तथा भाष्यकारोऽपि वार्तिककारप्रदर्शितदोषवारणार्थं वार्तिककारकृतवार्तिकखण्डनार्थं विशेषतश्चेष्टमानो दृश्यते "भगवतः पाणिनेः प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च सिद्धम्", "उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि" इत्यादिकं तत्र तत्र भाषते, क्वचिद्व्युत्पन्नान्यपि मत्वा समाधत्ते चेत्यन्यत् तेन सोऽपि वार्तिककार इवोणादिसूत्राणि पाणिनिकर्तृकाणीति मन्यते। नोचेदुणादिसूत्राणामन्यकर्तृकत्वेन व्याकरणान्तरत्वेन तत्र दोषदानमनुचितमित्यादिकं किमपि कथयेत्। परन्तु तेन तथा नोक्तम्।

(३) कैयटमतं तु सुस्पष्टं नास्ति, यतस्तेन सुस्पष्टमेतद्विषये किमपि कुत्रापि न लिखितं तथापि नागेश इव सोऽप्युणादिसूत्राणां शाकटायनकर्तृकत्वं मनुत इति प्रतिभाति।

(४) नागेशभट्टस्तु, सुस्पष्टं सुविस्तरं सप्रमाणं च प्रतिपादयत्युणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनेन कृतानीति। एतत्त्वग्रे सविस्तरं समालोचयिष्यामः।

(५) "पाणिनेः संस्कृतवाङ्मये स्थानम्" लन्दननगर १७६ पृष्ठे स्वमतं लिखति पाणिनिकर्तृकाण्युणादिसूत्राणीति।

(Panini : His place in Sanskrit Literature by Theodor Goldstucker, London P.176-7.)

(६) उज्वलदत्तटीकाया लेखकः थिओडर आफ्रे महोदयः (बान, जर्मनी, ईशवीय १८५९ वर्षे) प्रस्तावनापृष्ठेऽष्टमे सुस्पष्टं लिखितवान् शाकटायनकर्तृकाण्युणादिसूत्राणीति।

(Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Uṇādisūtras by Theodor Aufrecht, Bonn. 1859, Pref. p. viii.)

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(७) के० बी० पाठकमहोदयः बी० ए० पदवीकः पुण्यपत्तनस्थः 'Further remarks on the Uṇādisūtras of Pāṇini' प्रथमभागे लिखति पाणिनिकर्तृकाण्युणादिसूत्राणीति।

(८) पण्डितः श्रीमान् जी० एस्० पदे एम्० ए० महोदयो वटोदर(बड़ोदा)वास्तव्यः ताम्बूलमञ्जिरिग्रन्थे लिखति शाकटायनकर्तृकाण्युणादिसूत्राणीति। अनेन नूतनानि कानिचित्प्रमाणान्युद्धृतानि, तथान्येषां मतानि खण्डयित्वा स्वमतं सप्रमाणं सविस्तरं च साधु प्रत्यपादि।

एवं च विवादग्रस्ते सन्देहबहुले विशिष्टविद्वत्पराक्रान्ते चास्मिन् विषये निश्चयोत्पादकं किमपि नूत्नं वक्तुं प्रवर्तामहे।

विवेचनप्रारम्भात्पूर्वमेकतः सर्वमान्या निश्चिताश्च, एवं सन्देहोत्पादकाश्च केचन विषया विदुषां पाठकानां पुरतः समुपस्थाप्यन्ते येन विषयज्ञानं सुसुखं भवेत्।

(क) शाकटायनो वैयाकरणः पाणिनि-यास्क-वार्तिककार-भाष्यकाराणां मान्यस्तेभ्यः परमप्राचीनश्च।

(ख) पाणिनिर्निरुक्तकारयास्कात्पूर्वं जातस्तस्य मान्यश्च, यतः स "वैयाकरणानां चैके" अत्रत्य 'एके' पदेन पाणिनिं परामृशति। संहितालक्षणं कथयता यास्केन "परः संनिकर्षः संहिता" (१, ४) इति पाणिनेः सूत्रमेवोद्धृतम्। पाणिनिना तु कुत्रापि यास्कस्य नाम तन्निरुक्तस्य ग्रन्थस्य वा संकेतोऽपि न कृतः।

(ग) व्युत्पत्तिपक्षोऽव्युत्पत्तिपक्षश्चोभौ पाणिनेर्मान्यौ स उभयथा सूत्राणि "अर्थवदधातु०", "कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च" इति प्रणिनाय।

(घ) उणादिप्रत्ययप्रारम्भस्थमुण्-प्रत्ययविधायकं "कृवापाजि०" इति सूत्रं पाणिनेर्मान्यम्, यतस्तेन "उणादयो बहुलम्" इति सूत्रं व्यरचि।

(ङ) प्रचलितेषु शाकटायनकृतित्वेन प्रसिद्धेषूणादिसूत्रेषु पाणिनिरचिताः प्रत्याहार-अनुबन्ध-अनुबन्धनिमित्तककार्य-गुणवृद्धि-प्रभृतयः सर्वे संकेता अङ्गीकृताः।

(च) अष्टाध्यायीसूत्ररचनाकौशलमुणादिसूत्रेषु नोपलभ्यते, प्रत्युत तत्र अनेके दोषाः समुपलभ्यन्ते, "अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः" एषोक्तिरष्टाध्यायीसूत्रकृते सुफलति, नोणादिसूत्राणां कृते।

(छ) भाष्यवार्तिककालतः पूर्वमष्टाध्यायीसूत्रैरुणादिसूत्राणां च कश्चन सम्बन्धविशेषः प्रचलति। येन पाणिनिसूत्रबोध्यकार्याणामुणादिष्वापत्तिं प्रदर्श्य तद्वारणार्थं भाष्यकारो वार्तिककारो वा सबद्धपरिकरं चेष्टते।

सम्प्रत्युणादिसूत्रविषये पाणिनिकर्तृकाणि शाकटायनकृतानि वेमानीति सन्देहोत्पादकहेतुजातं प्रदर्श्यते—

(१) अष्टाध्यायीसूत्रसिद्धशब्दसिद्ध्यर्थमप्युणादिसूत्राणि रचितानि यथा पलितशब्दः, "फलेरितजादेश्च पः" उणा० ५, ७१२। "अतः कृकमि०" सूत्रे कमेः पृथक् कंसशब्दग्रहणं पाणिनिः करोति। वस्तुतः कमिधातुग्रहणेनैव कमिधातोर्निष्पन्नस्य "कमेः सः" इत्यौणादिककंसशब्दस्य ग्रहणे जाते पुनः कंसशब्दग्रहणमुणादीनामन्यकर्तृकत्वं बोधयति।

(२) पाणिनिव्याकरणे केचन प्रत्ययविशेषा उपलभ्यन्ते यथा "तितुत्रथ०", "अयामन्ताल्वा०" इत्यत्र, तेषां फलानि पाणिनिव्याकरणेन न सिध्यन्ति, तदर्थमुणादिसूत्राणां साहाय्यग्रहणं समापद्यते, तेन ज्ञायते उणादिसूत्राणि पाणिनिकर्तृकाणीति।

एवं द्विविधे विचारे विदुषां चेतसि सन्देहः प्रादुर्भवति, केन कृतानीमान्युणादिसूत्राणीति।

अयं सन्देहः सम्प्रत्येव जात इति न समस्ति, नागेशसमये ततः पूर्वं कैय्यटसमये वर्तिककारभाष्यकारसमयेऽपि तु प्रचलितत्वात्। परन्तु विषयेऽस्मिन् नागेशेनैव केन विस्तृतं विविच्योणादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनेन तदनुसारिभिर्विद्वद्भिश्च विरचितानीति सिद्धान्तितम्। अमुं विषयमग्रे समालोचयिष्यामः।

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अत्र प्रकृतविषयोपकारकमस्माकं निवेदनमस्ति, तद्यथा—

(क) अष्टाध्याय्यां शाकटायन-गार्ग्य-भारद्वाज-शाकल्य-सेनकादीनां बहूनां वैयाकरणानां नामनिर्देशपूर्वकं मतभेदप्रदर्शनं पाणिनिनाऽकारि। एतेषां वैयाकरणानां प्रामाणिका ग्रन्थाः सम्प्रति नोपलभ्यन्ते। सर्वसंग्राहकपाणिनिव्याकरणेनैव गतार्थत्वात्तेषाम्। तेषां ग्रन्थाः सर्वे सर्वथा एकस्वरूपा भवेयुरितिवक्तुं न शक्यते। यतः सम्प्रत्यपि समुपलब्ध-कातन्त्र-मुग्धबोध-जैनेन्द्र-सारस्वत-प्रभृतिव्याकरणानां स्वरूप-सूत्र-प्रत्याहार-सङ्केत-परिभाषादीनां भिन्नतयोपलभ्यमानत्वेन दृष्टानुसारिकल्पनायाः प्राचीनकालेऽपि कर्तुं सर्वथोचितत्वात्, एकेन व्याकरणेन कार्यसिद्धावन्येषां निरर्थकत्वाच्च। अतः केवलं तैरनेकैर्व्याकरणैः सिद्धानि शब्दरूपाणि समानान्येव। क्वचनाल्पस्थानेषु मतभेदो दृश्यते। तं च मतभेदं ततोऽपरकालिका वैयाकरणाः स्वरचितव्याकरणग्रन्थेषु प्रदर्शयन्ति स्म, यथासौ पाणिनिना प्रदर्शितः। तत्प्रदर्शनार्थं तेन नामनिर्देशः कृतः। परन्तु यत्र 'विभाषा', 'वा', 'अन्यतरस्याम्' इति शब्दाः प्रयुक्तास्तत्र सर्वेषां मते रूपद्वयं मान्यमस्ति। पाणिनेः समये ये प्रयोगा लोके विशेषतया न प्रचलिताः किन्तु प्राचीनग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यन्ते स्म तेषां बहुविधानि रूपाणि च। येषां शब्दानां नानुगमो यत्र कर्तुं शक्यते तत्र तेन बहुलग्रहणं कृत्वा सूचितं लोकाश्रयत्वमत्रावलम्बनीयमिति।

(ख) पाणिनिसूत्रेषु येषां वैयाकरणानां नामान्युपलभ्यन्त तेषां ग्रन्थाः सर्वविधव्याकरणविभागेषु स्युरिति प्रतिभाति, यथा "त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य", "लङः शाकटायनस्यैव", "व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य" इति सूत्राणि दृष्ट्वा शाकटायनव्याकरणं सन्धि-वर्णोच्चार-तिङ्प्रकरणादिषु स्यादिति सम्भाव्यते। आस्तामिदम्।

नागेशः "उणादयो बहुलम्" इत्यस्य सूत्रस्य विवरणे लिखति "वैदिकानां रूढानां संज्ञाशब्दानां च सर्वेषां प्रातिस्विकरूपेण साधुत्वबोधनस्याशक्यत्वाच्छास्त्रान्तरे प्रायः समुच्चयनादि कृतं, तेषां सर्वेषां साधुत्वज्ञानाय चानेनाचार्येण बहुलग्रहणं कृतं, तेनात्र व्याकरणे सर्वेषामसङ्ग्रहेऽप्यसंन्दिग्धं साधुत्वं बोधितम्, पाणिनिशास्त्रबोधितानामेवेदानीं साधुत्वात्" इति (शेखरः)। एवमुद्योतेऽपि "एवं च कृवापेत्यादिसूत्राणि शाकटायनस्येति सूचितम्" (३, ३, १) इति।

अत्र विषये नागेशमतं समर्थयता विदुषा वटोदरवास्तव्येन पण्डितवरेण जी० एस्० पदे महोदयेन बहु लिखितं तत्तात्पर्यमित्थम्—"सर्वं हि नाम धातुजम्", इत्यादिषु निर्दिष्टशाकटायनेन पाणिनेः पूर्वं जातेन कानिचिदुणादिसूत्राणि प्रथमतो निर्मितानि। तेषां त्यागं कर्तुमसमर्थेन पाणिनिना स्वव्याकरणस्य सर्वसङ्ग्राहकत्वं सम्पादयितुम् "उणादयो बहुलम्" इत्याकारकेणैकेन सूत्रेण तत्सङ्ग्रहः कृतः। ततो भिन्ने भिन्ने समये समुत्पन्नैः शाकटायनमतानुसारिभिरनेकवैयाकरणैर्बहूनि सूत्राणि रचितानि, तेषां सूत्राणामेव सर्वथा पञ्चपादी-दशपादीति प्रपञ्च उपलभ्यते। तेषां बहूनां सूत्राणामेककर्तृकत्वाभावेन तद्रचनासु शैथिल्य-पुनरुक्तिप्रभृतयो दोषाः समुपलभ्यन्त इति तु स्वाभाविकमेव।"

एवं पाणिनिपूर्वशाकटायन उणादिसूत्र कृदिति मतमपि न सर्वशङ्कोच्छेदकम्। तत्र कल्पनां विहाय न किञ्चित्प्रबलं प्रमाणम्॥

सर्वशङ्कानिवारणार्थं प्राचीनग्रन्थनिर्दिष्टं शाकटायनद्वयमङ्गीकरणीयम्। एकः पाणिनेः पूर्वं जातः, यस्य निर्देशः पाणिनिना स्वसूत्रेषु कृतः, तस्य व्याकरणं व्याकरणस्य सर्वविधविभागेष्वासीत्। अपरश्च पाणिनेरनन्तरजातो यास्कवार्तिककार-भाष्यकारेभ्यः पूर्वं जातः "सर्वं हि नाम धातुज . . . शकटस्य च तोक" मित्यादिषु निर्दिष्टः। स च पाणिनेः कानिचिदुणादिसूत्राणि दृष्ट्वा बहुलग्रहणं सर्वसंग्राहकं च मत्वाऽनेकान्युणादिसूत्राणि विरच्य्य पाणिनिरचितोणादिसूत्रेषु संयोजितवान्। स च पाणिनिनिर्मितसञ्ज्ञापरिभाषादिकं सर्वं प्रमाणतया गृहीतवान्। वार्तिककारभाष्यकारौ च पाणिनिकृतोणादिसूत्रपाठं द्वितीयशाकटायननिर्मितसूत्रैः संमिश्रितं जानीतः स्म, परन्तु पाणिनेः सूत्राणि कति किमाकाराणि, द्वितीयशाकटायनस्य कति किं प्रकाराणि चेति विशिष्टज्ञानाभावात्तत्र तत्र पाणिनिसूत्रबोध्यकार्यजातस्योणादिप्रत्यये-

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ष्वव्याप्त्यतिव्याप्तिदोषं प्रदर्श्य तन्निवारणार्थम् "उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि" इति समादधतुः। अस्येदं तात्पर्यं पाणिनिरेतेषु शब्देषु व्युत्पत्तिपक्षं नाङ्गीकरोति किन्तु रूढाः इमे शब्दा इति मनुत इति।

शाकटायनद्वयं ऋषिगोत्रावल्यामुपलभ्यते, एको भृगुगोत्रान्तर्गतः, अन्यश्चाङ्गिरसगोत्रोत्पन्नः। अपरश्च स्मृतिकर्तृत्वेन प्रसिद्धः। परश्च ऋगादिप्रातिशाख्येषु निर्दिष्टः (ऋक् प्रा० १७, ७४७; शुक्लयजुः प्रा० ३, ८, ९; १२, ४, ५०; १२७, १८९; अथर्व प्रा० २, ३४)।

शाकटायनाः चत्वारो भवन्तु न वा, द्वौ तु विद्येते एव भिन्नगोत्रजत्वादिति तु निश्चप्रचमेव।

निबन्धस्यास्य तात्पर्यम्—

(क) पाणिनिनिर्दिष्टेन शाकटायनेनोणादिसूत्राणि न रचितानि।

(ख) पाणिनिना कानिचिद्रचितानि परन्त्वेतत्करणं सर्वथाशक्यमिति बहुलग्रहणं कृत्वा विषयेऽत्र लोकाश्रयत्वावलम्बनं सूचितम्।

(ग) पाणिनेरनन्तरजातेन द्वितीयशाकटायनेन यास्क-वार्तिककार-भाष्यकारेभ्यः पूर्वं जातेन च बहुलग्रहणमन्यसङ्ग्राहकं मत्वा कानिचित्सूत्राणि कृत्वा पाणिन्युणादिसूत्रेषु योजितानि।

(घ) वार्तिककारभाष्यकारयोः पाणिनिकृतद्वितीयशाकटायनकृतोणादिसूत्रज्ञानसामान्यसत्त्वेऽपि कस्य किमाकारकं सूत्रमिति प्रातिस्विकज्ञानाभावेन ताभ्यां तत्र तत्र परीक्षां कृत्वा निर्णयः कृतः।

(ङ) कैयटनागेशप्रभृतीनां शाकटायनद्वयज्ञानाभावात्पाणिनिनिर्दिष्टः शाकटायनः एवोणादिसूत्राणां कर्तेति पाणिनिनोणादिसूत्राणि न कृतानीति ज्ञानसत्त्वात्कथञ्चन समाधानं कर्तव्यत्वेनापन्नम्।

(च) पञ्चपादी-दशपादीत्यादिषु समये समये भिन्नैर्वैयाकरणैः सूत्राणि विरचय्य पाणिनिरचित-द्वितीयशाकटायनरचितोणादिसूत्रेषु प्रक्षेपः कृतः इति शम्।

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FRESH FORMATIONS IN HINDI

By

DR. BABURAM SAKSENA, RAIPUR

Modern standard (as well as literary) forms of New Indo-Aryan are borrowing directly from Sanskrit, and Hindi is no exception. In doing so, however, some forms, patently incorrect according to Sanskrit grammar, are being adopted by Hindi. The typical examples are :

Sakṣama and *saśaṅkita* where a gratuitous *sa-* has been added on the wrong analogy of *sa-putra*, *sa-gotra* etc.

Simultaneously, spoken dialects are accepting new formations which have been regularised. For instance :

Skt. *vratin* should have given the form *bartī* ∠ *vratī* masc. sg. but which is regularised now as

bartā masc. sg.
bartē masc. pl.
bartī fem. sg. and pl.

Similarly *maṅgalin* should give *maṅgalī* in masc., but which is used in fem. also in my dialect. In another dialect it has now been regularised as :

maṅgalā masc. sg.
maṅgalī fem. sg.

The inescapable conclusion is that Sanskrit is a real living force in the development of New Indo-Aryan.

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नव्य भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं का एक विवादास्पद शब्द 'जंजाल'

लेखक

डॉ० भोलानाथ तिवारी, दिल्ली

'जंजाल' नव्य भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं के उन शब्दों में है, जिनकी व्युत्पत्ति बहुत ही विवादास्पद है। विभिन्न भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं में इसके रूप हैं: हिन्दी-नेपाली-पंजाबी-लहंदी-बंगाली-असमिया-मराठी-'जंजाल', गुजराती-उड़िया 'जंजाळ्', सिंधी 'जंजालु' आदि। इसका अर्थ है झंझट, बखेड़ा, प्रपंच, फँसाव आदि। प्लाट्स ने अपने प्रसिद्ध कोश[१] में इसे संस्कृत 'जन+जाल' से व्युत्पन्न माना है। रामचन्द्र वर्मा के हिन्दी कोश[२] तथा नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा काशी के कोशों में इसे 'जग+जाल से संबद्ध किया गया है। टर्नर[३] ने इसकी व्युत्पत्ति पर कुछ प्रकाश न डालकर इसे नेपाली में गृहीत शब्द (loan word) बताया है। उल्लेख्य है कि टर्नर का नेपाली कोश व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण है। कश्मीरी में यह शब्द[४] 'जंजाल' 'ज्यंजाल' तथा 'जंजॉलि' आदि कई रूपों में मिलता है, किन्तु ग्रियर्सन ने अपने कश्मीरी कोश[५] में कुछ भी ऐसा नहीं दिया है जिससे इसके मूल के सम्बन्ध में कुछ ज्ञात हो सके। कृष्णाजी पांडुरंग कुलकर्णी ने अपने मराठी कोश[६] में सं० जंज, जज (=युद्ध) से इसे जोड़ा है। मेहता-द्वय ने अपने गुजराती कोश[७] में इस शब्द को 'जाल' का द्विरुक्त (अभ्यस्त) रूप माना है। हेमचन्द्र बरुआ ने अपने प्रसिद्ध आसामी कोश[८] में हिन्दी कोशों की तरह इसे 'जग + जाल से संबद्ध किया है। आसामी भाषा के एक दूसरे विद्वान् बानी कान्त काकती[९] इसे खासी शब्द 'जिंजार' से विकसित मानते हैं। खासी भाषा में भी 'जिंजार' इसी अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होता है, साथ ही ध्वन्यात्मक दृष्टि से भी दोनों में पर्याप्त समानताएँ हैं। ज्ञानेन्द्रमोहन दास ने अपने बंगाली कोश[१०] में इसके मूल में संस्कृत झंझा का भाव माना है। मैं स्वयं इसे देनाज शब्द मानता रहा हूँ। इस प्रकार 'जंजाल' शब्द की छः व्युत्पत्तियाँ (जग +जाल; जन+जाल; सं० जंज, जज (=युद्ध) से; जाल का द्विरुक्त रूप; सं० झंझा भाववाला देशज) सामने आ चुकी हैं।

प्रस्तुत पंक्तियों के लेखक को इधर प्रायः दो वर्षों तक मध्य एशिया में रहने का अवसर मिला। वहाँ यह देखकर आश्चर्य हुआ कि यह शब्द वहाँ की कई भाषाओं में इसी रूप में और इसी अर्थ में प्रचलित है। ऐसी स्थिति में इसके किसी संस्कृत शब्द से विकसित होने या भारत में इसके देशज होने की संभावना कम ही है। मुझे लगता है कि यह शब्द विदेशी है, और मूलतः कदाचित् तुर्की वर्ग की भाषाओं का है। पूर्वी तुर्किस्तान की प्रसिद्ध भाषा उजबेक में यह शब्द है।[११] वहाँ से यह शब्द प्रभाव स्वरूप ताजिक भाषा में आया। ताजिक में इसका रूप और अर्थ प्रायः यही है। इसके ताजिक में उज्बेक से आने का अनुमान मैं इसलिए लगा रहा हूँ कि मूलतः ताजिक भाषा फारसी का ही एक रूप है, और इसके अपने शब्द वे ही हैं जो फ़ारसी के हैं, किन्तु फ़ारसी में जंजाल शब्द नहीं है।[१२] साथ ही ताजिक में जो शब्द फ़ारसीतर हैं, अधिकांशतः उज्बेक ही हैं। 'जंजाल' शब्द अफ़गानी या पश्तो[१३] में भी है। वहाँ यह उज्बेक तथा ताजिक से आया है। अफ़ग़ानिस्तान का ताज़िकिस्तान तथा उज्बेकिस्तान से संस्कृति, व्यापार तथा राजनीति के स्तर पर बहुत घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है तथा अनेक ताजिक एवं उज्बेक शब्द अफ़ग़ानी में आ गए हैं। भारत में यह शब्द तुर्क-ताजिक अफ़ग़ान सेना के साथ कदाचित् आया। कहना न होगा कि भारत में आनेवाले अनेक मुसलमान आक्रमणकारियों

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की सेना में तुर्क, ताजिक तथा अफ़गान तीनों ही थे। किन्तु जब तक इस 'जंजाल' शब्द से संबद्ध अन्य शब्द तुर्की परिवार की भाषाओं में नहीं मिलते तब तक इस विषय में निश्चय कोटि पर नहीं पहुँचा जा सकता।

भारतीय साहित्य में इस शब्द का प्राचीनतम प्रयोग गोरखनाथ में मिलता है। उनमें यह शब्द तीन स्थलों पर आया है। एक उदाहरण है—"व्यापै न्यंद्रा झंपै काल, ताके हिरदै सदा जंजाल'।" चरपट नाथ[१६] (चरपट कहै ए संऊआल जंजाल) कबीर (कबीर[१७] सुमिरन सार है, और सकल जंजाल) सूरदास[१८] (मेटि जंजाल ब्रज-जन उबार्‌यो) तथा तुलसीदास (सठ तेहि भजु छाँड़ि कपट जंजाल) आदि में भी यह शब्द आया है। इसका आशय यह है कि नव्य भारोपीय आर्य भाषाओं के प्रारम्भिक काल में ही यह शब्द शब्द-समूह का अंग बन चुका था।

सन्दर्भ—सूत्र

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A RE-APPRAISAL OF PANINI

By

DR. D. N. SHASTRI, MEERUT

In the whole range of intellectual creations of ancient Indians, there is no work indicative of sharper mental activity than the Aṣṭādhyāyā of Pāṇini. Within the compass of nearly 4000 aphorisms, all the rules of the formation of Sanskrit words—general rules exceptions and counter-exceptions—have been compressed in a form which admits of no further brevity. It cannot be ascertained how far Pāṇini was indebted to his predecessors, but the complicated system in which the intricate process of the formation of Sanskrit words is presented will stagger the imagination of any modern scientist. If the modern method of experimentation in physical sciences had existed at that time, and the same brain would have been applied to it, the world might have witnessed the miracle of modern sciences long before the Christian era.

As a result of Pāṇini's work, Sanskrit language acquired stability which is a unique linguistic phenomenon. Ordinarily, a language by its very nature undergoes a constant change; it changes at a distance of a few miles, and also at an interval of a few years. The change is quicker in the case of spoken dialects. Literary forms of a language also undergo a change, but it is not so quick and continuous. All the same, it is discernible after an interval of long periods or long distances. Sanskrit presents, in this respect, a unique feature. It became changeless both in point of time and distance since the time of Pāṇini. Sanskrit has been cultivated throughout the history of India. Compositions, scientific as well as literary, were produced in Sanskrit in all the ages more or less in the same kind of idiom. Sanskrit written by Vālmiki more than three thousand years ago, is practically the same, at least in point of intelligibility, as composed by a Sanskrit writer of today. Sanskrit written in Kashmir, the northern-most extremity of India is the same as composed at a distance of more than 2000 miles, in Kerala, the southern-most part of the country. This changelessness of Sanskrit became possible because of the over-bearing authority of Pāṇini which was scruplously obeyed by every writer. Any deviation from Pāṇini's rules of Grammar was regarded almost sinful. On account of this phenomenon of changelessness, Sanskrit was held to be *deva-bhāṣā*, the language of gods who are supposed to enjoy perpetual youth and suffer no change or decay.

It is also due to the same fact of changelessness that Sanskrit has been one of the greatest factors of the unity of India. Not only does Sanskrit constitute geographical unity in as much as it is spoken and understood throughout the length and breadth of this country, but what is more significant and constitutes a deeper unity is the fact that Sanskrit brings

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about a unique historical unity between the present and the past. The consciousness that the same language which we use today was the medium of thought and expression of our ancestors makes us one with the past and its cultural contents.

In modern India, and even more in some of the foreign countries, people are passionately taking to the study of Sanskrit. But an appropriate instrument for the quick and easy learning of Sanskrit still remains a desideratum. A large number of Sanskrit grammars have been prepared by eminent Sanskrit scholars of the West, and some by Indians as well. Their frightening tables of declensions and conjugations would scare away any prospective student of Sanskrit. It is a strange situation that in this age of science, the scientific grammar of Sanskrit should not be used by those who study Sanskrit on modern lines. In the orthodox circles, of course, Pāṇini's work continues to be studied in the form called *prakriyā* as found in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, which, although serving a practical purpose, is nothing but distortion of the scienctific arrangement of Pāṇini's work. It would be greatly helpful if a scholar were to devote himself to critically examine merits and demerits of the *prakriyā* system of Pāṇini's work. It will go a long way to find out the proper method of the study of Pāṇini's work itself.

The object of the present paper is, however, different; it is to examine how far Pāṇini's work can be helpful in the study of Sanskrit in modern age. My unbounded admiration for the work of Pāṇini notwithstanding, I have come to the conclusion that Pāṇini's work studied in its original form or in its *prakriyā* arrangement, cannot be helpful in the study of Sanskrit at least in the circumstances of our present day life. I give some of the reasons below :—

(i) Extremely complicated and elaborate system of Pāṇini's work, although systematic and scientific, requires a good deal of time, energy and patience for its proper understanding. If one can devote sufficient time on it, he will have undoubtedly a great intellectual treat by the study of a scientific work and also command over Sanskrit grammar in addition. But in the conditions of modern life, is this possible for an average reader who wants to study Sanskrit in the shortest possible time ? Although the study of Pāṇini's work as a scientific pursuit may be greatly rewarding, it may be too exacting if undertaken merely with the object of learning Sanskrit.

(ii) A large number of aphorisms of Pāṇini's work deal with the usages in the Vedic language. They are inextricably mixed up with other aphorisms, and one who wants to study Pāṇini's work systematically will have to study these aphorisms also.

(iii) Apart from the mention of the Vedic language, there are some archaic forms treated in Pāṇini's work. They are not in vogue; atleast some of them have never been so from the time of Bhāsa or Kālidāsa. To give just only two examples : In the very sixth aphorism of Pāṇini's work (I.i.6), it has been laid down that in the case of roots दीधी and वेवे, there is no change of ई to ए (in the former) and that of ए to ऐ (in the latter), and we have therefore forms, आदीध्यनम् and आवेव्यनम्. Now, these forms, so far as I have able to trace, have nowhere been used in the Sanskrit works of post-Christian era. Further,

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Pāṇini lays down (I.i.36) that the word अन्तर in the sense of 'exterior' or in the sense of 'wearable (cloth)' takes two forms in the first case plural. The word अन्तर ordinarily means 'interior'. Its use in the sense of 'exterior' is wholly archaic. Similarly, another sense assigned to it, viz., 'wearable cloth' appears to be even more archaic. Even the word उपसंव्यान which Pāṇini uses to indicate the sense of अन्तर as 'wearable cloth' is as archaic as the word अन्तर itself in that sense. Both these examples have been taken just from the 1st part of the 1st chapter; they can be multiplied.[1]

Of course Pāṇini wanted to make his work comprehensive and exhaustive, to cover all known forms, but we living in the present age can ill afford to learn such archaic forms.

(iv) Besides general rules and such important exceptions which cover a large number of Sanskrit forms, there are good many exceptions in Pāṇini's work which cover just one or two words. Such exceptional forms can be grammatically explained, as they occur in the course of some text, but to learn them alongwith general rules of grammar would require much avoidable labour. These minor exceptions are again inextricably mixed up with general rules.

(v) There is however, a basic point which deserves to be noted in the present context. Pāṇini's work aims at evolving a process of formation of each word from its basic root. It is not confined, like grammars of other languages, to showing merely the declensional, conjugational or other affixes which are added to a finished base. In other words, his work is concerned with internal formation of words (शब्दसिद्धि) in which every kind of change or addition is to be scruplously covered under general rules or its exceptions. It is not enough to note conjugational forms such as पठति, पपाठ, अपठत्, etc. or declensional forms such as रामेण, रामाय, रामेषु, but it is also necessary to learn the full process of adding affixes and changes and additions by which we arrive at these finished forms. Formulation of the process of internal changes was necessary in order to ensure purity of various forms of words which was to be guarded jealously. Of course, in olden days people could afford to study and master the intricate process of internal formation. Even now we may maintain a limited class of scholars who would be repositories of the ancient tradition. But an average student of Sanskrit cannot afford to learn this intricate process.

(vi) Another point which deserves consideration is regarding the relative position of conjugational forms in the course of development from the Vedic language downwards. Vedic language is marked by a luxurious variety of complicated conjugational system in which every shade of action is distinctly indicated by a particular conjugational form. After that there has been a continuous process of the loss of conjugational forms. But a considerable portion of Pāṇini's work is concerned with the elaborate treatment of conjugatioanl forms which were used in the later Vedic period. They are superfluous, to a great extent, so far as the developed diction of classical Sanskrit is concerned. For a student whose aim is to be able to understand Sanskrit texts and to write and speak that language, Pāṇini's work with such an elaborate treatment of conjugational system, would only be an unnecessary burden.

(vii) It is also worth noting that Pāṇini deals with Sanskrit as a spoken and not as

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a written language. Although the art of writing was introduced or invented in India long before the time of Pāṇini, it came to be used in learned circles only gradually. And so far as the orthodox circles were concerned, oral tradition in the study of Sanskrit continued almost till as late as the 19th century. In a speech which had only an oral basis, there developed many niceties of pronunciation not only in the circles of the Vedic reciters but, owing to their influence, in ordinary spoken Sanskrit as well. This accounts for the duplication and even triplication of consonants in certain positions, and also for optional disappearance of the same. For example, it has been laid down that if after a vowel, there is a conjunct letter beginning with any consonant except 'h' and 'r' the first consonant of the conjunct letter may be reduplicated optionally.[2] Another rule lays down that the reduplicated consonant may optionally be dropped.[3] In place of धर्म and सत्य this rule gives optional forms धर्म्म and सत्त्य which are seldom used. By the application of these rules, consonants are sometimes not only duplicated but even triplicated or made fourfold and then, these additions are optionally dropped.[4] There are some rules, due to the niceties of Vedic recitation influencing ordinary Sanskrit, which may have to be even discarded. For instance, it is laid down : when a long ई or ऊ at the end of a word is followed by a dissimilar vowel, the former may become short optionally,[5] and we may therefore have देवि आगच्छति in place of देवी आगच्छति. Obviously, the former looks too awakward to be accepted as correct. Further, according to VIII, 4, 47[6] the last consonant may be doubled in such cases as, वाक्क्, त्वक्क्, or षट्ट्. Who would accept this kind of duplication in these words ? It was permissible only for pronunciation purposes. It would thus appear that a section of Pāṇini's work dealing with such rules is not only superfluous, but may have even to be discarded.

(viii) In some cases there is a possibility of even making an improvement on Pāṇini's work. In dealing with various letters of the alphabet, Pāṇini has devised an ingenious method of groupings of letters called *pratyāhāras*. It has been noticed by the present writer and confirmed by experiments that in the case of the rules of Sandhi (Euphonic combination). If we discard groupings by *pratyāhāras* and take recourse to groupings based on phonetic affinites of letters, it would mean not only economy of time and energy, but it would also ensure a more intelligent and more easy way of learning Sandhi. We may take an example: When according to a Sandhi rule, *visarga* preceded by a short अ is followed by letters of हश् group, it changes to उ. Now if instead of हश् we say 'followed by a ghosa (sonant) consonant' it would be easier to grasp. The present writer has been teaching for a long time the Sandhi rules on the basis of phonetic affinities of letters. He found this method more effective and easy. It is certain that atleast so far as the teaching of Sandhi is concerned, rules of Pāṇini based on *pratyāhāra* groups can be replaced by groups based on phonetic affinities.

(ix) The notion that Pāṇini was infallible also deserves to be revised. Undoubtedly, he was a great genius but some of his errors can surely be detected. Of such errors, only three may be noticed here :—

(a) Pāṇini holds that the root गम् (to go) is transitive. Its equivalent English root 'to go' is intransitive. It can easily be shown that to hold this root to be transitive is

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erroneous. In the sentence "स ग्रामं गच्छति" ग्राम (village) is not an object, as 'book' is in the sentence "पुस्तकं पठति". Village in the former sentence is only a destination or aim of the action. This can also be demonstrated by pointing out that the past-participle is used in active voice only with intransitive roots, and never with transitive ones (e.g. "स सुप्तः", "स मृतः"). But with a transitive root like पठ्, it can be used only in the passive voice, and never in the active (e. g., "तेन पुस्तकं पठितम्"). But 'क्त' is used with 'गम्' in the active voice, e. g., 'स ग्रामं गतः'. Pāṇini, therefore, in the context of 'क्त' had to place root 'गम्' along with intransitive roots.

(b) There is an error in Pāṇini's arrangement of consonants. Stop consonants are arranged according to the position of their points of articulation in the mouth cavity. For example, we begin with gutturals (कवर्ग) which are pronounced from the innermost point (near gullet) in the mouth, and we end with labials (पवर्ग) which are pronounced with the help of lips, the outer part of the mouth-cavity. The other three classes of stops are supposed to be arranged in the positional order of their places of articulation. But this order is vitiated. The order of the three classes of stops, viz., चवर्ग, टवर्ग and तवर्ग is erroneous. According to their actual points of articulation, the order should be टवर्ग, चवर्ग and तवर्ग. Stops of चवर्ग are pronounced between टवर्ग and तवर्ग. It may be pointed out in this context that while कवर्ग, तवर्ग and पवर्ग are original Indo-European stops, the two classes चवर्ग and टवर्गare new entrants. At whatever time and in whatever time-order they might have been introduced, they should have been placed in their proper phonetic order, viz., टवर्ग, चवर्ग and तवर्ग.

(c) Further, Pāṇini recognises only one kind of "अनुस्वार". It is the same kind fo 'अनुस्वार', according to Pāṇini, both in 'रामं वन्दे' and 'कंस'. In both it is represented by the same sign of an upward dot (·). But modern phoneticians rightly discriminate between two kinds of अनुस्वार, one represented in the Indo-Roman script by 'm' and the other by 'n', e.g., 'Rāmam vande' and 'Kansa'. Obviously, Pāṇini failed to differenciate between the two kinds of अनुस्वार

I have dealt upon some of the drawbacks of Pāṇini's work not with a view to minimize its importance. but with the object of showing that for an average student who has only limited time and energy at his disposal, the study of Sanskrit through the medium of Pāṇini's work is not at all a feasible proposition. No doubt, to anyone who wants to enjoy the charms of an ingenious scientific study, this work which is inequalled in the whole range of intellectual creation of Ancient India will provide a rare intellectual joy, besides providing him with a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar.

At the same time, one must admit that cramming long tables of declensions and conjugations, as they are presented in the modern aid-books of Sanskrit, is decidedly very taxing. It is a great pity that Sanskrit language which received such a remarkable systematic and scientific treatment at the hands of Pāṇini and others should be studied in a haphazard and unintelligent manner.

What is then the alternative ? The present writer feels that scholars of Sanskrit

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should work to evolve a new scientific system which may be partly based on Pāṇini and partly on the principles of modern phonetics and comparative philology. Evolution of such a method is a distinct possibility. It will go to make the study of Sanskrit not only easy in terms of time and energy, but also intelligent and interesting.

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THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKAM AND THE CĀRUDATTAM

By

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The discovery of thirteen anonymous Sanskrit dramas by Paṇḍita Gaṇapati Shastri of Trivandrum in 1912 created a sensation among Indologists the like of which was never witnessed before or since. One of these thirteen dramas is the Cārudattam. The four acts, of which this drama consists, bear such an extraordinary resemblance to the first four acts of the famous Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭikam that no doubt has ever existed about the indebtendness of one to the other. But the crux of the problem is to determine which of the two is the debtor and which the creditor.

As is well known Paṇḍita Gaṇapati Shastri ascribed all the thirteen dramas to Bhāsa and a number of scholars accepted the arguments advanced by him in support of his view. Once the Cārudattam, like the other plays of the group, was accepted as a work of Bhāsa, it was natural to regard it as the original play and the Mṛcchakaṭikam as its amplified version. The only apparently strong reason for regarding the Mṛcchakaṭikam as an amplified version of the Cārudattam is that the Mṛcchakaṭikam generally gives a better and more polished reading wherever there is a difference in the readings between the two works. There are, however, much weightier reasons which prove quite the contrary.

It has to be frankly admitted that scholars have scarcely given any serious attention to a thorough comparison of the two dramas. A careful perusal of the Cārudattam leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader that the author was acquainted with some version of the bigger drama and has deliberately omitted those portions, incidents and characters of the bigger drama which were of no use for the limited scope of his work. Again at several places the Cārudattam makes it absolutely clear that in his anxiety for simplicity and brevity of expression and for omitting all unwanted things and bringing in all those that he wanted, its author has committed blunders which can be explained only if we regard the play as an abridgement of some version of the Mṛcchakaṭikam. We shall now pick up those passages from the Cārudattam which betray the author's acquaintance with the Mṛcchakaṭikam.

We begin with the prologue which in both the plays consists of a humorous dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and the Naṭī. But whereas in the Mṛcchakaṭikam the Sūtradhāra first introduces the play to the audience and then takes up the role of a Prakrit-speaking citizen of Ujjayinī, in the Cārudattam he atonce takes up the latter role.[1] This can only mean that the author of the Cārudattam has deliberately omitted the earlier portion of the prologue.[2] No other explanation of this strange feature of the prologue of the Cārudattam is possible. In fact there is no other work in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature

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including the Trivandrum plays where the Sūtradhāra from the very beginning plays the part of one of the characters of the story of the play. And this is as it should be, for the proper function of the Sūtradhāra is to introduce the play to the audience.

As regards the dialogue itself we find real humour in it in the form in which it is given in the Mṛcchakaṭikam where the Sūtradhāra on being told by his wife, the Naṭī, that she was observing a fast for obtaining a good husband in the next birth, is furious, and curses his friend Cūrṇavṛddha to meet a cruel fate at the hands of the tyrant, Pālaka, when further told that the fast was being undertaken on the advice of Cūrṇavṛddha. When, however, the Naṭī tells the Sūtradhāra that the fast was for his own benefit in the other world he is reconciled. The author of the Cārudattam, however, has no use for Pālaka and is so anxious to abridge the whole dialogue that he not only robs it of its humour but actually makes it ridiculous. Here the Sūtradhāra does not show any anger on hearing that his wife was observing a fast for getting a good husband in the next life, and when she tells him that it was Cūrṇagoshṭha who advised her to observe the fast he praises him with the words "Sādhu Cūrṇagoṣṭha sādhu" (Well done, Cūrṇagoṣṭha, well done). All this reveals the hand of a very crude epitomist and not of an original writer.

Not only is the dialogue as given in the Cārudattam defective from the point of view of effect but it is also defective from the point of view of language. The portion of the dialogue in which the Naṭī on being asked by the Sūtradhāra tells him the name of the person who advised her to observe the fast is thus given in the Mṛcchakaṭikam :—

Sūtradhāra—By whom was the fast recommended to you ?

(*Athāyam upavāsaḥ kena upadiṣṭaḥ*)

Naṭī—By Cūrṇavṛddha, your own dear friend.

(*Aryasyaiva priyavayasyena Cūrṇavṛddhena*).

Here the two sentences are quite in harmony with each other, both being in the passive voice. But in the Cārudattam we find the sentences as follows :—

Sūtradhāra—Let all that be. But who has recommended this fast to you ?

(*Sarvam tāvat tiṣṭhatu. Ko nu idānīm Āryāyā Upavāsasyopadeśkaḥ*)

Nati—By this pious man, Cūrṇagoṣṭha.

(*Anena varivasyakena Cūrṇagoṣṭhena*)

Now even the most clumsy poetaster having the least regard for correctness of language could not have written such sentences. The only explanation of these sentences can be that the author of the Cārudattam had some version of the Mṛcchakaṭikam before him and while he changed the voice of the first sentence to make it look simpler he forgot to change the voice of the second sentence.

We now come to the first act. In both the plays we find the hero Cārudatta bewail-

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ing his poverty just after the soliloquy of his friend Maitreya at the outset of this act. The author of the Cārudattam has jumbled up at one place a number of verses which Cārudatta utters with reference to his poverty on different occasions in the Mṛcchakaṭikam. Now the first and last line of one of these verses are as follows :—

Dāridryāt puruṣasya bāndhavajano vākye na santiṣṭhate.
Pāpaṁ karma ca yat parairapi kṛtaṁ tat tasya sambhāvyate.

(Owing to poverty a man's relatives do not abide by his words, and whatever evil deed may have been done even by other persons, the same is attributed to him.)

In the Mṛcchakaṭikam this verse is spoken by Cārudatta when his friend Maitreya refuses to go to offer oblations to the mother goddesses on his behalf. The first line has clear reference to this refusal, whereas in the Cārudattam there is no occasion for this statement. The last line of this verse also has a clear reference to the strangling of Vasantasenā by Saṁsthānaka and the shifting of the guilt on Cārudatta as depicted in acts VIII and IX of the Mṛcchakaṭikam. This line could hardly have been written by a person who did not know about the strangling of Vasantasenā by Saṁsthānaka and the condemnation of Cārudatta for this offence.

In another scene of Act I the author of the Cārudattam has betrayed his indebtedness to the Mṛcchakaṭikam even more clearly than in the passages noted above. According to both the plays the heroine Vasantasenā, being chased and harassed by Saṁsthānaka and his companions, enters the house of the hero Cārudatta and the latter on account of darkness in the house mistakes her for his maid-servant Radanikā. As a result of this mistake Cārudatta orders her as follows in the Mṛcchakaṭikam :—

Radanike, mārutābhilāṣī pradoṣasamayaḥ. Śītārto Rohasenaḥ. Tataḥ praveśyatām abhyantaramayam. Anena prāvārakeṇa chādaya enam.

(Radanikā, the evening is inclined to be windy. Rohasena is shivering with cold. So let him be carried inside. Cover him with this cloak.)

Rohasena has no useful purpose in the Cārudattam and as such his name is absent in this drama from Cārudatta's order to Vasantasenā mistaken as Radanikā. But it is strange that though there is no mention of Rohasena the rest of the passage which can have no meaning without Rohasena is put in the mouth of Cārudatta in the following way :—

Mārutābhilaṣī pradoṣaḥ. Tad gṛhyatām prāvārakaṁ. Praveśyatām abhyantaracatuḥśālaṁ.

(The evening is inclined to be windy. So take this cloak. Let him be carried inside the quadrangle.)

The question naturally arises : whom does Cārudatta want to be carried inside ? Even if we regard "Praveśyatām" as a mistake for "Praviśyatām" there is no real improvement in the sense for then we find Cārudatta in the ridiculous position of chiding a maid-servant for what was solely her own concern. Even on grounds of logic it does not appear

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proper for Cārudatta to expect his loyal maid-servant to go inside as a protection against cold weather while he himself remained exposed to it. Obviously the author of the Cārudattam had some version of the Mṛcchakaṭikam before him and therefore, although omitting the name of Rohasena, he has inadvertently allowed the hero to utter the rest of the passage.

Another small difference between the two plays so far as the first act is concerned is as follows. In the Cārudattam the Vidūṣaka shares the work of guarding the heroine's ornaments with the maid-servant and hands her over the ornaments to be kept for two days and to be returned on the third day to him. In the Mṛcchakaṭikam the Viduṣaka shares this work with the hero's servant Vardhamānaka. This difference is obviously due to the desire of the author of the Cārudattam to eliminate all mention of Vardhamānaka in the first act.

In the second act the major difference between the two plays is that the boisterous scene of gamblers which makes this act so attractive in the Mṛcchakaṭikam is not to be found in the Cārudattam. The question naturally arises : is this scene an innovation made by the author of the Mṛcchakaṭikam or has the auther of Cārudattam deliberately omitted it ? The constant references to the incidents of this scene by the shampooer in his conversation with Vasantasenā cause a strong suspicion in the mind of the reader that the author of the Cārudattam was aware of this scene and that he has deliberately omitted it to make the act shorter.

In Act III we find the author of the Cārudattam facing the consequences of the change made in Act I whereby the Vidūṣaka was made to hand over the ornaments of Vasantasenā to the hero's maid-servant for two days. As it is the third day the maid-servant rudely awakens Maitreya and Cārudatta who have gone to sleep after returning from a concert very late in the night. The author also thinks it necessary to make the Vidūṣaka ask the hero the reason for his excessive generosity to the heroine's servant in handing him over the cloak as a reward for his bravery in saving a monk from the clutches of an infuriated elephant. All this is certainly an addition made to the original by the author of the Cārudattam because we cannot expect the author of an original play first to show the hero and his friend as having gone to sleep and then to drag them into a conversation.

In another scene towards the end of Act III we find a deliberate attempt on the part of the author of the Cārudattam to introduce a humour occurring in Act VII of the Mṛcchakaṭikam. In Act VII of the Mṛcchakaṭikam, Cārudatta is expecting Vasantasenā in his carriage. But on peeping into the carriage the Vidūṣaka discovers Āryaka sitting in it and makes the humorous remark '*Bhoḥ, na Vasantasenā, Vasantasenaḥ khalu eṣaḥ*' (Friend, this is not Miss Vasantaṣenā but Mister Vasantasena). In Act III of the Cārudattam the author seems to have forced this humour. For when the maid-servant informs the Vidūṣaka that a thief has cut a hole in the house and escaped, he goes to Cārudatta and makes the curious remark '*Bhoś Cārudatta priyam te nivedayāmi*' (O Cārudatta, I give you a good news) and when Cāruddatta asks him whether Vasantasenā had come he replies '*Na khalu Vasantasenā, Vasantasenaḥ prāptaḥ*' (Not Miss Vasantasenā, but Mr. Vasantasena is come).

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Surely burglary is not a good news by any stretch of imagination. The author who has taken a fancy for this humour has deliberately given an unnatural twist to the conversation in order somehow to accommodate this humour.

Act IV of the Cārudattam also shows a major deviation from the Mṛcchakaṭikam. In the second scene of this act we find Sajjalaka and Madanikā engaged in a conversation. Sajjalaka wants to buy off the freedom of Madanikā in exchange for the ornaments he had stolen from Cārudatta's house. Madanikā tells him that the ornaments belonged to her mistress Vasantasenā who had kept them in the custody of Cārudatta. Sajjalaka is in a predicament, but Madanikā suggests to him to feign as a messenger of Cārudatta and to return the ornaments to Vasantasenā on his behalf. When Sajjalaka agrees with this suggestion, Madanikā asks him to wait till she had informed Vasantasenā of his arrival. The deviation from the Mṛcchakaṭikam occurs at this stage. In the Mṛcchakaṭikam Madanikā atonce informs Vasantasenā of Śarvilaka's arrival and on getting her permission ushers him in her presence. It is only when the Śarvilaka-Madanikā episode is over that Maitreya, the friend of Cārudatta, comes to Vasantasenā's mansion with the pearl necklace. In the Cārudattam, however, soon after Madanikā leaves Sajjalaka to inform Vasantasenā of his arrival we find Maitreya being taken in the presence of Vasantasenā by another maid-servant. Thus Sajjalaka has to tarry for a long time and is taken in the presence of Vasantasenā only after Maitreya has left. This unnatural sequence of events was probably preferred by the author of the Cārudattam in order to make the play end with the romantic episode of Sajjalaka and Madanikā.

The foregoing observations make it clear that the author of the Cārudattam was definitely aware of the longer drama which he was trying to abridge and adapt for stage purposes. Is the Cārudattam the complete work of its author or only a fragment ? Not only the colophon of the manuscript which says '*avasitam Cārudattam*' but the dialogue between Vasantasenā and her maid at the very end of Act IV also shows that the author intended to finish the drama after the fourth act in order to have a play of about an hour's duration. This is clear from the remark of the maid-servant '*Priyam me, amṛtāṅkanāṭakaṁ saṁvṛttam*', 'I am glad a drama with no death in its acts is over', and of Vasantasenā '*Hatāśe mā khalu vardhaya*' 'wretch, do not prolong (the story of the play)'. These remarks give an added proof, if one were still needed of the fact that the author was aware of the strangling of Vasantasenā and other events of the later acts of the original play.

One queston still awaits solution. If the Cārudattam is an abridgement of the Mṛcchakaṭikam how are we to account for the occasional differences in readings between the two works ? It appears that in some cases at least the author of the Cārudattam has deliberately introduced changes in the language, imagery and humour of the original play and since he was far inferior as an artist to the author of the Mṛcchakaṭikam the changed readings have lost the charm and polish of the original passages. It is, however, also possible that the author of the Cārudattam had before him a version of the Mṛcchakaṭikam which was slightly different from and older than the present version. Some of the verses of the

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Cārudattam not found in the present Mṛcchakaṭikam were probably taken from this older version.

To sum up, the Cārudattam is an abridgement of the first four acts of an old version of the Mṛcchakaṭikam done by a person of very mediocre attainments. To father this work on Bhāsa is not only a violation of chronology, since Bhāsa was certainly earlier than the author of the Mṛcchakaṭikam, but is also unjust to the great artist who produced the Svapnavāsavadattam.

REFERENCES

1. The remark of prof. Keith (*Sanskrit Drama* p. 131) that in the Cārudattam the Sūtradhāra "speaks Prākrit" only as fits the part of the Vidūṣaka which he is to play" is not borne out by the play itself where the conversation between the Sūtradhāra and the Vidūṣaka shows that the parts were being played by different persons.
2. This is not to say that the earlier portion of the prologue of the Mṛcchakaṭikam has been preserved to us in its original form. This, however, does not stand in the way of our conclusion that the prologue of the Cārudattam is a curtailed version of the original prologue of the Mṛcchakaṭikam.

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THE MOON IN KĀLIDĀSA

By

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1. Though the date of Kālidāsa has not been settled to the full satisfaction of scholars, this much is certain that he had inherited a fairly long literary tradition and that he provided the inspiration for a long line of poets who came after him. It is not merely the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata which had preceded Kālidāsa, but also many other poets whose very names are unknown to us. Of the three poets, Bhāsa, Somilla and Kaviputra, mentioned by him in his Mālavikāgnimitra, Bhāsa is the only one whose works may be said to have come down to us, though perhaps not in their original form. The very perfection of his work presupposes a long history for Kāvya literature, what strikes a reader of Kālidāsa's works is not merely his *pratibhā,* poetic imagination, but his wide and deep culture and erudition—in other words, his *vyutpatti.* One feels, while reading his works, that a vast literature must have existed before him, not only creative literature, but also śāstraic literature and that he was steeped in both. His genius consists in his ability to hide his vast erudition by the beauty of his poetry. Ānandavardhana says in his Dhvanyāloka (p. 316, Kashi Sanskrit Series. 135) that a gifted poet can hide the defeciencies of his culture by his poetic imagination :—

अव्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोषः शक्त्या संव्रियते कवेः ।

I always felt that what Kālidāsa has actually hidden is not any defeciency in culture, but an abundance of it which otherwise might have obtruded too much and stood in the way of our enjoying his poetry. As it is, the reader first enjoys the beauty of his poetry and only on reflection does he discover the deep erudition which has gone into the making of his verses. Nor is his erudition lying so deep under the surface as to require too much effort to be brought out. We have only to scratch to find it. When we do scratch, we find śāstra of all kinds at every step, secular and religious, technical and philosophical. There cannot be any doubt that the literature which existed before him was vast and that a deep acquaintance with it was considered to be an essential ingredient in the preparation to become a poet. It is only natural that such a deep acquaintance with the achievements of the past on the part of would-be poets should influence them in many ways and that they should absorb many traditions in common, and use them, consciously or unconsciously each in his own way, in their works. Though it is only in comparatively late works of the available alaṅkāraśāstra, like the Dhvanyāloka and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā that the question of literary inheritance, of indebtedness to and borrowal from previous writers, of renovation of the old, plagiarism and allied matters are

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found seriously discussed by critics, such problems are found to have arisen in the history of Sanskrit literature as soon as the achievements of the past had become sufficiently noteworthy, both in quantity and quality, as soon as some great writers had arisen and their works had begun to be handed down to posterity with great reverence. A reading of Kālidāsa's works gives one the inpression that he lived in an age when the achievements of the past were great and that the merits of writers were judged by the extent to which they were able to absorb all the best traditions of the past and to create something new. Mere imitation of the past, however successfully done, was not considered to be enough. Loyalty and conformity to tradition had to be combined with originality. Ānandavardhana discusses, in the fourth Uddyota of his Dhvanyāloka, the whole question of originality in poetry. He points out, with abundant illustrations, how by a touch of Dhvani, the old can be made new. He eloquently states his view that, no matter how many great poets come and go, there will be no dearth of subjects nor of scope for novelty and originality.

2. As all great poets, Kālidāsa draws the raw-material for his poetry from his experience of two worlds : (1) the world in which he lived, that is, the country to which he belonged with all its special physical features, the society in which he was born and brought up, the political set-up which existed in his day and of which he was a part; (2) the world of literature and the arts, the religions with their sects and the systems of philosophy, each embodied in a vast literature, associated with them, the secular sciences which had already attained great development and produced their own literary works, whether Kālidāsa draws the material for his poetry more from the actual world which surrounded him or from the world of books, is a big question and I shall make my observations on that subject on another occasion. Suffice it to say here that for Kālidāsa, the world of books offered inexhaustible material for the play of his imagination, especially in combination with material drawn from the observation of life around him. Some of the most beautiful images of Kālidāsa are the result of such a combination. An example or two would not be out of place here :—

वेलानिलाय प्रसृता भुजङ्गा महोर्मिविस्फूर्जथुनिर्विशेषाः ।
सूर्यांशुसम्पर्कसमृद्धरागैर्व्यज्यन्त एते मणिभिः फणस्थैः ॥

(Raghu. XIII. 12)

"The snakes rushing to the shore for fresh air, indistinguishable from the wavelets creeping over the shores, are recognised by the precious stones on their heads, the colours of which are heightened by the rays of the sun."

That serpents have precious stones on their hoods is tradition and convention. To see similarity to snakes in the wavelets creeping over the shores is Kālidāsa's imagination. To say that the serpents are rushing to the shores for fresh air and that they are indistinguishable from the wavelets is a mixture of imagination and observation:—

प्रवृत्तमात्रेण पयांसि पातुमावर्तवेगाद् भ्रमता घनेन ।
आभाति भूयिष्ठमयं समुद्रः प्रमथ्यमानो गिरिणेव भूयः ॥

(Raghu. XIII. 14.)

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"Through the revolving cloud which had first begun to drink its waters, the ocean appears fully to be churned again by the mountain."

The popular tradition is that clouds take water from the ocean and give it out in the form of rain. Also, that they look like mountains. Here Kālidāsa imagines the cloud as coming to drink water and being caught up in a whirlpool, revolves and creates the illusion of the ocean being churned again by the Mandara mountain.

In the imagery of Kālidāsa, it is not the novelty or the variety of the objects which figure as the *upamāna* or the *upameya* which is striking. It is the variety of the ways in which the well-known objects of the world, hallowed by centuries of poetic tradition, are brought in as the standards or objects of comparison which is noteworthy. Without going beyond the sun and the moon, fire and wind, the earth and the sky, night and day, river and ocean, cloud and lightning, the lotus and the bumble-bee and dozens of similar objects, all familiar to students of Sanskrit literature at least since the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, if not since the Vedas themselves, our poet brings them in as *upamāna* or *upameya* in an astonishing number of ways, many of which are most probably entirely his own. I think that it would be quite interesting to take *one* of these objects and see how it comes in Kālidāsa's poetry. I propose to take the moon as the subject of study in this paper.

3. Needless to say that the moon figures prominently in the imagery of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. There the moon is primarily a shining object in the sky at night, in fact the brightest of all objects, surrounded by less bright objects, the stars. The full moon in autumn is frequently described for its special lustre. Hanumān says that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa looked like the Sun and the Moon, come down to earth by chance.

यदृच्छयेव सम्प्राप्तौ चन्द्रसूर्यौ वसुन्धराम् ।

(Rām. IV. 3.13. Madras Law Journal Press. 1933)

The army of Vānara heroes, led by Rāma, was as bright as the full-moon night in autumn, with its stars, led by the moon—

शशिना शुभनक्षत्रा पौर्णमासीव शारदी। (Ibid. VI. 24.1)

Hanumān, about to go in search of Sītā with his band of monkeys, looked like the full-moon in a cloudless sky, accompanied by cluster of stars.

गताम्बुदे व्योम्नि विशुद्धमण्डलः शशीव नक्षत्रगणोपशोभितः। (Ibid. IV. 44.16)

The rays of the moon are frequently brought in as comparison for joy and cheerfulness. Kaikeyī, in her joy, looked like the moon on an autumn night.

उत्तस्थौ हर्षसम्पूर्णा चन्द्रलेखेव शारदी। (Ibid. IV. 7.31)

The special brightness of the moon, after being freed from Rāhu, that is, from eclipse, is often emphasised. After listening to Rāma's message delivered by Hanumān, Sītā's face shone as brightly as the moon freed from eclipse.

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चारु तद्वदनं तस्यास्ताम्रशुक्लायतेक्षणम्।
अशोभत विशालाक्ष्या राहुमुक्त इवोडुराड्॥
(Ibid. V. 35.86)

while persons and things in their brightness and glory are compared to the autumn moon, the same things in their decline are compared to the moon in day-time or to the sky or the night without the moon, or to the moon hidden by dark clouds or to the moon in eclipse. Without Rāma, Sītā's face lacked lustre like the moon during day-time—

राक्षसेन्द्रसमाधूतं तस्यास्तद्वदनं शुभम्।
शुशुभे न विना रामं दिवा चन्द्र इवोदितः॥
(Ibid. III. 52.24)

Lakṣmaṇa tells Rāma that after his departure, Ayodhyā is as lustreless as the night without the moon—

निष्प्रभा त्वयि निष्क्रान्ते गतचन्द्रेव शर्वरी। (Ibid. II. 53.29)

After Rāma's departure to the forest, Daśaratha became so dejected that he looked like the full moon in eclipse—

परिपूर्णः शशी काले ग्रहेणोपप्लुतो यथा। (Ibid. II. 40.30)

Sītā in captivity in Laṅkā was as lustreless as the moon hidden by dark clouds—

प्रभां नक्षत्रराजस्य कालमेघैरिवावृताम्। (Ibid. V. 15.37)

In all the above quotations, the moon, the brightest object in the sky, is brought in as comparison while describing persons and things in their glory. In some images, the inseparability of the moon and moonlight is brought in as the *upamāna*. Sītā declares that she would not deviate from *dharma* any more than the moonlight would abandon the moon—

धर्माद्विचलितुं नाहमलं चन्द्रादिव प्रभा। (Ibid. II. 39.29)

Rāma did not disregard his father's orders any more than the rising moon abandons its lustre.

नाजहात् पितुरादेशं शशी ज्योत्स्नामिवोदितः। (Ibid. II. 82.6)

What is to be noted here is that the moon and the moonlight, though inseparable, are not thought of as man and wife.

The union between the moon and a star, sometimes Rohiṇī, sometimes Citrā, is the model of the union on the earth between man and woman. Sītā had accumulated, we are told, so much spiritual merit that she was united with Rāma as Rohiṇī with the moon—

तया सुचरितं देव्या पुरा नूनं महत्तपः।
रोहिणीव शशाङ्केन रामसंयोगमाप सा॥
(Ibid. II. 16.42)

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Sumantra saw Rāma in Sīta's company looking like the moon accompanied by Citrā—

उपेतं सीतया भूयश्चित्रया शशिनं यथा। (Ibid. II. 16.10)

The above examples are sufficient to show what aspects of the moon figure in the imagery of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa.

4. When we come to Kālidāsa, what we notice is that, in the treatment of the moon, there is continuity as well as novelty. For Kālidāsa too, the moon, the brightest object in the sky at night, serves as the standard of comparison for any earthly object in its glory and splendour. Dilīpa was born in the dynasty of Manu as the moon arose out of the milk ocean—

तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः।
दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥
(Raghu. I. 12)

for Kālidāsa also, the association of the moon and some star or other is the symbol of the association of man and wife, lover and beloved. Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā, in their bright dress, looked like the moon and Citrā, freed from the mist—

काप्यभिख्या तयोरासीद् व्रजतोः शुद्धवेषयोः।
हिमनिर्मुक्तयोर्योगे चित्राचन्द्रमसोरिव ॥
(Raghu. I. 46)

Duṣyanta meeting Śakuntalā again is like the moon being united again with Rohiṇī, after an eclipse—

उपरागान्ते शशिनः समुपगतो रोहिणीयोगः।
(Śāk. VII. 22)

Purūravas, with Urvaśī, is like the moon together with Viśākhā—

एसो चित्तलेखादुदिअं उव्वसिं गेह्णिअ विसाखा—समीवगदो विअ चन्दो उवट्ठिदो राएसी।
VI. I. 10-11. (p. 8. Sāhitya Akademi Edn.)

In Kālidāsa also, the moon in daytime stands for something which has lost its lustre. Who would not feel distressed to see Pārvatī, weak and thin in the midst of her austerities, looking like the moon in day time ?

शशाङ्कलेखामिव पश्यतो दिवा सचेतसः कस्य मनो न दूयते। (Ku. V. 48)

The pale day-time moon waits for the evening to recover its lustre—

शशिन इव दिवातनस्य लेखा
किरणपरिक्षयधूसरा प्रदोषम् ॥ (Ku. IV. 46)

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Gaṇadāsa can prosper only when patronised by the Queen, just as the moon attains its full lustre only when accepted by the night—

अधिगच्छति महिमानं चन्द्रोऽपि निशापरिगृहीतः। (Māla. I. 13.)

What has been said so far about Kālidāsa shows that he continues the Vālmīki tradition. But he does not stop there. He has not failed to introduce many refinements in that tradition. We saw how Vālmīki makes use of the idea of inseparability of the moon and the moonlight, without conceiving of the two as man and wife or lover an d beloved. Kālidāsa has taken that further step, to the great benefit of the resulting imagery. Indumatī united to Aja is like the moonlight united with the moon, freed from the clouds.

शशिनमुपगतेयं कौमुदी मेघमुक्तम्। (Raghu. VI. 85.)

Kumudvatī followed Kuśa as the moonlight follows the moon—

अन्वगात् कुमुदानन्दं शशाङ्कमिव कौमुदी। (Raghu. XII. 6.)

That females are inseparable from their males is a law followed even by insentient things : moonlight follows the moon and lightning is dissolved only with the cloud—

शशिना सह याति कौमुदी सह मेघेन तडित् प्रलीयते।
प्रमदाः पतिवर्त्मगा इति प्रतिपन्नं हि विचेतनैरपि॥
(Ku. IV. 33.)

The thin but beautiful new moon stands for Kālidāsa as the model of anything or anybody keeping his beauty and lustre in the midst of troubles and difficulties. When Dilīpa returned after a long time to his capital from the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha, then through his austerities, his subjects gazed at him as eagerly as they would gaze at the thin new moon—

नेत्रैः पपुस्तृप्तिमनाप्नुवद्भिः
नवोदयं नाथमिवोषधीनाम्॥ (Raghu. II. 73.)

Raghu, reduced to poverty due to his generosity, shone, as the moon, even after it has been gradually swallowed up by the gods, is more beatutiful than ever—

पर्यायपीतस्य सुरैर्हिमांशोः
कलाक्षयः श्लाघ्यतरो हि वृद्धेः॥ (Raghu. V. 16.)

Another refinement introduced by Kālidāsa deserves special notice. That the sun makes the lotus bloom whereas the moon awakens the white water lily and not vice versa is one of the conventions of Sanskrit poetry. For Kālidāsa, it is the symbol of the diversity of preferences and tastes. The King of Anūpa, though good-looking, did not please Indumatī, just as the full moon, in a cloudless sky, does not please the lotus—

शरत्प्रमृष्टाम्बुधरोपरोधः शशीव पर्याप्तकलो नलिन्याः। (Raghu. VI. 44.)

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Friend Sunandā's recommendation of the Pāṇḍya king did not reach the heart of Indumatī, just as the rays of the moon cannot penetrate the lotus, closed because of the absence of the sun—

दिवाकरादर्शनबद्धकोशे
नक्षत्रनाथांशुरिवारविन्दे। (Raghu. VI. 86)

Nobody except Urvaśī can bring happiness to Purūravas by her touch. The white water-lily does not respond to the sun's rays as it does to the moon's—

नोच्छ्वसिति तपनकिरणैश्चन्द्रस्येवांशुभिः कुमुदम्। (VI. III. 16)

It is clear from the examples given above that Kālidāsa has managed, in his treatment of the moon, to combine faithfulness to tradition with the development of new refinements.

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भारतीय लोकगीतों की एकता

लेखक

डॉ० त्रिलोचन पाण्डेय

करमा जाति में प्रचलित एक लोकगीत का भाव है—यदि तुम मेरे जीवन की कथा जानना चाहते हो तो मेरे गीतों को सुनो ! इसी उक्ति का प्रयोग एक व्यापक आधार पर करते हुए यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि यदि हम भारतीय संस्कृति के मूल-तत्त्वों तक पहुँचना चाहते हैं तो हमें यहाँ के प्रादेशिक लोकगीतों की शरण में जाना होगा, उनका मन्थन करना होगा। भारतीय संस्कृति की प्राथमिक विशेषता वैविध्य के भीतर एकत्व की स्थिति खोजने की रही है और इस खोज के सबल प्रमाण ये लोकगीत हैं। इनका अध्ययन केवल लोक-मनोरञ्जन की दृष्टि से ही नहीं, प्रत्युत सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से भी आवश्यक है।

भारतीय लोकगीतों की परम्परा वैदिक काल से आज तक अटूट चली आई है. जिसकी पुष्टि "लोके वेदे च" इस व्यापक सामाजिक विशेषता के आधार पर की जा सकती है। किन्तु इस समय लिखित प्रमाणों के नितान्त अभाव में केवल मौखिकतया प्रचलित उन लोकगीतों की खोज दुःसाध्य है।

भारतीय जीवन के मौलिक आदर्श कुछ इस प्रकार के रहे हैं—"माता भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं पृथिव्याः," "आत्मौपम्येन सर्वत्र," "आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत्," "सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः", इत्यादि। वैदिक मन्त्र-द्रष्टा के समय से लेकर अद्यावधि यही आदर्श उसका परिचालन करते आए। कहना न होगा कि भारतीय लोकगीत भी जन-समाज के बीच इन्हीं आदर्शों की प्रतीति कराते हैं।

भारतीय लोकगीतों की पारस्परिक तुलना राष्ट्रीय धरातल पर सम्भव है, क्योंकि इनके द्वारा प्रायः एक समान भावनाएँ व्यक्त हुई हैं। उत्तरी कश्मीर से लेकर दक्षिणी केरल प्रदेश तक और पश्चिमी गुजरात-सौराष्ट्र से लेकर पूर्वी आसाम तक के सुदूरवर्ती भू-भागों में यद्यपि भौगोलिक, आर्थिक, इत्यादि दृष्टियों से पर्याप्त भिन्नता है, फिर भी इनमें प्रचलित लोकगीतों के प्रेरणास्रोत लगभग एक जैसे हैं। इनका अध्ययन करने के अनन्तर ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि कहीं तो एक ही मूल गीत अपना रूप-परिवर्तन करते हुए प्रदेश-प्रदेश तक फैलता चला गया है, और कहीं गीतों की विषय-वस्तु पृथक्-पृथक् होते हुए भी इनके भीतर तात्त्विक एकता विद्यमान है।

ये लोकगीत मानवीय तत्त्वों से परिपूर्ण हैं। इनमें वर्णित देवी-देवता जन साधारण के हितार्थ साकार रूप धारण कर लेते हैं। प्रत्येक भारतवासी का यह दृढ विश्वास है कि अलौकिक शक्तियाँ जीवन के कठिन क्षणों में अवश्य सहायक बन कर आती हैं। देवी-देवताओं के अवतरण से सम्बद्ध उल्लेखनीय तथ्य यह है कि लोक-मानस की प्रवृत्ति देवी-स्तुतियों की ओर विशेष झुकी हुई लक्षित होती है, क्योंकि उसकी धारणा के अनुसार देवियाँ देवताओं की अपेक्षा अधिक सरल-हृदय हुआ करती हैं। बङ्गाल में मनसा देवी के गीत, उत्तर प्रदेश में दुर्गा-काली के गीत, पञ्जाब में कोट कांगड़ा देवी के गीत और राजस्थान में गणगौर देवी इत्यादि के गीत इसी लोक-मान्यता के आधार पर प्रायः एक-जैसे तत्त्वों से निर्मित हुए हैं। अपने विश्वास को और अधिक व्यापक बना कर लोक-मानस ने जड़ प्रकृति पर भी प्राण सत्ता का आरोप किया, जिसके फलस्वरूप अनेक नदियाँ माता मान ली गईं तथा पर्वत-शिखरों पर परा-प्राकृतिक सत्ताओं

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का अधिवास स्वीकार किया गया। गङ्गा नदी केवल एक प्रसिद्ध पवित्र नदी ही नहीं रही, वह मानव मात्र की कल्याण-विधायिनी जननी भी बन गई। लोकगीतों में सत्य एवं पातिव्रत्य की परीक्षा लेने के लिए गङ्गा-परीक्षा को ही सर्व-श्रेष्ठ माना गया है। आगे चल कर उसके साथ यमुना नदी पर भी मातृत्वभाव का आरोप हुआ। हम देखते हैं कि उत्तर प्रदेश के एक सोहर-गीत में, जो बिहार की ओर भी प्रचलित है, कोई निस्सन्तान स्त्री पुत्र-कामना करती हुई गङ्गा-यमुना के बीच तपस्या करती है—"गङ्गा जमुनवाँ के बिचवा तेवइया इक तपु करई हो" और गङ्गा माता उसे नवें महीने सन्तानवती होने का आशीर्वाद देती है।

एकता की दूसरी दिशा लोकगीतों में पौराणिक घटनाओं व पात्रों के समान उल्लेख की है, जिनका प्रभाव सम्पूर्ण भारतीय लोकजीवन पर पड़ा है। सभी पौराणिक कथाएँ एवं पात्र लोकगीतों में स्थानीय वातावरण के अनुकूल ढाल लिए गए हैं। इसलिए उनकी अलौकिकता लोक-धरातल पर आकर सामान्य जन-जीवन में घुल-मिल गई है। यह भारतीय लोक-मानस की विशेषता रही है कि वह महान्-से-महान् ईश्वरावतार को अपने सा ही कल्पित करता है ताकि उसे अपने जैसा ही एक पारिवारिक प्राणी बना ले। उत्तर भारत के लोक-गीतों में लक्ष्मण-पत्नी ऊर्मिला चक्की पीसती हुई वर्णित है। परिश्रम करते करते जब उसका हाथ नहीं चलता तो वह रोने लगती है। आन्ध्रप्रदेश के एक लोकगीत में एक अभिनव कल्पना की गई है कि ऊर्मिला लगातार चौदह वर्षों तक सोती रही और एक बार स्वप्न में लक्ष्मण को पर-पुरुष समझ कर उसने फटकार तक दिया। राम-सीता का बनवास भारतीय लोकगीतों का अत्यन्त प्रिय विषय है। उड़िया लोकगीतों में राम एक साधारण कृषक के रूप में वर्णित हैं जो समृद्ध होने के साथ-साथ दरिद्र भी हैं। समृद्ध इतने हैं कि उनके घर स्वर्ण-दीप जगमगाते हैं और दरिद्र इतने हैं कि सीता को देने के लिए उनके पास कोई वस्त्र तक नहीं! राम हल चलाते हैं तो सीता बीज बोती हैं। यही स्थिति मुण्डारी लोकगीतों में वर्णित है, जहाँ सीता गूलर-वृक्ष के नीचे बकरी चराती हैं और रावण देखते-देखते उन्हें उठा ले जाता है! गुजराती लोकगीतों में यही राम जनकपुरी के सुरम्य उद्यान में न बैठ कर एक बावली के समीप प्यासे बैठे हुए प्रदर्शित किए गए हैं, सीता उनके सौन्दर्य पर स्वयं मुग्ध हो जाती हैं!

राधा-कृष्ण, शिव-पार्वती इत्यादि पौराणिक पात्रों की चर्चा भी लोक-मानस के धरातल पर ही मिलेगी रास-लीला, होली, जन्माष्टमी, इत्यादि उत्सवों के समय सम्पूर्ण देश में राधा-कृष्ण की प्रेमलीलाओं की चर्चा होती है बारामासी तथा झूले के लोक-गीत भी उनकी मधुर क्रीडाओं से परिपूर्ण रहते हैं। उत्तर भारत में गुजरात से लेकर बङ्गाल तक और दक्षिण भारत में आन्ध्र, तमिलनाड तथा केरल प्रदेश तक भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण सब स्त्री-पुरुषों के लिए मनमोहन हैं। इन लोक-गीतों के माध्यम से उनका रसिक जीवन ही मुख्यतः उभरा हुआ है; वे लीला-पुरुष तो हैं किन्तु मर्यादा-पुरुषोत्तम नहीं हैं। देवत्व का यही मानवीकरण, (जिसे साधारणीकरण कहने में भी कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिए), शिव-पार्वती-सम्बन्धी लोक-गीतों में भी मिलेगा। सौराष्ट्र के लोकगीतों में यदि शिव जी स्वयं अपनी धोती धोते हुए उल्लिखित हैं तो पार्वती जी स्वयं अपने हाथों पानी भरने जाती हैं। पूर्वी भारत की ओर मैथिल प्रदेश के 'नचारी' गीत और भी सजीव व आकर्षक हैं, जहाँ दूल्हे शिव जी को दुलहिन पार्वती से छोटा कहा गया है। उनका वाहन ही उनकी प्रिय सारी भाँग-बूटी चट कर जाता है! 'रामायण', 'महाभारत', पुराणों के ये विभिन्न लोकोत्तर पात्र लोकगीतों के माध्यम से समस्त उत्तर भारतीय एवं दक्षिण-भारतीय सामाजिक जीवन को एकता के सूत्र में बाँधते हैं।

धार्मिक विश्वासों, पूजा-विधियों, अनुष्ठानों, व्रतों तथा विभिन्न संस्कारों से सम्बद्ध लोकगीत देश भर में प्रचलित हैं। इनकी तात्त्विक समानता तत्सम्बन्धी एकता की तीसरी दिशा है। धार्मिक विश्वासों की अमिट छाप सभी लोकगीतों पर पड़ी है। मुख्यतः ग्रामीण स्त्रियाँ अभीष्ट-सिद्धि के लिए किसी-न किसी व्रत, उपासना का विधान अवश्य करती हैं और नागरिक स्त्रियाँ भी इस तथ्य का अपवाद नहीं हैं। समस्त भारत की अनुष्ठान-विधियों में कहीं भी

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कोई तात्त्विक अन्तर लक्षित नहीं होता। विधि-विधान की एकरूपता की दृष्टि से यहाँ पर उत्तर प्रदेश में प्रचलित षष्ठी-माता अथवा सूर्य-पूजा विषयक लोकगीतों का, तथा राजस्थान की ओर प्रचलित भैरव जी अथवा हनुमान् जी विषयक लोकगीतों का उल्लेखमात्र कर देना पर्याप्त होगा।

लोकगीतों में वर्णित सामाजिक मान्यताएँ सभी प्रदेशों में एक जैसी हैं। पुत्र का जन्म चाहे कश्मीर में हो चाहे मलाबार-तट पर, सौराष्ट्र में हो चाहे आसाम के बीहड़ वनों में; सर्वत्र लोकगीतों में उस समय कन्या-जन्म की अपेक्षा अधिक उत्साह प्रकट किया जाता है। रूप-सौन्दर्य की दृष्टि से उस पुत्र की तुलना कामदेव से की जाती है। विवाह-सम्बन्धी गीतों में सास सभी जगह मोतियों-भरा थाल लेकर अपने पुत्र का स्वागत करती है। घर-भीतर दशरथ की भाँति पिता, कौशल्या की भाँति माता, राम-लक्ष्मण की भाँति भाई तथा सुभद्रा की भाँति बहिनें पधारती हैं। दक्षिण भारत के लोकगीतों में उसी प्रकार अतिथियों के पैर जल से पखारने का, केसर-कुङ्कुम के तिलक करने का उल्लेख मिलता है, जिस प्रकार उत्तर भारत के लोकगीतों में है। यदि गहराई से देखा जाए तो इस प्रकार के लोक-गीतों में कुछ विशिष्ट सांस्कृतिक रूढियों का अनुसन्धान किया जा सकता है, जिनका प्रयोग लोकगायकों अथवा लोक-गायिकाओं ने (क्योंकि संस्कार-गीत मुख्यतः भारतीय नारी-समाज की देन हैं) समान अवसरों पर समान रूप से कर लिया है।

भावात्मक एकता की चौथी दिशा उन भारतीय लोकगीतों में प्राप्त होगी जहाँ एक-जैसी परिस्थितियों से उत्पन्न एक-जैसी ही भावनाएँ अभिव्यक्त हुई हैं। सामाजिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक इत्यादि भिन्न-भिन्न परिस्थितियाँ जहाँ तक भारत-जैसे विशाल देश में एक-सी रहीं वहाँ तक विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के लोकगीत भी एक से हैं। जैसे अकाल, दारिद्रय, उत्पीडन, दुर्दशादि सम्बन्धी लोकगीत न्यूनाधिक सर्वत्र प्रचलित हैं। स्वातन्त्र्य-सङ्ग्राम की चर्चा, अंग्रेजी राज्य की खरी आलोचना, और राष्ट्र-नेताओं की प्रशंसा भारत के सभी प्रादेशिक विभागों में होती रही, इस कारण वह लोकगीतों में भी हुई है। भोजपुरी लोकगीतों में ऐसी भूख का चित्रण हुआ है कि लोक-गायक अपना प्रिय गीत 'विरहा' गाना भी भूल जाता है—"भुखहा के मारे विरहा बिसरिगा, भूलि गई कजरी कबीर," और एक बुंदेली 'फाग' गीत में कोई कृषक इस कारण चिन्तित है कि उसका गेहूँ बिक गया और दोनों बैल भी घाटे में बिक गए! तमिलनाड के लोकगीतों ने दरिद्रता का दूसरा रूप उपस्थित किया है। वहाँ का ग्रामवासी इस कारण दुःखी है कि उसके पास दाल-चावल होते हुए भी चूल्हा नहीं है, भिखारी द्वार पर खड़ा है, किन्तु देने के लिए उसके पास एक पैसा भी नहीं है! सुदूर उत्तरदिशा में हिमालय की घाटियों के बीच ऐसे ही भाव दूसरे शब्दों में व्यक्त हुए हैं—"भूखै लै बिडौल बसंती बखतै यसै छ"—अर्थात् भूख से ही बेचैन हो गए, प्रिये! समय ही ऐसा आ गया!

एक अन्य दिशा का सङ्केत यहाँ पर और कर देना चाहिए, जहाँ ये भारतीय लोकगीत एक-दूसरे के अधिक निकट आए हैं। जननी जन्मभूमि के प्रति सभी प्रादेशिक लोकगीतों में पूज्य भाव व्यक्त हुए हैं। पृथ्वी मेरी माता है और मैं उसका पुत्र हूँ—इसी आदर्श की झलक यत्रतत्र मिलती है। उदाहरण के लिए यदि गुजराती लोकगीतों में पृथ्वी माता की महती शक्ति का सङ्केत किया गया है तो कुमाँउनी-गढ़वाली लोकगीतों में उसे जननी की भाँति दूध पिलाने वाली कहा गया है। इसी प्रकार कुछ लोकगीतों में प्राकृतिक पदार्थों व पशुपक्षियों के प्रति समान जैसी कल्पनाएँ व्यक्त होती हुई मिलेंगी। सूर्य और चन्द्रमा को परस्पर भाई-बहिन कहा गया है, अथवा विवाह के पश्चात् मायके से बिदा होती हुई कन्या ने अपनी तुलना एक उड़ते हुए पक्षी से की है, जो अनिश्चित दिशा की ओर उन्मुख है। भारतवर्ष का कोई भी क्षेत्र ऐसा नहीं होगा, जहाँ इस भावभूमि पर लोकगीतों की रचना न हुई हो।

और गहराई से देखने पर विभिन्न प्रदेशों में प्रचलित कृषि-गीतों, ऋतु-गीतों इत्यादि की तुलना करते हुए भी कुछ समानताएँ मिल जाती हैं, क्योंकि उनके निर्माण-तत्त्व प्रायः एक ही हैं; अथवा समान उद्देश्य को ध्यान में रखकर

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उनका स्वरूप-विधान हुआ है। ऐसे लोकगीतों का नामकरण तो स्थानीय विशेषताओं के आधार पर मिलेगा; किन्तु उनकी भावभूमि एक मिलेगी। जैसे वसन्तोत्सव-सम्बन्धी लोकगीत सर्वत्र प्रचलित हैं। मुण्डा जाति के बीच वे जदुर गीतों के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं, तो कुमाऊँ-गढ़वाल के लोग उन्हें 'चैतू' गीत कहते हैं। श्रमगीत भी उत्तर भारत एवं दक्षिण भारत, दोनों स्थानों पर प्रचलित हैं। हाँ, उनका नाम कुछ दूसरा हो सकता है। हिमालय की ओर यही श्रमगीत 'हुड़की बौल' नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। कहने का तात्पर्य यह कि समानता के बराबर आधार उन लोकगीतों में भी प्राप्त हो जाते हैं, जिनका बाह्य परिवेश नामकरणादि के आधार पर नितान्त भिन्न मालूम होता है।

विषय-वस्तुगत एवं तात्त्विक समानता के अतिरिक्त इनमें अभिव्यक्ति-कौशल की दृष्टि से भी कुछ समानताएँ लक्षित होती हैं। भारतीय लोकगायकों के संस्कारों, विशिष्ट सामाजिक रूढियों, वातावरण इत्यादि में पर्याप्त भेद होते हुए भी उनकी अभिव्यञ्जना-पद्धति में भी अद्‌भुत साम्य है। प्रिय अथवा प्रिया के लिए वे 'तोता', 'गाय' जैसे प्रतीकों का प्रयोग करते हुए मिलेंगे और इसी प्रकार सन्देश भेजने के लिए वे 'हंस', 'भंवर' जैसे प्रतीक अपनायेंगे। नारी का प्रतीक कहीं 'चना-दाल' मिलता है; अर्थात् नारी चने के दाने की भाँति फटकर अन्तःसौन्दर्य को बाहर प्रकाशित करती है।

उपयुक्त उपमानों अथवा अप्रस्तुत-विधान के निर्धारण में भी लोकगायकों की यही विशेष दृष्टि काम करती है। वे उपमानों का चुनाव वातावरण-विशेष के आधार पर करते हैं, जो कि अधिकांशतः स्थानीय ही रहा करता है। अतः उनके द्वारा प्रयुक्त उपमान नितान्त मौलिक व नित्य नवीन रहा करते हैं। उपमान-योजना की यह विशेषता लोकगीतों को छोड़कर अन्यत्र नहीं मिलेगी। उदाहरण के लिए कुमाऊँ क्षेत्र का अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय महागीत 'मालूसाही' ले सकते हैं। उसकी नायिका राजुला का सौन्दर्य-वर्णन करते समय लोकगायक उसकी कोमलता के लिए 'कैंरुवा', 'पालङ', 'पीली ककड़ी' (पहाड़ी ककड़ी का आकार भिन्न होता है) जैसे स्थानीय उपमानों का प्रयोग करता है, जिनका तद्रूप अनुवाद किसी अन्य भाषा द्वारा कर सकना सम्भव नहीं है। लोकगीतों में प्रयुक्त उपमान कहीं-कहीं शिष्ट साहित्य में प्रयुक्त उपमानों से आगे बढ़ जाते हैं। वस्तुतः इन दोनों प्रकार के उपमानों का तुलनात्मक विवेचन अध्ययन का एक अलग विषय है।

सन्दर्भ सूत्र

१. 'फोक लिटरेचर आव् आसाम'—प्रफुल्लदत्त गोस्वामी।
२. 'फोक लिटरेचर आव् बङ्गाल'—दिनेशचन्द्र सेन।
३. 'मैथिली लोकगीत'—रामइकबाल सिंह 'राकेश'।
४. 'भोजपुरी लोकगीत' भाग १, २—डा० कृष्णदेव उपाध्याय।
५. 'व्रज-लोक-साहित्य का अध्ययन'—डा० सत्येन्द्र।
६. 'कविता-कौमुदी' भाग ५—रामनरेश त्रिपाठी।
७. 'राजस्थानी लोकगीत'—सूर्यकरण पारीक।
८. 'बांसरी बज रही'—जगदीश त्रिगुणायत।
९. 'धीरे बहो गङ्गा'—देवेन्द्र सत्यार्थी।
१०. 'दि फोक सांग्स आव् सदर्न इण्डिया'—चार्ल्स ई० ग्रोवर।
११. 'कुमाऊँ का लोक-साहित्य'—डा० त्रिलोचन पाण्डेय।

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RĀMĀYAṆA NOTES

By

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI

A. MISINTERPRETATION OF CERTAIN PASSAGES IN RĀMA'S COMMENTARY, 'TILAKA', ON THE RĀMĀYAṆA

I. रामाभिषेक-संभारैस् तदर्थम् उपकल्पितैः।
रामः कारयितव्यो मे मृतस्य सलिल-क्रियाम्॥ २-२९-५

The commentator Rāma in his commentary *Tilaka* explains the verse as : तदर्थम् अभिषेकार्थं कल्पितै रामाभिषेक-संभारैर् अभिषेकं कर्तुं गुरु-जनो मां त्वरयिष्यति, अतो गुरु-जनानुरोधेन मया रामः कारयितव्यः कृताभिषेकः कारयितव्यः। एवं सति रुष्टया मत्सलिल-क्रिया न कार्येत्याह—मृतस्येत्यादि। मा कुर्विति शेषः।

The scene depicts the altercation between Daśaratha and Kaikeyī when she insists on demanding the boon of banishing Rāma to the forest. The commentator has entirely misunderstood the passage. Putting a stop after *kārayitavyaḥ*, he has arbitrarily rendered it as *kṛtābhiṣekaḥ kārayitavyaḥ*. He completes the next sentence by supplying an unwarranted ellipsis *mā kuru* and makes it as *Me mṛtasya salila-kriyāṁ mā kuru*, taking it as Daśaratha's prohibitive injunction to Kaikeyī. In the first place, it is ungrammatical to begin the sentence with the enclitic *me*. Secondly, if this interpretation be accepted, then the next verse becomes redundant, being a mere repetition of the prohibition. It says :

सुपुत्रया त्वया नैव कर्तव्या सलिल-क्रिया।
व्याहन्तास्यशुभाचारे यदि रामाभिषेचनम्॥ २-२९-६

As a matter of fact, what Daśaratha wants to say in indignation is that since Kaikeyī insists on sending Rāma to exile, the latter should be asked to offer him libation of water at his (inevitable) death with the same materials that have been gathered for his (i.e. Rāma's) coronation.

II. कृत-क्षणाऽहं, भद्रं ते, गमनं प्रति राघव। २-२९-१५

Here, the commentator renders *kṛta-kṣaṇā* as *kṛtānumatikā*. Monier-Williams gives the meaning of *kṛta-kṣaṇā* as 'one who waits impatiently for a person or thing', and translates this very quotation of the Rāmāyaṇa as 'I am waiting impatiently for thy going.' As the word *kṣaṇa*, which means 'any instantaneous point of time', implies more the idea of impa-

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tience than of permission, the explanation of the commentator does not seem appropriate. Sītā was impatient to accompany Rāma to the forest and to avail of the opportunity of waiting upon him in his adversity.

III. अलं शोकेन, भद्रं ते, राज-पुत्र महायशः।
प्राप्त-कालं नरपतेः कुरु संयानम् उत्तमम्।। २-७६-२

The commentator renders *saṁyānam* as *preta-nirhāram*, ignoring the following word *uttamam* which would then either be redundant or misfit. *Saṁyāna* standing alone means 'going, travelling, journey' (cf. *anusaṁyāna* in Aśoka's edicts). It is only in connection with the word *uttamam* (the last) that it means 'the last journey' or 'carrying out of the dead body'. This usage also occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa.*

IV. लोभात् पापानि कुर्वाणः कामाद् वा यो न बुध्यते।
हृष्टः पश्यति तस्यान्तं ब्राह्मणी करकाद् इव।। ३-२९-५

The commentator explains it as : तस्य पापस्यान्तं स्व-नाश-रूपं परिपाकं पश्यति। पाप-फलम् अनुभवतीत्यर्थः। करका वर्षोपलास् तान् अत्ति करकात्सा ब्राह्मणी रक्त-पुच्छिकेव। रक्त-पुच्छिकायाः करका विषम्। तन्निगरण-मात्रेण तन्मृत्युर् इति प्रसिद्धिः। सा यथा स्वानर्थम् अ-पश्यन्ती तद् (? तं) भुङ्क्ते। भोजनोत्तरं तन्नाशं लोकः पश्यति। एवं यः कर्म-करण-काले नाशकम् इदं न बुध्यते तस्य तत्कर्म-प्राप्तम् अन्तं लोको हृष्टः सन् पश्यतीत्यर्थ इति कतकः।

Now, there is self-contradiction in the explanations of the commentator. If, with the commentator, we take *tasyāntam* to mean *pāpasyāntam*, in spite of the snag that its antecedent (*pāpāni*) in the first half of the verse is in the plural, the subject of the verb *paśyati* must be *saḥ* (the correlative of *yaḥ*) which is absent and has to be understood. In that case *hṛṣṭaḥ* remains unexplained. If it be taken with *saḥ* (*hṛṣṭaḥ san*), then the question arises who would be rejoiced to see his own ruin ?

In his second explanation, the commentator takes *tasya* as referring to the sinner himself, and makes the jubilant people (*hṛṣṭaḥ lokaḥ*) witness his doom. In this case, the snag lies in the simile, in which *brāhmaṇī* is in the nominative instead of being in the genitive case corresponding to *tasya.*

In view of these contradictory explanations, we are of the opinion that the reading *brāhmaṇī* may be emended to *brāhmaṇyāḥ*, and the second explanation be accepted. The verse would then mean : "He, who, while committing sins from avarice or hankering, does not take heed—his, the people are rejoiced to see the ruin like that of a *brāhamaṇī* (red-tailed lizard) by (its greedily swallowing) a hailstone."

V. यदि जीवति वैदेही गमिष्याम्याश्रमं पुनः।
संवृत्ता यदि वृत्ता सा प्राणांस् त्यक्ष्यामि लक्ष्मण।। ३-५८-९

Here the commentator renders *saṁvṛttā* as *sadvṛttā*, which is absolutely wrong and arbitrary. In an earlier verse, he has given the correct meaning of *saṁvṛttaḥ* as *mṛtaḥ* (dead)

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in the expression *na saṁvṛttaḥ pitā mama* (3.15.29). In our opinion, here too the meaning is 'dead'. An eminent poet (*Ādi-kavi*) like Vālmīki is not expected to use the same word in another context in a sense which is not even remotely connected with the root *saṁ-vṛt*. we would construe the sentence as *yadi sā saṁvṛttā vṛttā, prāṇāṁs tyakṣyāmi, Lakṣmaṇa* : "If she is already dead, I shall (also) yield my breath, dear Lakṣmaṇa !" Here *vṛtta* does the function of an auxiliary verb.

VI. सुखं हि कारणं श्रुत्वा वैरस्य तव वानर।
आनन्तर्याद् विधास्यामि संप्रधार्य बलाबलम्।। ४-८-४२

The explanation of the commentator is : तव तेन वैरस्य कारणं श्रुत्वा, युवयोर् बलाबलं च श्रुत्वा, आनन्तर्यात् तदनन्तरोत्पन्न-विमर्शात् संप्रधार्य निश्चित्य। हि निश्चयेन। तव सुखं त्वत्सुख-साधनं वालि-वधं विधास्यामि।

It will be seen that the commentator takes a hypothetical *śrutvā* (which is not there) with *balābalam*, whereas the latter goes with *sampradhārya*. Again he treats *sukham* (actually an adverb which goes with *śrutvā* and means 'willingly, gladly, at leisure', etc.) as a noun signifying 'the means of Sugrīva's happiness, viz., the killing of Vālin'. This is preposterous. Further, he interprets *ānantaryāt* as *tad-anantarotpanna-vimarśāt*, 'consideration arising from that', which again is arbitrary. As a matter of fact, *ānantaryāt* is to be taken as an indeclinable used adverbially, and meaning 'immediately after'. What Rāma wants to say to Sugrīva is that he would fain listen to the cause of his enmity (with Vālin) and having ascertained the relative strength of both (the brothers) would do the needful immediately after that.

VII. पुनरेवाङ्गदः प्राह तान् हरीन् हरि-सत्तमः।
सर्वे बलवतां श्रेष्ठा भवन्तो दृढ़-विक्रमाः।
व्यपदेश-कुले जाताः पूजिताश्चाप्यभीक्ष्णशः।। ४-६४-२१

This is a polite address of Aṅgada to the monkeys. The commentator renders *vyapadeśa-kule* as *vigato padeśaḥ kalaṅiko yasmāt tādṛśe kule*, i.e., 'in a family from which the stigma has disappeard'. It is hardly complimentary to tell one that he is born in a family from which blemish has been washed away. As a matter of fact, this explanatilon is a mere figment of the commentator's imagination and is an instance of the tendency of Oriental Pandits to give fanciful derivations. The root *vi-apa-diś* means 'to mention', hence *vyapadeśa-kula* would mean 'a renowned or praiseworthy family'. It is interesting to note that the noun *vyapadeśa* is used as an adjective of *kula*, and perhaps for that reason came to denote 'family' itself.

NOTE : For reference vide Nirnayasagar Press edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa with the commentary *Tilaka* of Rāma, 1930.

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B. NOTES ON CERTAIN WORDS OCCURRING IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA OF VĀLMĪKI

1. लोभात् पापानि कुर्वाणः कामाद् वा यो न बुध्यते।
हृष्टः पश्यति तस्यान्तं ब्राह्मणी करकाद् इव॥ ३-३९-५

According to the commentator Rāma, *brāhmaṇī* is *rakta-pucchikā*, 'a lizard with red tail' which is popularly said to die as soon as she swallows a hailstone (*rakta-pucchikāyāḥ karakā viṣam, tannigaraṇa-mātreṇa tan-mṛtyuḥ*). We cannot say whether this belief is correct or not, but this much is certain that it would die under the imapact of the falling hailstones.

It is interesting to note that the word *brāhmaṇī* is current in almost all the Indian languages and dialects in its original as well as phonetically changed forms like *bāhmanī,bāmanī* and *bāmaṇī* for the red-tailed lizard from Peshawar to Bihaı. In Bengal and Andhradeśa, the ordinary house-lizard is called *brāhmaṇī*.

The sight and touch of the red-tailed lizard is considered auspicious. If it enters a house from outside, the inmates would be blessed with Lakṣmī (wealth or new bride). If its tail is touched with the little finger and the finger applied to the eyelids, it is claimed to prevent the appearance of styes. It is said that the eye-lashes of one who kills a *brāhmaṇī* would fall, and such an eye is calld bāmanī lagī āñkh or bāmanī khāī āñkh. This reptile is also called *sāñp kī māsī* or *sāñp kī bāhmanī*. The last popular name is believed to be due to the fact that serpents are said to invite this reptile to dine on auspicious occasions as do the Hindus invite a Brāhmaṇī. Out of reverence for it, the serpent does not attack or bite anybody in its presence.

In Bengal and Andhradeśa, the fall of an ordinary house--lizard on the right half of the body is considered auspicious, and on the left half inauspicious. The reverse is considered true in the case of a woman. There is a temple at Kāñchī (South India) in which there is an image of a large-sized lizard. If a person evilly affected by the fall of a lizard visits that temple for worship, he is believed to become immune from the evil effects. Even if a person so affected touches another person who has already visited that temple, he too becomes immune from the ėvil effects. The auspicious and evil effects of the fall of a lizard (Skt. *pallī*) on the different parts of the body on different days of the week and *tithis*, and under different *nakṣatras*, etc., are given in the different recensions of *jyotiṣa-sāra* and other works on astrology. In the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, we have the following verse under the word *jyesṭhī*, which is contrary to the aforesaid belief :

निपतति यदि पल्ली दक्षिणाङ्गे नराणां, स्वजन-धन-वियोगो लाभदा वाम-भागे।
उरसि शिरसि पृष्ठे कण्ठ-देशे च राज्यं, कर-चरण-हृदि-स्था सर्व-सौख्यं ददाति॥

2. साधु रावण रामेण मां समानय दुःखिताम्।
वने वासितया सार्धं करेण्वेव गजाधिपम्॥ ५-२१-१८

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The word *vāsitā* is rendered as *kāmukī* by the commentator. This word along with its variant *vāśitā* is given as a synonym of *kariṇī*, 'a female elephant'. The variant *vāśitā* from the root *vāś*, 'to roar, to low, to bleat' is a pointer to its meaning; for it is well-known that animals in heat or rut make such noises. It may be interesting to note that the English word 'rut' which means 'periodic sexual excitement of animals' is derived from the Latin root *rugire*, 'to roar'. Even if *vāsitā* from the root *vās*, 'to scent' be taken to give the same meaning of 'female animal desiring the male', it makes no difference; for, when in heat, the female animals emit a particular smell which attracts the male. In Panjabi, a bitch, when in heat, is said to be *muśkī hoī*.

In our opinion, however, the meaning of *vāsitā* as *kāmukī*, as understood by the commemtator, does not suit the context. It sounds highly indecorous in the mouth of Sītā to talk of sexual excitement in the presence of Rāvaṇa. The proximity of the word *vane* would suggest that *vāsitā* should be derived from the causative of root *vas*, 'to dwell, to live', and *vane vāsitā* to mean 'made to live in the forest', i.e. exiled.

Again, even with this change of meaning, the simile suffers from the fault of *prakrama-bhaṅga* in the *upameya* and *upamāna*. Sīta, who is feminine, is compared with *gajādhipa* which is masculine, and Rāma with the feminine *kareṇu*. As Sītā is in the confinement of Rāvaṇa and Rāma is roaming about in the forest, we would suggest that the text may be amended to read : वने विचरता सार्धं करेणुम् इव हस्तिना ।।

3. तेनेहास्यातुला कीर्त्तिर् यशस् तेजश् च वर्धते । २-२-२३

The commentator explains *kīrtti* as *śauryādijā prasiddhiḥ*, 'renown arising from acts of valour, etc., and *yaśas* as *dānādijā prasiddhiḥ*, 'fame arising from charity, etc.' At another place, viz., *Na sāmnā śakyate kīrttir na sāmnā śakyate yaśaḥ* (6.21.16), he explains *kīrtti* as *deśan-tara-khyātiḥ* and *yaśas* as *sva-deśa-khyātiḥ*, the former being 'renown abroad' and the latter 'fame in homeland'. Commenting on *Manusmṛti*, Kullūka says *jīvataḥ khyāti-rūpam yaśaḥ*, and *mṛtasya khyāti-rūpā kīrttiḥ*, the former being one's fame during one's life-time, and the latter 'renown after death'. Commenting on these very verses of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Govindarāja gives three explanations of each, viz., *kīrtti*=(i) *audāryādiguṇa-ṇimittā prathā*, (ii) *prathā*, and (iii) *parākrama-kṛtā* (*prathā*) and *yaśas*=(i) *parākramādi-nibandhanā prathā*, (ii) *tat* (i.e., *prathā*)-*kāraṇa-bala-dānādikam*, and (iii) *bala-kṛtā prathā*.

Maheśvaratīrtha, however, gives his own interpretations. According to him, *kīrtti* is *śauryādi-nibandhanā* or *guṇavattā-prathā*, and *yaśas* is *parākramādi-vyāpāra-janita-prasiddhiḥ* or *dānādijanita khyātiḥ*.

An early verse defining both these terms is quoted in the revised edition of Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary : *Khaḍgādiprabhavā kīrttir, vidyādi-prabhavam yaśaḥ*. In the Mehraulī Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra, too, *kīrtti* is said to have been won by sword : *Yasyodvarttayataḥ pratīpam urasā śattrūn sametyāgatān, Vaṅgesv āhava-varttino*,' *bhilikhitā khaḍgena kīrttir bhuje*.

Notwithstanding the various explanations of *yaśas* and *kīrtti* by different commenta-

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tors, we are of the opinion that there is much to say in favour of the explanations of Rāma and Kullūka. We find that in the *Nighaṇṭuka* chapters, *yaśas* is given as a synonym of *anna* (food), *udaka* (water), and *dhana* (wealth). It is quite possible that persons who gave away in charity food, water and wealth to the poor and needy might have come to be called *yaśas*, 'persons of respectability', and also amiable; for, *yaśas* also means 'beautiful appearance'. Later on, the sense of the word would have extended to denote the 'reputation' arising from such acts of charity (*dānādijā*). Such reputation was naturally confined to the donor's own locality (*sva-deśa-khyāti*) and was coterminous with his own life-time (*jīvataḥ khyāti*). *Kīrtti* on the other hand, being derived from the root *kīrt*, 'to mention', denoted a wide-spread renown arising from acts of valour, conquest or similar other heroic deeds (*śauryādijā*) and crossing the borders of one's own land (*deśāntara-khyāti*) would survive even when the hero is dead (*mṛtasya khyātiḥ*). This, too, is borne out by a passage in the Mehraulī Pillar Inscription which runs as : *Mūrttyā karma-jitāvaniṁ gatavataḥ kīrttyā sthitasya kṣitau.*

REFERENCE

1. This information I gathered from our charwoman (Peshawar), Srī Lajpat Rai (Bahawalpur), Srī Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa (Rohtak), Pandit Sthaṇu Datta (Bāngaṛ and Khāddaṛ regions), Sri H. S. Sinha (Moradābād and Bulandshahar), Dr. Bholā Nāth Tiwārī (Bhojpurī dialect), Śrī Viśva Nāth Tripāthī (Avadhī), Dr. M. Choudhuri (Bengal) and Śrī Rama Rāo (Āndhradeśa).

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RĀMĀYAṆA VERSES IN CĀṆAKYA'S COMPENDIA[1]

By

LUDWIK STERNBACH, NEW YORK

Abbreviations :—

AJPh	American Journal of Philology.
C	Cāṇakya.
CKr	O. Kressler, 'Stimmen indicher Lebensklugheit', *Indica* 4, Lepizig, 1907.
CL(=CLr)	Laghucāṇakya version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
ChSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares.
CKI	J. Kiatt, *De trecentis Cāṇakyae poetae indici sententiis*,
CN(=CNr)	Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
CNG	'The Recension of Cāṇakya used by Galanos for his' '*Ἐκ διαφορῶν ποιητῶν*', by G. M. Bolling in *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, 1920.
CNI I	MS 1518a (Eggeling 3990) in India Office Library, London.
CNM	*Rajanītau Cāṅkyamuni-viracitam*, no place; no date.
CNP I	MS 17072-3 (A) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNP II	MS 17072-1 (B) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNT IV	MS No. 5119, as quoted in CKr as TiD.
Cr	Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition (Cāṇakya-Nīti Śākhā-Sampradāya) in two volumes—vol. I, part 1 : the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (CVr), the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cvr), the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra (CNr), and the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha (CSr) versions; vol. I, part 2 : the Laghu-Cāṇakya (CLr) and the Cāṇakya-rājaniti-śāstra (CRr) versions; vol. II : the Ur-text. Six versions of Cāṇakya's collections of maxims reconstructed and critically edited for the first time, with introductions and variants from original manuscripts, all available printed editions and other materials by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Pb., India), 1963. (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, vols. 27, 28 and 29).
CR(=CRr)	Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
CS(=CSr)	Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha-version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

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CV(=Cvr)	Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
Cv(=Cvr)	Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)
GP	*Garuḍapurāṇam*, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1890.
H	The Hitopadeśa.
HH	*The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrita language*, Library, East-India House, London, 1810.
HJ	*Hitopadeśa*, the Sanskrit text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged by F. Johnson, 2nd ed., Hartford-London, 1864.
HS	*Hitopadeśas*, id est *Institutio Salutaris*. Textum codd. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars. I : textum sanscritum tenens, 1829. Pars. II : Commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1831, typis regiis. Prostat apnd Eduardum, Weber, bibliopolam Bonnensem.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JSAIL	L. Sternbach, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law. No. 24. Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadeśa (American Oriental Offprint Series No. 28); No. 27. Mānava-dharmaśāstra Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia (JAOS 79.4, p. 233-54): No. 30. Mahābhārata Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia (JAOS 83.1, p. 30-67).
MBH	Mahābhārata.
MBH (Bh)	The Mahābhārata for the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar, Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute. Poona 1933—
MBH (C)	The Mahābhārata. Royal Asiatic Society Edition. Calcutta 1834-9. (Calcutta edition).
MBH (R)	*Śrīmahābhāratam*, ed. by Protapa Chandra Roy, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1886-8.
P	The Pañcatantra.
PN	*Pañcatantra*, Nepali text, as quoted in PRE I, pp. 192-258 and PT I, pp. 117-35; PS, pp. 100-26.
PP	*The Pañcatantra*, in the recension called *Pañcākhyānaka* of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra, ed. by J. Hertel, HOS 11-2, 1908-12.
PRE	*The Pañcatantra*, I-V, the text in its oldest form, ed. by F. Edgerton, Poona, 1930. Also : *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed* by F. Edgerton, 2 vols., AOS 2-3, 1924.
PS	'Das südliche Pañcatantra : Sanskrit text der Recension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Recension α', herausg. von J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kon. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss*, XXIV. 5, Leipzig, 1906.

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PT — 'Ueber das Tantrākhyāyikā, die Kaśmirische Rezension des Pañcatantra mit dem Texte der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145', herausg. von J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kon, sāchs, Ges. d. Wiss.*, XXII.5, Leipzig, 1904. Also *The Pañcatantra* (PTem) the Kashmirian Recension entitled *Tantrākhyāyikā* (*editio minor*) by J. Hertel, HOS 14, 1915. Also *Tantrākhyāyikā*, die alteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von J. Hertel, I-II, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1909.

Pts — *Pañcatantra* (*textus simplicior*), ed. with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), BSS 1, 3, and 4, 1891-6.

PtsK — *Pantschatantrum*, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens. Edidit Io. Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1848.

R — *Rāmāyaṇa*,

R (B) — R. (Cf.par. 6 of the text).

R (G) — R. (Cf.par. 6 of the text).

R (R) — R. (Cf.par. 6 of the text).

Śto — 'Der Textus ornatior der Śukasaptati', von Richard Schmidt, ABayA 21, Abth. 2, 1898-9.

Śts — 'Die Śukasaptati, textus simplicior', von Richard Schmidt, AKM 10.1, Leipzig, 1893.

VC — *Vikrama's Adventures*, or *The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne*, in four recensions : Southern (VCsr.), Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr.), ed. by Franklin Edgerton, 2 vols., HOS 26, and 27, 1926.

Vet — 'Die Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa...' ed. by Heinrich Uhle, AKM 8.1.

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1. In my last study "Mahābhārata Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia" which was published in the JAOS 83.1, I analyzed one-hundred forty-two Mahābhārata verses which occur in the Mahābhārata and at least one of the Cāṇakya's compendia. The present study is the continuation of the previous one, as it analyzes verses which occur in the second most important Sanskrit epic, viz., in the Rāmāyaṇa and at least one text of Cāṇakya's collections of maxims.

2. In the previous study no doubt was expressed as to the origin of the verses : all Cāṇakya-verses found in a Mahābhārata text were borrowed by the compilor of Cāṇakya's compendia from the Mahābhārata and not vice-versa. The same can be also said about the Cāṇakya-verses found in the Rāmāyaṇa; their origin must be ascribed to the Rāmāyaṇa and not to Cāṇakya's collections of maxims. It should be, however, emphasized that in most cases quoted below the Cāṇakya-verses occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa are also found in the

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Mahābhārata. Out of eleven verses[2] identical in a Cānakya's text and in a Rāmāyana text, six also occur in the Mahābhārata.

The critical analysis of the texts shows that whenever a Cāṇakya-verse occurs in both, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, it is nearer to the Mahābhārata text than to the Rāmāyana; therfore, it may be assumed that in these six cases the compilor of the Cānakya text borrowed from the Mahābhārata and not from the Rāmāyaṇa.

3. The number of Cāṇakya's texts idential with the Rāmāyaṇa is much smaller than that of the texts identical with the Mahābhārata. That is easily understandable, since the Mahābhārata is a vast cyclopaedia and thesaurus of Hindu mythology, legendary history, ethics, sententious maxims and philosophy, while the Rāmāyaṇa is a more compact work which never broke the solid chain of one principal and paramount subject which was always kept in view. It contains few didactic discourses and is characteristic by a remarkable scarcity of sententious maxims. Since Cāṇakya verses are almost exclusively sententious maxims, not many could have been borrowed from the Rāmāyaṇa.

4. Thc maxims found in the Rāmāyana and in at least one Cānakya text deal with a variety of subject matters. with the exception of three or four which deal with different aspects of fate (Nos. 4 (10), 5, 7and 11) the other deal with completely different topics, e.g. mango fruit (No. 1), respect given by the wife to her husband who offers her gifts (No. 2), kings (No. 3), performance of good deeds (No. 6), acts of men of small wit (No. 8), consequences of one's wealth (No. 9) or assembly, elders, *dharma* and truth (No. 12).

5. The aim of this study is to show which of the maxims attributed to Cāṇakya originated in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Rāmāyaṇa/Mahābhārata. In order to be able to conclude whether the compilor of Cāṇakya's collections of maxims borrowed directly from the Rāmāyaṇa or not, it was necessary to analyze each stanza occurring in any of the Cāṇakya's collections of maxims as well as in the Rāmāyaṇa separately and to give all variants of this stanza. This has been done in the second part of this study. In particular, it was found neeessary, first, to give the text of the Rāmāyaṇa; appropriate places in which the stanza is found in various Cānakya's collections of maxims; their sources, a detailed analysis of each stanza and, in the footnotes, different readings which occur in each stanza.[3] In this connexion it should be emphasized that, unlike the study of the Mahābhārata verses in Cānakya's collections of maxims, the original Rāmāyaṇa verses,[4] quoted in this study were never found in other sources than Cāṇakya's collections of maxims. Only these verses which occurred in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were also found in the Sanskrit *kathā* literature or other Sanskrit literary works; the original Rāmāyaṇa verses did not belong to the floating mass of oral tradition but solely to Vālmīki (or the author of the Rāmāyana, should the authorship of Vālmīki be questioned).

6. The Rāmāyana text used in the present study was, in principle, the text commonly known all over India (North and South) and that usually known in Bengal. Two editions of the first text were used, viz. a reprint iu MS form of the Bombay edition (R(B) and a somewhat critical text published by N. Ramaratnam, second edition revised by Paṇḍita

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Cinnasvāmi Śāstrigal and Paṇḍita Subrahmaṇya Śāstri, printed at the M.L.J. Press, Private Ltd., Mylapore, Madras (R(R)). The text prevalent in Bengal (Gauḍa) which was used in this study was the text published by Gasparo Gerrosio : *Rāmāyaṇa, Poema indico de Vālmiki. Testo sanscrito secondo icodici manoscritti della scuola Gauḍana.* 5 volumes, Paris 1843-50, (R(G)).

7. As far as Cāṇakya's texts are concerned, the critical edition, as reconstructed in six versions by this author was used ; these six versions were published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute in Hoshiarpur (VIS 27-26) and are the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version (CVr), the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version (Cv), the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version (CNv), the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṁgraha version (CSr), the Laghu-Cāṇakya version (CLr) and the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version (CRr). Where the maxims did not occur in the reconstructed versions of Cāṇakya's sayings but in individual texts, these texts as described in the abbreviations were used.[5]

The maxims are arranged in the order in which they appear in the Rāmāyaṇa. In one case the maxim appears in two places in the Rāmāyaṇa; this stanza figures only once in part II and only a reference is made to the place where the maxim is analysed.

8. The analysis of the verses found in the Rāmāyaṇa and at least one Cāṇakya-text shows (1) that, as was stated above, the greatest part of the verses which occur simultaneously in these two sources are in reality Mahābhārata verses which also occur in the Rāmāyaṇa (2) that, with one exception only, the text of the Cāṇakya-verses is nearer to the text of the most common Rāmāyaṇa text (the Bombay edition) than to any other Rāmāyaṇa text. Where the Cāṇakya text was nearer to the Bengali text than to the Bombay edition, the Cāṇakya text was also most common in Bengal (the Laghu-Cāṇakya version) (No. 7); and (3) that most of the Cāṇakya verses found in the Rāmāyaṇa belong to the Cāṇakya rāja-nīti-śāstra version (six out of eleven); this version was very well-known in India, mostly in the North, in the tenth and eleventh century *A.D.*. Also a great number of Cāṇakya verses found in the Rāmāyaṇa occur in individual texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version. This can be easily explained : these individual texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version are simply *Subhāṣita-saṁgrahas-s* composed of well-known sententious maxims.

9. Some conclusions reached in *JSAIL* 30 refer also to those maxims which occur in a Cāṇakya-text, a Rāmāyaṇa-text and a Mahābhārata-text. This is the case of stanzas No. 2 (*JSAIL* 30, par. 6), Nos. 4 and 10 (*JSAIL* 30, par. 6); and No. 5 (*JSAIL* 30, par. 6A). The first of them is very important because it shows in what way a thought included originally in the Mahābhārata (or Rāmāyaṇa) developed. In maxim No. 2 it was said that a woman does not receive many gifts from her father, mother and son, but only from her husband; therefore, she should treat him with respect. The texts of the Rāmāyaṇa, Vulgata of the Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, Vikramacarita and the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā substituted the brother for mother. However, the Cāṇakya-text went further, probably knowing the different texts changed somewhat the reading of the first two *pādas* and included all the four, i.e. the father, the mother, the brother and the son as those from whom a woman did not receive many gifts; the poetical beauty of the verse was partly lost, but its sense was improved.[6]

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The eleven verses[7] of the Rāmāyaṇa identical with a Cāṇakya text are given in part II of this study.

10. In addition to the eleven verses identical in the Rāmāyaṇa and in at least one Cāṇakya-text, there are four Cāṇakya-verses which, though not identical with the Rāmāyaṇa, are allied to the latter text. The four Cāṇakya-verses were probably influenced directly or indirectly by the Rāmāyaṇa. They are quoted in part III where the full texts of the Rāmāyaṇa and of Cāṇakya's maxims are given.

II. TEXTS OF VERSES IDENTICAL IN THE RĀMĀYANA AND IN A CĀNAKYA TEXT

No. 1. R(B) 2.35.16 : 2.35.14; R (G)—

आम्रं छित्त्वा कुठारेण[1] निम्बं[2] परिचेत्तु यः।
यश्चैनं[3] पयसा[4] सिञ्चेन्नैवास्य मधुरो भवेत्॥

This maxim appears in one text of the CN version, viz. in CNM 94. It is found in IS 980.

This Cāṇakya verse is identical with the Rāmāyaṇa but was corruptly rendered in CNM, which text is often corrupt. The CNM text was undoubtedly borrowed directly from R.

Footnotes to No. 1 :

1. कठाणा CNM. 2. निवं CNM. 3. य एनं CNM. 4. सिञ्चेत् CNM.

No. 2. R (B) 2.39. 30; R (R) 2.39, 30-31; R(G) 9.38. 35 and 4.20. 4.

मितं[1] ददाति हि पिता मितं माता[2] मितं सुतः।
अमितस्य हि[3] दातारं[4] भर्तारं का न पूजयेत्॥

This maxim appears in the texts of the CN version, viz. CNP II 220 and CNT IV 175.

It is also found in MBh (Bh) 12.144. 6; (R) 12. 148. 6; (C) 12.5566-7.

The various variants which occur in this text are unimportant with the exception of some important variants in *b*. These variants occur in some texts of R, in MBh (R), MBh (C), Pts K, VC and Vet. In *b* the word माता is changed to भ्राता. The CNP II text follows this text but also introduces a change in *a* by which it keeps also the word माता; therefore, according to this text "limited are the gifts given by the father, mother, brother and son", while the R or MBh texts have: "limited are the gifts given by the father, mother (or brother) and son."

The C text was undoubtedly borrowed with some changes directly from the Vulgata text of MBh or from the R.

Foot notes to No. 2 :

1. मिता दाद्यात पिता माता CNP II. 2. भ्राता R(B), MBh(R), MBh(C), CNP II, PtsK, VC, Vet. 3. तु MBh(Bh), MBh(R), Vet; च CNP II, VC. 4. दातैकः R(G) 2.38. 25. 5. सुख्यस्यार्थे पतिः स्त्रियः R(G) 2.38. 25.

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For other variants see *JSAIL* 30; No. 99. Also see W. Hopkins *AJPh* 20.29.

No. 3 R (B) 2.52. 25; R (R) 2.52. 25; R (G) 2.49. 18--

एतदर्थं हि राज्यानि[1] प्रशासति[2] नराधिपाः ।
यदेषां सर्वकृत्येषु[3] मनो[4] न प्रतिहन्यते ।।

This maxim occurs in the CR version, viz. in CRr 4.16.

"It is also found in the Garuḍa-purāṇa (1.111. 13).

In CR *b* is different; also some minor variants occur in *a*, *c* and *d*.

The *C* text was either borrowed from, or was influenced by *R*. *Footnotes to No.* 3 :

1. सौमित्रे CRr; विपेन्द्रा GP. 2. राज्यनिच्छन्ति भूभृतः CRr; प्रशंसन्ति नरेश्वराः R(G). 3. सर्वकार्येषु CRr; सर्वकामेषु R(G). 4. वाचो CRr.

No. 4 R(B) 2. 105. 16; R(R) 2.105 t 16, R(G) 2.11. 3
(Also R(B) 7.52. 11. R(R) 7.52, 18)

सर्वे[1] क्षयान्ता[2] निचयाः पतनान्ताः[3] समुच्छ्रयाः[4] ।
संयोगा[5] विप्रयोगान्ता[6] मरणान्तं च[7] जीवितम्[8] ।।

This well-known maxim occurs in the CR version and in two texts of the CN version; viz. in CRr 8.59, CNG 329 and CNI I 186. It is also found in MBh ((Bh) 11.2. 3; 12.317. 20; 14.44. 18; (R)11.2 .3; 12.27, 29; 12.330. 20; 14. 44. 19; (C) 11.48; 12.829; 12.12501; 14.123), the Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyikā 2.165) *textus minor* 2.147), the Hitopadeśa; (HS I. 180, HH 32.25-6), the Kathāsaritsāgara 9.51. 26–7, the Gobhila-smṛti (KSS 48.3, *ad* 43) and the Divyāvadāna II p. 27.

The variants which occur in the maxim are of no great importance, with the exception of variants which occur in the Hitopadeśa.

The C text follows the classical text of MBh and R; it was undoubtedly borrowed directly from R or MBh.

Footnotes to No. 4 :

1. सर्वत्र जन्तोर्नियमात् HS, HH. 2. ऽन्ति CNI I. 3. ऽन्ता CNI I; पततश्च HS, HH, 4. समुद्यमाः CNI I. 5. संयोगश्च वियोगान्ता (०गाश्च HS, HH) MBh(R), MBh(C) Asvame-dhika-parvan, RG, HS, HH. 6. संयोगा MBh(R) 11.2, 3 p inting error); संयोग R(B) 7.52. 11. 7. हि MBh(Bh), MBh(R), CNI I, P, HS, HH, Gobhila-smṛti, Divyāvadāna. 8. जीवति MBh(C) 11.42, CNI I, P; जीवनम् HS, HH,

For other variants see *JSAIL* 30; No. 74 (cf. No. 83). Also see W. Hopkins, *AJPh* 20.30.

No. 5 R (B) 2.105 26; R(R) 2.105 26; R(G) 2.114.2.

यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां महार्णवे[1] ।
समेत्य च व्यपेयातां कालमासाद्य कञ्चन ।।

This maxim occurs in the CR version among verses, the authenticity of which is doubted, viz. in CRr "N".

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It is also found in MBh((Bh) 12.28. 39; 12.168. 15; (B) 12.28. 36; 12.174, 16; (C) 868-9; 12.6471-2) and in the Hitopadeśa (HJ 4.72).

The C text is different in *d* and contains minor variants in *b* and *c*; it is, however, identical with MBh and the Hitopadeśa.

The C text was undoubtedly borrowed directly from MBh but is very similar to the R text.

Footnotes to No. 5:

1. महोदधौ MBh, H, CR. 2. तु R(B), R(G). 3. स्थित्वा किंचित् क्षपान्तरम् R(G); तद्वद् भूतसमागमः MBh, H, CR.

For other variants see *JSAIL* 30; No. 85 and *JSAIL* 24; No. 106. Also see W. Hopkins, *AJPh* 20.29.

No. 6. R (B) 2.109. 28; R(R) 2.109. 28; R(G) 2.118. 28.

कर्मभूमिमिमां[1] प्राप्य कर्तव्यं कर्म यच्छुभम्।
अग्निर्वायुश्च सोमश्च कर्मणां फलभागिनः[2] ।।

This maxim occurs in one text of the CN version, viz. in CNG 205.

Only the R(*G*) text contains some variants from other texts of R, viz. in *d*. The CNG text has a minor variant in *a*.

The C text was undoubtedly borrowed directly from R. (Northern and Southern recension).

Footnotes to No. 6 :

1. कर्मभूतिम् CNG. 2. कर्मणां फलमश्नुते R(G).

No. 7. R(B) 5.37. 3; R(R) 5.37. 3; R(G) 5.35 3.

ऐश्वर्ये वा सुविस्तीर्णे व्यसने वा सुदारुणे[1]।
रज्ज्वेव पुरुषं[2] बद्ध्वा कृतान्तः परिकर्षति[3]।।

This maxim occurs in the CL version, viz. in CLr 4.8.

The R(G) text contains some important variants from other R texts in *d*. They are followed also in the CL text. In addition, the CL text contains some minor variants in *b*.

The C text was undoubtedly borrowed directly from R, as recorded in the R(G) edition (Bengali recension).

Footnotes to No. 7 :

1. चापि दारुणे CL. 2. परुषं R(B); पुरुषो R(G), CL. 3. कृतान्तेनोपनीयते R(G), CL.

No. 8. R(B) 6.83 33; R(R) 6.83 33; R(G) 6.62. 30.

अर्थेन हि[1] वियुक्तस्य[2] पुरुषस्याल्पतेजसः[3]।
व्युच्छिद्यन्ते[4] क्रियाः[5] सर्वा ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ।।

This maxim occurs in the CR and Cv versions, viz. in CRr 4.13 and Cvr 6.10.

It is also found in MBh ((Bh) 12.3. 18; (R) 12.8.18; (C) 12.218-9), the Pañcatantra (PP 2.71, Pts 2.85, PtsK 2.92, PS 2.30, PT 2.53, PN 1.27, PRE 2.32) and the Hitopadeśa (HJ 1.133).

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The various variants which occur in this maxim are of little importance, with the exception of those found in the Hitopadeśa.

The C text follows more closely the MBh text than the R text and although both the texts are very similar, it is more likely that the C text borrowed directly from MBh than from R.

Footnotes to No. 8 :

1. ह MBh (R); च Pt-, PtsK; एह् MBh (C). 2. वियुक्तस्य R(B); विहीनस्य MBh, CR, CvC. 3. ऽल्पनेतस: R(B); ऽल्पमेधस: MBh, CR, Cv. 4. क्रिया: सर्वा विनश्यन्ति H; प्रछिद्यन्ते R(G). 5. विच्छद्यन्ते MBh, CR, Cv; उच्छिद्यन्ते PP, Pts, PtsK.

For other variants see *JSAIL* 30; No. 79 and *JSAIL* 24; No. 27.

No. 9.R(B) 6.88 35; 6.83.35; R(G) 6.62. 32.

यस्यार्थास्[1] तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्[1] तस्य बान्धवा: ।
यस्यार्था:[2] स पुमाँल्लोके[3] यस्यार्थास्[4] स च[5] पण्डित: ।।

This maxim occurs in the CV, Cv and CR versions and in five texts of the CN version, viz. in CVr 7.15, Cvr 6.8, CRr 4.12, CNP I 51, CNP II 76, CNI I 67, CNG 238 and CNT IV 50.

It is also found in MBh ((Bh) 12.8, 9; (R) 12.8, 19; (C) 12.219-20), Garuḍapurāṇa (1.111, 17), the Pañcatantra (Pts 1.3, PtsK 1.3, PT 2.52, PN 2.31, PS 1.28, PRE 2.31), The Hitopadeśa (HS 1.234), VC (VCsr 215, the Śukasaptati (Śts 25.11-26.1; Śto 325. 34-5). Cf. Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī 16.442).

This stanza was also included in the Tibetan and Mongolian literature, viz. in the Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi 49 and Masūrākṣasa's Nītiśāstra 6.7 and the Pāli and Burmese Literature (Lokanīti 167, Nīti Kyan 211).

All variants which occur in this maxim are unimportant. The C text was undoubtedly borrowed directly from R or MBh.

Footnotes to No. 9 :

1. ऽथस् VC, Sts 2. ऽर्थस् CNP I, CNP II; ऽर्थस ऽर्था HJ; ऽथा CNI I. 3. लोकि CNI I. 4. ऽथस् VC, CNP I, CNP II; ऽर्थो CNI I; ऽर्था: R(R), MBh(R). 5. तु HJ; हि CRr, HM, HC. 6. जीवति CVr, Cvr, CNI I; रोगिण: CRr; बहुश्रुत: CNI I.

For other variants see *JSAIL* 30; No. 80 and *JSAIL* 25; No. 26.

No. 10, R(B) 7.52. 11; R(R) 7.52 11.

See No. 4.

No. 11, R(B) 7.54. 16; R(R) 7.54. 16-7.

प्राप्तव्यान्येव[1] प्राप्नोति गन्तव्यान्येव[2] गच्छति ।
लब्धव्यान्येव[3] लभते दु:खानि[4] च सुखानि च ।।

This maxim occurs in one text of the CN version, viz. in CNM 52.

All the variants which occur in this maxim are unimportant.

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The C text was undoubtedly borrowed directly, with some minor variants from R.

Footnote to No. 11 :

1. प्राप्तव्यानेव CNM. 2. गन्तव्यानेव CNM. 3. लब्धव्यानेव 4. सुषानि CNM.

III. TEXTS OF VERSES IN THE RĀMĀYANA ALLIED TO CĀNAKYA TEXTS

No. 12. (RG) 2.27.3.

न पितुः कर्मणा पुत्रः पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा।
सुखमाप्नोति दुःखं वा स्वं तु कर्माभिजायते।।

A similar verse occurs in the CR version, viz. in CRr 6.20 and in the Garuḍapurāṇa (1.113. 27). It reads in CRr.

न पितुः कर्मणा[1] पुत्रो[2] न पिता[3] पुत्रकर्मणा।
[4]स्वकृते नैव संपत्तिं विपत्तिं चोपभुञ्जते।।

Footnotes to No. 12 :

1. पिण्डकर्मणा GP. 2. पुत्रः GP. 3. पिता वा GP. 4. कर्मजन्यशरीरेषु रोगः शारिरमानसाः GP.

No. 13. R (B) 4.34, 12; R (B) 4.34, 12; R (G) 4.34, 18-19.

ब्रह्मघ्ने च[1] सुरापे च गोघ्ने[2] भग्ने व्रते तथा[3]।
निष्कृतिर्विहिता सद्भिः[4] कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः।।

This maxim occurs also in MBh (Bh) 12, 263, 11; 12. 166, 64, *ad* 12,167, 20 (149. 32-3, cf. 5.105, 10), Pañcatantra (PtsK 4.10, PtsK 4.10, PP 1.248 and 4.10).

A similar maxim occurs in the CR version, viz. in CRr 7.72. It reads in CRr :

ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च स्तेने च गुरुतल्पगे।
निष्कृतिर्विद्यते राजन् कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः।।

Footnotes to No. 13 :

1. गोघ्ने चैव R(B); च सु० Tr. R(G). 2. चौरे R(B), R(G), Pts, PtsK, PP 4.10; क्लीवे PP 1.248. 3. शठे PtsK, PP 1.248. 4. राजन् R(G).

No. 14. R (B) 6.21, 22; R (R) 6.21, 22, R(G)—

चापमानय सौमित्रे शरांश्चाशीविषोपमान्।
समुद्रं शोषयिष्यामि पद्भ्यां यान्तु प्लवङ्गमाः।।

A similar verse occurs in the CR version three texts of viz., CRB 8.125, CRP 8.123 and CRBh I 8.135. It reads there :

चापमानय सौमित्रे[1] शरांश्चाशीविषोपमान्।
क्रूरस्य चोग्रदण्डस्य लोकोयमनुवर्तते।।

Footnotes to No. 14 :

1. शराश् CRBh I.

४३

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No. 15. R(B) 6.116, 27; R(R) 6.117,26; R(G) 6.99, 32-3,

न गृहाणि न वस्त्राणि न प्राकारास्तिरस्क्रियाः[1]।
[2]नेदृशा राजसत्कारा वृत्तमावरणं स्त्रियाः[3]॥

A similar stanza occurs in the CS version, viz. in CSr 2.75. It reads there :

न गृहाणि न वासांसि न प्राकारा न रक्षकाः।
न बन्धुर्नैव बन्धावाः सुशीलाश्च कुलस्त्रियः॥

Footnotes to No. 15 :

1. क्रिया R(B); न सत्क्रियाः R(G). 2. न चान्यो राजसत्कारः शीलमारणं R(G). 3. स्त्रियः R(B).

No. 16. R(B) 7.59(3) 30; R(R) 7.59(3) 33.

न[1] सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा[2] वृद्धा न ते[3] ये न वदन्ति धर्मम्।[4]
[5]नासौ धर्मो यत्र न सत्यमस्ति [6]न तत्सत्यं यच्छलेनानुविद्धम्॥

This maxim occurs in the CR version, cizin (CRr 8.53).

It is also found in MBh (Bh) 5.35, 49, MBh (R) 5.34.59, MBh (C) 5.1239, GP 1.115, 52, Bhartṛhari's Śatakas (BhŚ) 568, the Hitopadeśa (HJ 3.64 etc.), Nāradīyama-nusaṁhitā (NMS), Gautama-dharmasūtra with Maskari Bhāṣya (GMBh), Parāśara-dharma-saṁhitā (PSDh), Smṛticandrikā 23.14-5, (SC) Prabandhacintāmaṇi 2.129 (PrC), Alaṅkāra-kaustubha (KM 66) 385 (VA), Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara 1344 (ŚP) and other Subhāṣita-saṁgrahas.

This stanza is also included in the Tibetan Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa.

The text of R is nearer to the MBh text than to the C text.

This maxim was probably borrowed from MBh or R.

Footnotes to No. 16 :

1. स CRC. 2. वृद्धाः CRT, GP (but GPy as above), PSDh, वोद्धाः Hitopadeśa (var.), PSDh. 3. न ते वृद्धा R(R), CRBh II, CNG, MBh, NMS, GMBh, SC. 4. ये प्रवत्य धर्मम् Hitopadeśa (var.) 5. स्तुवन्ति CRB; धर्मः (°र्थो) सनो (मनो; न वै) यत्र न अस्ति (च नास्ति; चास्ति SP, BhS, P₁C) 'सत्यं (सत्यं अस्ति CRC, GP) CR, BhS, P₁C, GP, नास्ते स धर्मो न हि यत्र सत्यं VA. 6. सत्यं न तद्यच्छलदोषयुक्तं (नैतत्सत्यं GP; छलेनाभ्युपेतम् MBh(R), MBh(C), CNG; यच्छलं Hitopadeśa (var.); यच्छमं some *nibandha-s*, Hitopadeśa (var.); यत्कपटानु [or कृतकानु PrC] विद्धं BhS; यत्कपटेन विद्धम् VA, PSDh (var.); यद् नयं अभ्युपैति or अनुविद्धं Hitopadeśa) CR, GP, BhS, MBh(R), MBh(C), Hitopadeśa, VA, PrC.

In the Vṛddha Cāṇakya Nīti-samuccaya (CVNS), published in Ahmedabad in 1913 appears also one Rāmāyaṇa stanza. However, this Cāṇakya text, very badly printed, and called "A Collection of Original Sanskrit Verses" is in reality a reprint of the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya *textus ornatior* version with additions taken from the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, the Mahābhārata, Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s, the Pañcatantra, the Rāmāyaṇa, etc. In its Adhyāya XI stanza 20 was taken with small errors from the Sundara-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa :

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No. 17, R(B) 5.26, 50-1; R(R) 5.26, 48.

प्रियान्न संभवेद् दुःखम्[1] अप्रियान्नाधिकं[2] भयम्[3] ।
ताभ्यां हि ये वियुज्यन्ते[4] नयस्तेषां महात्मनाम् ॥

Footnotes to No. 17 :

1. दुःखम् CVNS. 2. अप्रियादधिकं CVNS, R(B). 3. भवेत् R(B). 4. वियुज्यते CVNS.

REFERENCES

1. This is Number 31 of the author's *JSAIL*. The earlier studies are quoted in *JSAIL* 30. (See abbreviations).
2. One of these verses occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa in two different places.
3. The study "Mahābhārata Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia" contained also an English translation of each stanza. In order to keep this study in limits required, the English translation was omitted.
4. i.e. those not also common to the Mahābhārata.
5. L. Sternbach, *Various Versions of Cānakya's Compendia in Akten des XXIV Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses*, Munchen 1957; p. 544 sqq.
6. The Cāṇakya texts which have anappearance of note-books of students and do not merit special attention (CnT) were not enumerated in this study. Cf. *Akten.., op.cit.* p. 548.
7. मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं माता (or भ्राता) मितं सुतः (MBh or R) was changed to मितं दद्यात्पिता माता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः.
8. Some texts of the Rāmāyaṇa (which did not form the basis for this study) contain one additional maxim common to the Rāmāyaṇa and a Cāṇakya-compendium. It is noted in *JSAIL* 27, No. 28. Cf. *JSAIL* 30, No. 127.

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भवभूतेरुत्तररामचरितस्याङ्गिरससमीक्षा

लेखक

लालरमायदुपालसिंहः

"रसो वै सः"[१]—इत्याद्यौपनिषद्सिद्धान्ताध्वाध्वनीनैः शैलूषसामाजिकप्रशिक्षणपरैर्नाट्यशास्त्रकारैर्निष्पङ्क-मुपपादितम्—"न हि रसादृते कश्चिदर्थः प्रवर्तते।"[२] धनञ्जयाचार्येणापि तत्त्वमेतदुदघुष्यत स्वकीयया कारिकयैकया—

"आनन्दनिस्यन्दिषु रूपकेषु व्युत्पत्तिमात्रम्फलमल्पबुद्धिः।
योऽपीतिहासादिवदाह साधुस्तस्मै नमः स्वादुपराङ्मुखाय॥"[३]

समभिहितञ्च सकलसहृदयहृदयानन्दवर्धनेनानन्दवर्धनेन—

"अभिनेयार्थे तु सर्वथा रसबन्धेऽभिनिवेशः कार्यः।"[४]

काव्यमात्रार्थमप्युपनिबद्धन्तेनैव ध्वनिकृता—

"कविना काव्यमुपनिबध्नता सर्वात्मना रसपरतन्त्रेण भवितव्यम्। तत्रेतिवृत्ते यदि रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं पश्येत्त-देमां भङ्क्त्वाऽपि स्वतन्त्रतया रसानुगुणं कथान्तरमुत्पादयेत्। नहि कवेरितिवृत्तमात्रनिर्वाहेण किञ्चित् प्रयोजनम्, इतिहासादेव तत्सिद्धेः॥"[५]

सकलसहृदयलोकालोकध्वन्यालोकलोचननिर्माणचणेनाभिनवगुप्तपादेनाभिनवगुप्तपादेनापि मुहुर्मुहुः समुन्मी-लितं रसतत्त्वस्य माहात्म्यम्—

१—"स च रसादिर्ध्वनिर्व्यवस्थित एव। न हि तच्छून्यं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति।"[६]

२—"रसेनैव सर्वं जीवति काव्यम्।"[७]

३—"तेन रस एव वस्तुत आत्मा।"[८]

४—"शब्दसमर्प्यमाणहृदयसंवादसुन्दरविभावानुभावसमुचितप्राग्विनिविष्टरत्यादिवासनानुरागसुकुमारसुसं-विदानन्दचर्वणाव्यापाररसनीयरूपो रसः। स काव्यव्यापारैकगोचरो रसध्वनिरिति। स च ध्वनिरेवेति। स एव मुख्यतयाऽऽत्मेति।"[९]

अस्य नाट्यात्मभूतस्य रसस्य संस्फूर्त्तिः काव्येष्वङ्गाङ्गिरूपाभ्यान्द्विधा। निखिलनाट्याभिनये व्यापितया प्राधान्येन चर्व्यमाणो रसोऽङ्गी; इतरस्तु व्यभिचारिवद् अप्राधान्येन रस्यमानोऽङ्गरसः। भावनिवहे स्थायिभाववद् प्रासङ्गिकवृत्ते चाधिकारिकवृत्तवच्चायङ्काव्यार्थभूतोऽङ्गिरस उच्चैस्तमसोपानपङ्क्तितमधिरोहति। तथाहि—

"रसान्तरसमावेशः प्रस्तुतस्य रसस्य यः।
नोपहन्त्यङ्गितां सोऽस्य स्थायित्वेनावभासिनः॥
कार्यमेकं यथा व्यापि प्रबन्धस्य विधीयते।
तथा रसस्यापि विधौ विरोधो नैव विद्यते॥"[१०]

अन्यच्च सिद्धान्तितन्तैरेवालङ्कारिकमतव्यवस्थापनधुरीणैराचार्यैः—

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"प्रबन्धेषु महाकाव्यादिषु नाटकादिषु वा विप्रकीर्णतयाऽङ्गाङ्गिभावेन बहवो रसा उपनिबध्यन्त इत्यत्र प्रसिद्धौ सत्यामपि यः प्रबन्धानां छायातिशययोगमिच्छति तेन तेषां रसानामन्यतमः कश्चिद् विवक्षितो रसोऽङ्गित्वेन विनिवेशयितव्य इत्ययं युक्ततरो मार्गः।"[11]

महाकविभवभूतिविरचितोत्तररामचरितन्तावत् समस्तनाट्यविधास्वन्यतमं नाटकमेवेत्यत्र न कश्चित संशयलेशावकाशः। नाटकगताङ्गिरससमावेशव्यवस्थाऽपि विहितचरा धनञ्जयाचार्यैः—

"एको रसोऽङ्गी कर्त्तव्यो वीरः शृङ्गार एव वा।
अङ्गमन्ये रसाः सर्वे कुर्यान्निर्वहणेऽद्भुतम्॥"[12]

वीरशृङ्गारान्यतरस्याङ्गिभावताऽत्रोररीकृता सागरनन्दि[13]-शिङ्गभूपाल[14]-शारदातनय[15]-विश्वनाथादिभिर्नाटकलक्षणकारैः।[16] अत्र न व्यभिचरति कोऽपि नाट्यलक्ष्मविधायी। तस्मान्नाटकत्वेनोत्तररामचरितस्यापि वीरशृङ्गारान्यतरेणाङ्गिरसेन भवितव्यम्। परन्तु संस्कृतसाहित्यमार्मिका इदानीन्तनविपश्चितो नात्र सम्प्रतिपत्तितोऽवतिष्ठन्ते। मैक्डोनेल[17]-विण्टरनित्स[18]-प्रभृतिभिः पाश्चात्त्यैः काणे-[19]कृष्णमाचार्य[20]-राघवादिभिश्च[21] भारतीयैः करुणरसाङ्गितोत्तररामचरितस्य प्रतिपादिता। न केवलमेतन्मतं शास्त्रविरोधि, अपि तु सकलसामाजिकजनानुभवमपि तिरोधत्ते। नाट्याचार्यैरलङ्कारकारैश्च करुणविप्रलम्भकरुणरसयोर्भेदोऽणीयसीशेमुष्या व्युत्पादितो व्यवस्थापितश्च। नाट्यवेदमहर्षिणा रसभारतेन भरतेन विवेचितपूर्वोऽयम्भेदस्तदीये नाट्यशास्त्रे—

"यद्ययं रतिप्रभवः शृङ्गारः कथमस्य करुणाश्रयिणो भावा भवन्ति? अत्रोच्यते—पूर्वमेवाभिहितं सम्भोगविप्रलम्भकृतः शृङ्गार इति। वैशिकशास्त्रकारैश्च दशावस्थोऽभिहितः। ताश्च सामान्येऽभिनवे वक्ष्यामः। करुणस्तु शाप-क्लेश-विनिपतितेष्टजनविभवनाश-वधबन्धसमुत्थो **निरपेक्षभावः।** औत्सुक्यचिन्तासमुत्थः **सापेक्षभावो** विप्रलम्भकृतः। एवमन्यः करुणोऽन्यश्च विप्रलम्भ इति। एवमेष सर्वभावसंयुक्तः शृङ्गारो भवति।"[22]

एतेन तावदपेक्षायाः सद्भावे विप्रलम्भः, तदभावे च करुणो रस इति व्यवस्था शैलूषशास्त्रिपितामहस्य महामुनेः। अस्यैव तत्त्वस्यावदाततरं विवेचनं शृङ्गारप्रकाशकारेण महाराजभोजेन विततम्—

"रत्येकहेतुः करुणः, प्रीतिदयाद्यनेकहेतुः शोकः। पुनःसङ्गमफलः करुणः, अपुनःसङ्गमफलः शोकः। स्त्रीपुंसविषयः करुणः, अस्त्रीपुंसविषयः शोकः। सप्रत्याशरूपः करुणः, निष्प्रत्याशरूपः शोकः। इत्यन्य एव शोकः, अन्यश्च करुणः।"[23]

एवं हि करुणविप्रलम्भ-शोकस्थायिभावकरुणयोश्च हेतु-फल-विषय-स्वरूपचतुष्टयगतः सार्वत्रिको भेदः समुल्लसति। नवीनेनापि पण्डितराजजगन्नाथेन स्वीये रसगङ्गाधरेऽनयोर्भेद एवम्प्रत्यपादि—

"स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु वियोगे जीवितत्वज्ञानदशायां वैक्लव्यपोषिताया रतेरेव प्राधान्याच्छृङ्गारो विप्रलम्भाख्यो रसः। वैक्लव्यन्तु सञ्चारिमात्रम्। मृतत्वज्ञानदशायान्तु रतिपोषितस्य वैक्लव्यस्येति करुण एव। यदा तु सत्यपि मृतत्वज्ञाने देवताप्रसादादिना पुनरुज्जीवनज्ञानं कथञ्चित् स्यात्, तदालम्बनस्यात्यन्तिकनिरासाभावाच्चिरप्रवास इव विप्रलम्भ एव। न स करुणः। यथा चन्द्रापीडम्प्रति महाश्वेतावाक्येषु। केचित्तु रसान्तरमेवात्र करुणविप्रलम्भाख्यमिच्छन्ति।"[24]

एवन्तावत्स्थितेषु शृङ्गारकरुणरसयोर्नैकेषु भेदेषु भवभूतिविरचितोत्तररामचरिते कथङ्कारङ्करुणरसस्फुरणाशङ्कानुगमनमिति तु नैव जानीमः। अत्रत्यनायकौ सर्वत्र सापेक्षभावभरसम्भृतौ। भगवती सीताऽऽद्याङ्कादाऽन्त्याङ्कं यावद्रामविषयकसापेक्षभावमयरतिपात्रतामावहन्ती सामाजिकजनमानसेषु शृङ्गारमात्रवैचित्र्यचमत्कारानातनोति। तथैव भगवान् रामभद्रोऽपि प्रथमतः सप्तमाङ्कपर्यन्तं सीतालम्बनात्मक-सापेक्षभावरूपरतिस्थायिभाव-शृङ्गाररसस्यैवाभिव्यञ्जकतामेति। तस्मात् करुणकणिकावकाशशङ्काऽपि नैव समुदेतीति भरतमुनिमतेनात्र विप्रलम्भ एवेति स्थितमेव। भोजराजोक्तरीत्याऽप्यत्र रत्येकहेतुत्वाद् दयाद्यनेकहेत्वभावात् सीतारामपुनःसङ्गमफलकत्वात् स्त्रीपुंस-

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विषयत्वात् सप्रत्याशरूपत्वाच्च करुणविप्रलम्भ एव प्रतीतिपथमवतरति सचेतसश्चेतसीति निश्चप्रचम्। शोकस्थायिभावात्मा करुणस्तु नितरान्नभोनलिनायते। पण्डितराजजगन्नाथस्य सिद्धान्तशय्याविशयने सर्वत्र जीवितत्वज्ञानदशानपायादात्यन्तिकनिरासाभावाच्चालम्बनस्य चिरप्रवासरूपो विप्रलम्भ एव मतान्तरेण वा करुणविप्रलम्भः। सीतारामान्यतरस्य नारायणाङ्कनिलयावबोधजन्यालम्बनात्यन्तिकनिरासासद्भाव एव करुणसमुद्भवप्रसङ्गादत्र तस्य कृते संस्फुरणावसर एव नोदेति। तस्मात् समस्तशास्त्रकारोक्तसिद्धान्तपक्षसमाश्रयणे करुणरसशङ्कावकाशनिरासपूर्विका रतिस्थायिभावात्मकश्रृङ्गाररसप्रतिपत्तिरेवात्र सुतरां प्रसज्यते।

अथ रसाधिष्ठानविषयकास्त्रयः पक्षाः सम्भवन्ति—अनुकार्यगतत्वेनानुकर्तृगतत्वेन सामाजिकगतत्वेन वा तस्याभिमतत्वात्। लोल्लटभट्टेन मुख्यया वृत्त्या रामादावनुकार्ये रसाधिष्ठानन्निर्णीतम्। अस्मिन् पक्षेऽपि करुणरसस्य पुष्टिर्नैव सम्भावनावर्त्मावतरति नाटकेऽस्मिन्। यतो हि, रामालम्बनः सीताश्रयः शोकस्थायिभावस्तदात्यन्तिकनिरासाभावादुत्पद्यत एव न; तदीयनयनानन्ददायितयाऽऽलम्बनस्य प्रथमाङ्कादा सप्तमाङ्काच्चा निरन्तरं रतिविभावत्वेन वर्त्तमानत्वात्। अथ सीतालम्बनो रामाश्रयश्चेत् करुणस्तस्यापि सम्भवविरह एवायातितराम्, आलम्बनस्य मृतत्वज्ञानदशायाः सुतरामभावात्। प्रत्युत सर्वत्र सप्रत्याशताया व्यापितया रतेरेवात्र साम्राज्यम्। अन्यथा भगवत्या पृथ्व्या—"एहि, वत्से ! पवित्रीकुरु रसातलम्" इति व्याहृते सति भगवान् रामभद्रः—"हा ! प्रिये !! लोकान्तरं प्रस्थिताऽसि ?"[३५] इति नैव प्रतिवदेत् सप्तमेऽङ्के। अथ च तत्रैव सीतावसुन्धराभागीरथीभिर्निष्क्रमणे कृते सति भगवतः—"कथम् प्रतिपन्न एव तावत् ? हा चारित्रदेवते ! लोकान्तरे प्रस्थिताऽसि ?"[३६] इति समुदाहृतिस्तावदौचितीन्नोपवहेत्। एवंविधा ह्याकस्मिकी वाचोयुक्तिस्तावत् सीताया जीवितत्वज्ञानदशायामेव सम्भववर्त्म समवतरति। अन्यथा तत्र विस्मयावबोधः पर्य्यनुयोगयोगो वा नैवोद्भवेताम्। अनन्तरमेव च गाङ्गाम्भसः पुण्यतोयापृथिवीभ्यां देवताभ्यां सहार्या सीता मूर्च्छितरामसमाश्वासनाय समुपैति, पवित्राश्चर्यमयश्चोभयसंयोगयोगः संघटते। एतेनानुकार्यगतत्वेऽपि रसस्य श्रृङ्गारस्यैव विजृम्भणविज्ञापन-सम्पोषणानि नाटकेऽस्मिन्ननुष्ठितानि। नात्र विमतिः काचन कस्यचिदपि भवितुमलम्।

अनुकर्तृगतत्वेऽपि रसस्य श्रृंङ्गार एव प्रसज्यते, न तु करुणः। अनुकर्त्तरि च नटे रामादिरूपतानुसन्धानबलादेव लोल्लटादिभिः प्रतिपादिता रसस्थितिः। तत्र तु करुणः सर्वथैवाकाशरोमन्थायते। नाट्यदर्पणकाराभ्यामपि वारविलासिनीवन्नटेऽपि कादाचित्कयेव रसस्थितिरुरीकृता। सीतारामानुकारिभ्यान्नटाभ्यां निरन्तरदर्शनस्पर्शनादिभिः परिपोषमुपगताया रतेरेव कादाचित्कावभासे सत्यपि तद्रूपतानुसन्धानादपि श्रृङ्गारप्रतिपत्तिरेव सम्भवितुं शक्यते। करुणरसवार्ताऽपि प्रियपञ्चताप्राप्तेरभावे सुतरां शशश्रृङ्गायते। एतत् पक्षद्वयमपि वस्तुतः पूर्वपक्षपात्येव ध्वनिसिद्धान्ताद् दूरविभ्रष्टम्।

तार्तीयकः पक्ष एवालङ्कारिकसरणीमनुहरति। सामाजिकनिष्ठतैव रसस्यानन्दवर्द्धनाभिनवगुप्तादिभिः सकलसहृदयमौलिमणिरिव प्रमाणीकृता शिरसि च स्थापिता। विशदीभूतमनोमुकुरवर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यतामयस्वहृदयसंवादभाजि सहृदयहृदये सहचरसाहचर्यैकपर्यवसाय्यविरतसापेक्षभावत्वात् करुणरसोचितशोकस्थायिभावादन्य एव विप्रलम्भश्रृङ्गारोचितरतिस्थायिभावो लौकिकरतिव्यतिरिक्तां स्वचित्तद्रुतिसमास्वाद्यसारताम् प्रतिपन्नोऽभिव्यक्तिरूपचर्वणाविषयीभूतोऽलौकिकचमत्कारात्मा श्रृङ्गाररसास्वादः। अस्मिन् पक्षे करुणादिशङ्का सर्वथैव परिहर्त्तव्या। सामाजिकजनलोचनासेचनकताङ्गतौ सीतारामावुभावपि निरन्तरसन्निहितौ सन्तौ मनागपि जीवितत्वाभावशङ्कान्तयोरेकतरविषयिकाङ्क्षदाचिदपि नैव जनयतः, नैव चान्योन्यनैरपेक्ष्यमीषदपि कदाचन कुर्वतः, अथ च तयोः पुनःसङ्गमफलकत्वात् स्त्रीपुंसविषयत्वादनुरागैकमूलत्वात् सप्रत्याशरूपत्वाच्च रत्येकविषयतामेवास्य द्रढयतः। एतेनामूलात् करुणप्रसङ्गनिरासः सुतराम् प्रसक्तः। एतेनास्मिन्नयेऽपि करुणरसोन्मेषवार्ताऽपि सर्वथैव वन्ध्यापुत्रायते।

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तस्मात् पक्षत्रितयेऽपि विधुरीभूते शोकप्रसङ्गे करुणरससम्भावनैव दूरे प्रतिहता। एतेनास्य रसस्य अङ्गिताया अङ्गताया वा प्रश्न एव न स्फुरति। रससम्प्रदायवन्ध्याः शास्त्रमर्यादापराङ्मुखा एव पाश्चात्यचिन्तनविपर्यस्तचेतनाः शेमुषीतपस्विनः करुणाङ्गितापक्षप्रतिपादनैकसाहसिकताम्प्रकाशयामासुः। नाटकलक्षणविचक्षणा रसविचारदृक्चारचुञ्चवश्च नाट्यशास्त्रमर्मज्ञा उत्तररामचरिते शृङ्गाराङ्गितामेव प्रतिपादयितुमलम्।

अथ केचन काव्यकाञ्चनकषाश्ममानिन एतस्यैव नाटकस्य काश्चन व्याहृतीः समुद्धृत्य करुणरसाङ्गितां समर्थयन्ति। ता उक्तयो हि—

१—"अनिर्भिन्नो गभीरत्वादन्तर्गूढघनव्यथः।
पुटपाकप्रतीकाशो रामस्य करुणो रसः॥"[२७] इति।

२—"एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदाद्
भिन्नः पृथक्पृथगिव श्रयते विवर्तान्।
आवर्तबुद्बुदतरङ्गमयान् विकारा-
नम्भो यथा सलिलमेव हि तत् समस्तम्॥"[२८] इति।

३—"त्रस्तैकहायनकुरङ्गविलोलदृष्टे-
स्तस्याः परिस्फुरितगर्भभरालसायाः।
ज्योत्स्नामयीव मृदुबालमृणालकल्पा
क्रव्यादि्भरङ्गलतिका नियतं विलुप्ता॥"[२९] इति।

एते मतिमन्मानिनो वाच्यार्थमात्रसर्वस्वाः प्रतीयमानार्थानाकलनेन रससम्प्रदायबाह्या एव। "रसस्तु स्वप्नेऽपि न वाच्य" इति तत्त्वविदः। एताः शब्दगुम्फमय्य उक्तयस्तु केवलं विभावानुभावसंयोजनात्मिकाः। नैव तद्वाच्यार्थगता रसादिप्रतीतिर्भवितुमर्हति। "करुणो रस" इति "रसः करुण" इति च वर्णानुपूर्व्योर्वाच्यार्थगत एव करुणरसरूपार्थावबोधो भवितुमर्हति, यदि च तत्र सोऽन्यथा संयोगाद्यैर्नियन्त्रितो न स्यात्। रसचर्वणा रसवाचकशब्देन स्वप्नेऽपि भवितुं नैव शक्या। प्रत्युत स रसवाचकशब्दः शल्यभूत एव स्यात्, नित्यदोषप्रतिपादकत्वापत्तेः। स्वशब्दनिवेदितत्वस्य रसविघातकत्वात् काव्यत्वावच्छेदकविच्छेदप्रसङ्ग एवोदियात्। उक्तं हि तावदालङ्कारिकमतव्यवस्थापकाचार्यानन्दवर्द्धनेन—

"प्रसिद्धिश्चेयमस्त्येव विदग्धविद्वत्परिषत्सु यदभिमततरं वस्तु व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन प्रकाश्यते न साक्षाच्छब्दवाच्यत्वेन।"[३०]

अथ चास्य स्वशब्दवाच्यतां लौकिकव्यवहारगामिताञ्च समुपपादयन्नाहाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादः स्वकीये ध्वन्यालोकलोचने—

(क) "यस्तु स्वप्नेऽपि न स्वशब्दवाच्यो न लौकिकव्यवहारपतितः, किन्तु शब्दसमर्प्यमाणहृदयसंवादसुन्दरविभावानुभावसमुचितप्राग्विनिविष्टरत्यादिवासनानुरागसुकुमारस्वसंविदानन्दचर्वणाव्यापाररसनीयरूपो रसः, स काव्यव्यापारैकगोचरो रसध्वनिरिति। स च ध्वनिरेवेति।"[३१]

(ख) "तस्मादभिधातात्पर्यलक्षणाव्यतिरिक्तश्चतुर्थोऽसौ व्यापारो ध्वननद्योतनव्यञ्जनप्रत्यायनावगमनादिसोदरव्यपदेशनिरूपितोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः।"[३२]

(ग) "रसभावतदाभासतत्प्रशमाः पुनर्न कदाचिदभिधीयन्ते। अथ चास्वाद्यमानप्राणतया भान्ति; तत्र ध्वननव्यापारादृते नास्ति कल्पनान्तरम्।"[३३]

(घ) "रसभावादिरर्थो ध्वन्यमान एव भवति न वाच्यः कदाचिदपि।"[३४]—इत्यादि।

विपक्षधृतप्रथमपद्यस्याभिप्रेतार्थद्वयं हि परस्परोपमेयोपमानपक्षौ प्रकटयति। प्रस्तुते तु—'अनन्यो गाम्भीर्यगुणयुक्तत्वादन्तःकरणनिगूहितसान्द्रसन्तापश्च पुटपाकतुल्यः रामनिष्ठः कृपापूर्णः (सीताविषयकः) रागः'—इति।

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अप्रस्तुतपक्षे हि—'अविदीर्णो निम्नवर्त्तित्वान्मध्यसंवृतदृढतापश्च करुणवृक्षगतः पारदमयः पुटपाकः'––इति। कोशाश्चात्र-–"भिन्नोऽन्यः सङ्गतः फुल्लो दीर्णः" इत्यनेकार्थसङ्ग्रहः। "निम्नं गभीरं गम्भीरम्"––इत्यमरकोशः। "अन्तारन्ध्रावकाशयोर्मध्ये विनाऽर्थे तादर्थ्ये विशेषेऽवसरेऽवधौ। आत्मीयात्मपरिधानान्तर्ध्यबाह्येषु"––इत्यनेकार्थसङ्ग्रहः। "गूढं रहः संवृतयोः"—इति हैमः। "घनः सान्द्रे दृढे दार्ढ्ये विस्तारे मुद्गरेऽम्बुदे"––इत्यनेकार्थसङ्ग्रहः। "करुणा तु कृपायां स्यात् करुणो रसवृक्षयोः"—इति; "रसः स्वादे जले वीर्ये शृङ्गारादौ विषे द्रवे। चोले रागे देहधातौ तिक्तादौ पारदेऽपि च"––इति चानेकार्थसङ्ग्रहः। अत्र सहृदयहृदयैकगोचरचर्वणारूपचमत्कारस्य नाट्यरसस्य रामनिष्ठत्वेन कल्पनं सर्वथा शास्त्रबाह्यम्। लोकगतत्व एव तस्य तन्निष्ठता नान्यथा। तथात्वेऽपि रसस्य तस्य निर्भेदानिर्भेदौ घनव्यथताऽघनव्यथता गम्भीरताऽगम्भीरता च भवभूतिसम्मतताङ्गच्छेयुः। नैतावदेव, अपि तु तदीयाऽन्तर्गूढताऽनन्तगूढताऽपि सम्भावनावर्त्म यास्यतः। एतेनास्य लोल्लटसम्मतनायकगतत्वमपि दुःशकमेव; तस्यान्तर्निष्ठत्वेनैव समपेक्षितत्वात्। पदानामेतेषामविशेषणत्वे लक्षणरूपत्वे च रामस्येति पदस्य वैयर्थ्यं सम्भवेदथ च सर्वत्र करुणस्यानिर्भिन्नतैवापतेत्। तस्मादत्र प्रत्यवमर्शात्मचितिरूपस्य चमत्कारापरपर्य्यायस्य करुणरसपदार्थत्वेनाभीष्टत्वशङ्का नैव कार्या। रागार्थपक्ष एव सुतरां समर्थनीयः।

द्वितीये पद्ये तु नैके विद्वांसः शास्त्रप्रतिपक्षिताङ्गताः। एतेनैव तैः कवेः करुणवादिताऽपि समुद्घोषिता। विद्वद्वरराघवप्रभृतिभिरत्र करुणस्य प्रकृतित्वं रसान्तराणाञ्च विकृतित्वं समर्थ्य तावदव्यक्तदशायां रसान्तराणां करुणमात्रात्मता प्रतिपादिता। परन्तु कविना त्वत्र वस्तुप्रतिवस्तुरूपेणैव विवर्तविकारौ परिगृहीतौ। एतेन विवर्तस्य तात्त्विकासद्रूपता नैव सम्भवति। व्यक्तरसान्तराणां विकाररूपत्वे परिणामवाद एव प्रसक्तो भवति। अध्यस्तविवर्तस्य मिथ्यात्वपक्षोऽत्र नैव सङ्घटते, दृष्टान्ते विकारपदोपादानात्। अथ विकारपदस्य लाक्षणिकत्वे विवर्तरूपार्थपरत्वेऽपि निमित्तभेदादिति भिन्न इति श्रयत इति च पदानां विपरीतार्थबोधकत्वं वैयर्थ्यं वा समापतिष्यति। अन्यच्च तत्र रूढिप्रयोजनयोरभावः, तद्योगासम्भवश्च। अपि चात्र मुख्यार्थबाधोऽपि, विवर्तस्य विकाररूपत्वे समभीष्टे कृते, नैव स्पृशति। एवं हेतुत्रितयस्य हेतुद्वयस्य वाऽसत्त्वे लाक्षणिकत्वमपि विकारपदस्य नैव सम्भवति। अर्थान्तरग्रहणे शक्त्यन्तरस्यानुपाश्रयणीयत्वात् पदयोर्द्वयोर्वस्तुप्रतिवस्तुभावपक्ष एव ज्यायान्। तथात्वे च स्वरूपस्य विनाशेऽविनाशे वा द्रव्यान्तरारम्भकत्वमेवाभिप्रेतम्। यथा दुग्धादेर्दध्याद्यारम्भकत्वम्, बीजादेर्वृक्षकाद्यारम्भकत्वं वा। साङ्ख्यदृशा वा दुग्धादेर्दध्यादिरूपेण परिणाम एव विकारः। एष एव सत्कार्यवादो भवभूतेरभिमत इति चेत्; न, द्वैतस्य दुर्वारत्वात् व्यक्ताव्यक्तावुभावपि सन्तावेव। प्रकृतिविकृती उभेऽपि सत्यौ। परन्तु एतेन 'एक' इति 'एवे' ति च, 'अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव च तत् समस्तम्'—इति पदोपादानमपार्थं स्यात्। अथ यथा परमशिवस्य पारमार्थिकसत्त्वेऽपि शक्तिपरिस्पन्दरूपविश्वप्रपञ्चस्य सत्त्वे शङ्का नैव कार्या, तथैवात्र करुणरसो रसान्तरञ्चोभयमपि सत्। परमार्थतश्च शैवाद्वैतवदत्राप्येक एव द्वयोरभेदात्। एषोऽपि परिहारः सुतरामसङ्गतः सर्वथा परिहरणीयश्च। शक्तिशक्तिमतोरभेद एव प्रसज्यते न तु प्रकृतिविकृतिभावः। विमर्श एव प्रकृतिविकृतिभावः सम्भवति न तु प्रकाशरूपे। शक्तितत्परिस्पन्दयोः प्रकृतिविकृतिभावो यथा समर्थ्यते तथैवात्रेति चेन्न, 'एक एव'––इति विशेषणस्य वैयर्थ्यात्। तस्मादत्र शैवाद्वैतसाङ्ख्ययोगवन्न परिणामः। रामानुजनयेऽपि द्वैतत्वापत्तेः "एक एवे"–त्यादिपदानामपार्थतैव सम्पद्यते। तस्मादत्र परिणामवादमनुसृत्य प्रकृतिविकृतिभावो नैव भवितुमर्हति। न्यायवैशेषिकनये प्रागभावप्रध्वंसाभावौ "एक एवे"-त्यादिपदोपादानविरोधिनौ सन्तौ प्रकृतिविकृतिभावम्बाधेते। तस्मादत्र प्रकृतिविकृतिभावो हि कौतस्कुत्यः? कथङ्कारञ्च स शास्त्रमनुरुणद्धि? किम्प्रकारकश्चासौ? इति परिच्छेत्तुन्नैव शक्यते। तस्मादलमतिशास्त्रप्रसङ्गेन। यतो हि तावदिदमपि विभावानुभावसंयोजनात्मकमभिनेयपदार्थवाक्यार्थकन्दृश्यकाव्यम्। अत्रापि वाच्यार्थपूर्विका प्रतीयमानरसादीनाम्प्रतिपत्। अत्रापि शब्दार्थौ तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ व्यङ्क्तः। तत एवास्य शब्दगुम्फस्य काव्यत्वम्। नात्र वाच्यः कश्चन रसः। नात्र भवभूतिः कमपि रससिद्धान्तम्प्रति-

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पादयति। अत्रानुकार्यायाः तमसाया एव रसनिःस्यन्दनिष्पादिनी मार्मिकी भणितिः। नाट्यकाराणां सिद्धान्तप्रतिपत्तिः प्रस्तावनाभरतवाक्ययोरेव लोचनगोचरङ्गच्छति नान्यत्र रसप्रतीतिवैकल्यात्। संस्कृते शास्त्रस्थितिसम्पादनेच्छा वारिता शास्त्रकृद्भिः। रसैकतानमानसेन कविनाऽत्र भवितव्यमिति च प्रतिपादितमलङ्कारकारैः। तस्माद् व्युत्पित्सूनामविद्यानिवारणविद्याप्रवर्तने कान्तासम्मिततया सरसतापादनेन गुडजिह्विकया विधीयेते, "प्रथमालीढमधवः पिबन्ति कटुभेषजम्"—इति शास्त्रकृत्प्रवर्त्तितन्यायात्। ते च पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयावष्टब्धशास्त्रमर्यादाविषयात्मके एव परिगृह्येते नेतरे। नाट्यशास्त्रमर्यादा तु नाट्यकाराणामनुवर्तनमात्रार्था न तु नूतनमतोपन्यासावसरोपस्थापनार्था। शिङ्गभूपविश्वनाथमहापात्रप्रभृतिनाट्यकृद्भिर्नाट्यसिद्धान्तगतस्वोपज्ञमतविस्फोरणाय प्रतिपित्सुभिः नाट्यशास्त्रग्रन्थ एवालेखि। तैरपि स्वीयः सिद्धान्तो रूपकेषु नैवोपान्यासि। यदि चात्र करुणरसवादरूपं वस्तुव्यङ्ग्यत्वेनाभिमन्यते तदपि कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिसिद्धमेव भवितुमर्हति; यतो हि करुणरसस्य नात्र प्रतीतिः सहृदयानाम्। अन्यथा सर्वत्र तद्वाचकपदद्वारेण शास्त्रवाक्येष्वपि स प्रतीयेत। कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिसिद्धपक्षेऽपि वाच्यस्यापि व्यङ्ग्यत्वमिति नवीनेयं वादशैली स्यात्। वाच्यभिन्नस्यैव तावदर्थस्य प्रतिपादनाय ध्वनिसमाख्यशक्त्यन्तरोपास्तिः प्रसज्यते नान्यथा। तथात्वे च वाच्यस्यैव नामान्तरकरणे किम्मानं स्यादिति नैवायं पक्षो विमर्दक्षमः। तस्मात् स्थितमेतत्—करुणरसस्य प्रतीतिरत्र कथमपि न सम्भवति नैव चास्य प्रकृतिभावः सर्वरसानाम्प्रति कथमपि साध्यतां याति।

वाच्यार्थतात्पर्यार्थविवेकेनाप्यत्र शोकस्थायिभावात्मककरुणरसस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्नैव भवितुमर्हति। अत्रत्यौ रस-करुण-शब्दौ नानार्थकौ। कोशवचने तु पुरस्तादेव समुद्धृते। नानार्थकपदोपादाने सति संयोगादिभिरभिधा नियन्त्रिता भवति। चमत्कारापरपर्यायरूपरसस्य स्वशब्दनिवेदितत्वरूपदोषावहत्वाद् व्यङ्ग्यतयैव च काव्ये प्रतिपादनार्हत्वादथ चालौकिकस्वरूपत्वादेवञ्च विवर्तश्रयणाक्षमत्वादत्र वाच्यता निवर्त्यते। केवलं लौकिकोऽन्वित्यनुकूलो रागरूपवाच्यार्थ एव सङ्गतिमर्हति दोषविशेषपरिहारात् काव्ये वाच्यरूपेण प्रस्तावार्हत्वाद् विवर्तश्रयणसमर्थत्वाच्च। अन्यच्चायमेवार्थोऽत्र समस्तपदार्थान्वियभरसहिष्णुः। उक्तं हि तावद्रसमतविवेचकमौलिमणिनानन्दवर्द्धनाचार्येण—

"शृङ्गाररसो हि संसारिणां नियमेनानुभवविषयत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः कमनीयतया प्रधानभूतः।"[३५]

समुद्धृता चेयङ्कारिका तेनैव—

> "शृङ्गारी चेत् कविः काव्ये जातं रसमयं जगत्।
> स एव वीतरागश्चेन्नीरसं सर्वमेव तत्॥"[३६]

तथैवाभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्येणापि—

"रतौ हि समस्तदेवतिर्यङ्नरादिजातिष्वविच्छिन्नैव वासनाऽस्ति इति न कश्चित् तत्र तादृग् यो न हृदयसंवादमयः, यतेरपि तच्चमत्कारोऽस्त्येव। अत एव मधुर इत्युक्तम्। मधुरो हि शर्करादिरसो विवेकिनोऽविवेकिनो वा स्वस्थस्यातुरस्य वा झटिति रसनानिपतितस्तावद् अभिलषणीय एव भवति।"[३७]

महाराजेन भोजेनापि प्रकटितं शृङ्गारप्राधान्यम्—

(अ) "तस्माद् रत्यादयः सर्व एवैते भावाः, शृङ्गार एवैको रसः।"[३८]

(आ) "रत्यादयोऽर्धशतमेकविवर्जिता हि भावाः पृथग्विविधभावभुवो भवन्ति।
शृङ्गारतस्तमिह ते परिवारयन्तः सप्तार्चिषं द्युतिचया इव वर्धयन्ति॥"[३९]

रागस्य वाच्यतास्वीकारेण रतिस्थायिभावात्मकशृङ्गाररस्य ध्वन्यमानतैवायाततितराम्। तेन च संस्कृतनाट्यशास्त्रे प्रायेण प्राधान्यमुपेयुषः शृङ्गाररस्यैव महिमा प्रतिपादितो भवति। तस्य विशेषणत्वेन करुणपदोपन्यासोऽपि सङ्गतिम्भजते। यतो हि करुणविप्रलम्भः करुणशृङ्गारो वा तस्य भेदत्वेन समाकलितः प्रायः सर्वत्र। एवमभिमततरवस्तुनो

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व्यङ्ग्यत्वमप्यायाति, समस्तदोषाणां च परिहारोऽपि सुतरां सम्भवति। नैकनाट्याचार्यसमर्थिततत्त्वताऽपि पद्यार्थे प्राप्यते।

प्रसङ्गेऽपि "अहो संविधानकम्"[४०]—इत्येतावत्युक्ते सति तमसया तत्र पद्यस्यास्य पदार्थाभिनयो वाक्यार्थाभिनयश्च प्रस्तूयेते। तस्मात् सीतादर्शनवञ्चितरामभद्रस्य प्राणाधिकप्रियतमाविषयको पतिदेवतासपर्याविञ्चितसीतायाश्च परमदैवतभूतप्रियतमविषयको राग एवात्र स्तूयते। तृतीयाङ्कगतसंविधानकविशेषे स एवोभयानुरागः पराङ्कोटिमुपनीतः। स चालम्बनसान्निध्येऽपि वियोगात्मक इति विस्मयकारित्वादेवात्र 'अहो' पूर्विकोक्तिः। अथ च भोजराजप्रतिपादितदिशा स एव शृङ्गारः समस्तभावप्रभवत्वम्भजते। तथा हि—

(अ) "तत्र केचिदाचक्षते—'रतिप्रभवः शृङ्गार' इति। वयं तु मन्यामहे रत्यादीनामयमेव प्रभव इति। शृङ्गारिणो हि रत्यादयो जायन्ते नाशृङ्गारिणः।"[४१]

(आ) "तत्त्वात्मनोऽहङ्कारगुणविशेषम्ब्रूमः। स शृङ्गारः सोऽभिमानः स रसः। तत एते रत्यादयो जायन्ते।"[४२]

एतादृक्षी हि व्यवस्था रागरूपवाच्यार्थतो ध्वन्यमानस्य शृङ्गाररसस्य। रागस्यापि विषये शृङ्गारप्रकाशद्वाविंशतितमे प्रकाशे द्वादशसहस्राणि शतद्वयमष्टाशीतिश्च (१२, २८८), मुख्या विकृतिभेदाः परिगणिता लक्षिताश्च। तेषु सर्वेषु प्रमुखविकारेषु एक एव रागः समुल्लसति।

उक्तञ्च—

"द्वादशैवं सहस्राणि साष्टाशीतिशतद्वयी।
भवन्ति कामशृङ्गारे मूलप्रकृतयः पृथक्॥
व्यतिषङ्गादमूषान्तु साम्याधिक्याल्पताकृतः।
न पर्यन्तो विकल्पानामेकद्वित्र्यादियोगतः॥
चतुःषष्टिम् पश्यन् प्रथममभिलाषप्रभृतिका-
नथाष्टौ नित्यादीन् पृथगपि चतुर्विंशतिविधान्।
मिथो मिथ्या-सम्यक्-समधिक-समत्वानि विमृशन्
कविः कुर्यात् स्रोतोऽनुगुणमनुरागव्यतिकरम्"॥[४३]

एतेषामनुरागभेदानां व्यतिषङ्गभेदजन्यविकल्पानाम् पर्यन्तस्तावत्सङ्ख्यामतिवर्तते। तेष्वेक एव रागः,प्रकर्षगामी सर्वत्र व्यापी च। ते तु विकारा आवर्तादिवद् असङ्ख्याः। समस्तेषु च तेषु सलिलवद् राग एक एव नाम लभते।

तस्मात् पद्यस्यास्येयमेव व्याख्यासरणिः शास्त्रानुमोदिता सकलाचार्यपरम्परामनुहरति। एषैव चानुसर्तव्या। अन्यथा नाटकलक्षणविरोधः स्यात्, सकलकविपरम्पराबाह्यत्वमापतेत्, स्वशब्दनिवेदितत्वन्नाम दोषः समुद्भवेत्, समस्तनाट्याचार्यपरम्परा भज्येत, अभिधानियन्त्रणनियमनिरासः समापतेत्, पदार्थेषु पौर्वापर्यविरोधात् तात्पर्यव्यत्यास उदियात्, सर्वदर्शनसम्मतमतवैमत्यमागच्छेत्, सहृदयहृदयानुभवप्रमाणप्रामाण्यं खण्ड्येत, निखिलरसलक्षणप्रणाली विपरीयात्, सचेतोनिवहवक्षःकौस्तुभायमानध्वनिसिद्धान्तशय्या च विशकलिता भवेत्।

तृतीये पद्ये नियतमिति पदमेव सकलविवादमूलम्। अत्रत्या वीरराघवव्याख्यैव प्राश्निकशङ्काशङ्कुमुत्पाटयति—"नियतमिति सम्भावनायाम्"[४४] —इति तस्यामध्यवसायबीजारोपसमर्थकवाक्यं जागर्त्तितराम्। अनेनैव पदेनात्रोत्प्रेक्षासमर्थकाध्यवसायसाध्यमानतामात्रं समुद्भवति। तस्मादत्र न भूतार्थपरता, अपि तु कल्पितार्थसम्भावनपरतैव तात्पर्यविषयत्वमेति। तस्मादनुत्थानोपहत एवात्र पूर्वपक्षः।

एवमस्त्यत्र सहृदयहृदयसन्दोहवशीकरणमहामन्त्रायमाणः करुणशृङ्गार एवाङ्गिभूतो रसः। स एव सकलविश्वप्रपञ्चवासनाप्राणभूतः कमनीयतमः सचेतश्चमत्कारात्मानुभवो भवभूतेरौत्तरकालिककाव्यप्रणयनपाटवस्य

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परमाराध्यतामगमत्। मालतीमाधवप्रकरणे तेन कामश्रृङ्गारः प्रधानतयोपन्यस्तः। अर्थश्रृङ्गारस्य तद्भिदासु जघन्यताम्पर्यालोचयता नाट्यकृन्मौलिमणिनाऽत्र धर्मश्रृङ्गारः समुपनिबद्धः। परन्तु सूक्ष्मेक्षिकावन्तश्चक्षुष्मन्तोऽत्र तस्य धर्मश्रृङ्गारस्यापि पर्यवसानम्मोक्षश्रृङ्गारस्य सत्यलोकात्मिकासु भूमिकासु नयनचुलुकनीयतान्नयन्ति। चित्रदर्शनाङ्के श्रृङ्गारः पूर्णतया सुमानुषधर्ममयताम्भजते। परित्यागानन्तरं वियुक्तनायकगतराजर्षिसंस्कारानुस्यूतः सन् पावकपावकत्वतिरस्कारकपावित्र्यप्रकर्षपरिपूर्णनायिकापुण्यमनोऽरण्यनिवासेन दिव्यतामादधानो धर्मश्रृङ्गारो रसातलगताया नायिकाया दिव्याङ्गनावर्ष्मलाभाद् भगवतीभागीरथीदेवयजनासमुल्लासिततया च यादृक्षीमपार्थिवतामुपस्थापयति तथा च राज्याश्रमनिवासस्यापि प्राप्तकष्टमुनिव्रतस्य लोकोत्तरसत्त्ववतो जगत्पतेर्नायकस्य यादृशीन्देवात्मतामुपपादयति सा स्वर्गादपि महीयसी। तयोर्नायकयोः सङ्गमः समस्तस्वर्ग्यदेवताभिरभ्यर्थ्यते, वेदमन्त्रसाक्षात्कर्तृभिर्ऋषिभिरभिष्टूयते, सकललोकपालैः कृत्स्नभूतग्रामैश्च समभिवाद्यते। सोऽयमपार्थिवोऽलौकिको दिव्यातिशायी च श्रृङ्गारोऽध्यात्मिकपरमनिर्वृतिमानन्दैकमयीम् मोक्षैकदशागतकैवल्यस्वातन्त्र्यपूर्णतामातनोति। एवम्मर्त्यधर्ममतिवर्तते जीवन्मुक्तानन्दधामताञ्च गाहते। महाकविभवभूतिप्रतिभातिरेकादयं श्रृङ्गारः। एतादृक्षी श्रृङ्गाराभिव्यक्तिर्न केवलं सांस्कृते वाङ्मये वैश्वजनीनेऽपि वाङ्मये कुत्रचिदपि स्वप्रतिमानन्नैव प्राप्नोति।

अत्र करुणश्रृङ्गारस्य महाराजभोजविवेचिता द्वादशापि भेदाः समुपलभ्यन्ते। तथा हि (१) दैवाश्रयः करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"हा हा देवि! स्फुटति हृदयं ध्वंसते देहबन्धः शून्यम्मन्ये जगदविरलज्वालमन्तर्ज्वलामि।
सीदन्नन्धे तमसि विधुरो मज्जतीवान्तरात्मा विष्वङ्मोहः स्थगयति कथम्मन्दभाग्यः करोमि॥"

[III.38.]

स हि चरमांशे स्फुटो भवति। (२) पौरुषाश्रयश्च करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"उपायानामभावादविरतविनोदव्यतिकरैर्विमर्दैर्वीराणाञ्जनितजगदत्यद्भुतरसः।
वियोगो मुग्धाक्ष्याः स खलु रिपुघातावधिरभूत् कटुस्तूष्णीं सह्यो निरवधिरयन्तु प्रविलयः॥"

[III.44.]

स हि "तूष्णीं सह्य" इत्यनेन प्रकाश्यते। (३) देशाश्रयश्च करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"यस्यां ते दिवसास्तया सह मया नीता यथा स्वे गृहे यत्सम्बन्धकथाभिरेव सततन्दीर्घाभिरास्थीयत।
एकः सम्प्रति नाशितप्रियतमस्तामेव रामः कथम्पापः पञ्चवटीं विलोकयतु वा गच्छत्वसम्भाव्य वा॥"

[II.28.]

अत्र स पञ्चवटीसमाश्रयत्वेन व्यक्तिविषयीकृतः। (४) कालाश्रयश्च करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"श्रमाम्बुशिशिरीभवत्प्रसृतमन्दमन्दाकिनीमरुत्तरलितालकाकुलललाटचन्द्रद्युति।
अकुङ्कुमकलङ्कितोज्ज्वलकपोलमुत्प्रेक्ष्यते निराभरणसुन्दरश्रवणपाशमुग्धम्मुखम्॥"

[VI.37.]

अत्र 'स्मरसि वा तस्य तत्समयविस्रम्भातिप्रसङ्गस्य'—इत्यतः स व्यज्यते। (५) सम्भोगाश्रयश्च—

"यदा किञ्चित् किञ्चित् कृतपदमहोभिः कतिपयैस्तदीषद्विस्तारि स्तनमुकुलमासीन्मृगदृशः।
वयःस्नेहाकूतव्यतिकरघनो यत्र मदनः प्रगल्भव्यापारः स्फुरति हृदि मुग्धश्च वपुषि॥"

[VI.35.]

अत्र "प्रगल्भव्यापारो मदन" इत्यतः सम्भोगाश्रयत्वं करुणश्रृङ्गारस्य व्यज्यते। (६) स्वरूपाश्रयः करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

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"अद्वैतं सुखदुःखयोरनुगतं सर्वास्ववस्थासु यद् विश्रामो हृदयस्य यत्र जरसायस्मिन्नहार्यो रसः।
कालेनावरणात्ययात् परिणते यत् स्नेहसारे स्थितं भद्रन्तस्य सुमानुषस्य कथमप्येकं हि तत्प्रार्थ्यते ॥"

[I.39.]

अत्रात्मरूपमेवाश्रयते करुणश्रृङ्गारः। प्राप्तोऽपि सन् स एव प्रार्थ्यते समुन्मीलितस्वरूपश्च क्रियते। (७) परिमाणाश्रयश्च करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"पराङ्कोटिं स्नेहे परिचयविकासादधिगते रहो विस्रब्धाया अपि सहजलज्जाजडदृशः।
मयैवादौ ज्ञातः करतलपरामर्शकलया द्विधा गर्भग्रन्थिस्तदनु दिवसैः कैरपि तया ॥"

[VI.28.]

अत्र 'परिचयविकासात् पराङ्कोटिमधिगते स्नेह'—इत्यतः परिमाणाश्रयता। (८) प्रमाणाश्रयश्च—

"स्पर्शः पुरा परिचितो नियतं स एव सञ्जीवनश्च मनसः परितोषणश्च।
सन्तापजां सपदि यः परिहृत्य मूर्च्छामानन्दनेन जडताम्पुनरातनोति ॥"

[III.12.]

अत्र मूर्च्छापरिहारेणानन्दनेन जडताजननेन च प्रमाणतः करुणश्रृङ्गारो व्यज्यते। (९) अनुरागाश्रयश्च—

"क्व तावानानन्दो निरतिशयविस्रम्भवहुलः क्व वाऽन्योन्यप्रेम क्व च नु गहनाः कौतुकरसाः।
सुखे वा दुःखे वा क्व नु खलु तदैक्यं हृदययोस्तथाऽप्येष प्राणः स्फुरति न तु पापो विरमति ॥"

[VI.33.]

अत्र 'अन्योन्यप्रेम' 'हृदययोरैक्यं' च करुणश्रृङ्गारस्यानुरागाश्रयत्वं व्यङ्क्तः। (१०) नायकाश्रयः—

"इदं विश्वम्पाल्यं विधिवदभियुक्तेन मनसा प्रियाशोको जीवं कुसुममिव घर्मो ग्लपयति।
स्वयं कृत्वा त्यागं विलपनविनोदोऽप्यसुलभस्तदद्याप्युच्छ्वासो भवति ननु लाभो हि रुदितम् ॥"

[III.30.]

अत्र 'स्वयं त्यागं कृत्वा'—इत्यतः नायकाश्रयता करुणश्रृङ्गारस्य व्यज्यते। (११) नायिकाश्रयश्च—

"परिपाण्डुदुर्बलकपोलसुन्दरं दधती विलोलकवरीकमाननम्।
करुणस्य मूर्तिरथवा शरीरिणी विरहव्यथेव वनमेति जानकी ॥"

[III.4.]

अत्र वैदेहीं समाश्रित्य करुणश्रृङ्गारोऽनन्यालम्बनो व्यज्यते। (१२) विप्रलम्भाश्रयश्च करुणश्रृङ्गारः—

"वेलोल्लोलक्षुभितकरुणोज्जृम्भणस्तम्भनार्थं
यो यो यत्नः कथमपि समाधीयते तन्तमन्तः।
भित्त्वा भित्त्वा प्रसरति बलात् कोऽपि चेतोविकार-
स्तोयस्येवाप्रतिहतरयः सैकतं सेतुमोघः ॥"

[III.37.]

अत्र विप्रलब्धनायकस्य रत्याख्यचेतोविकारमाश्रित्य करुणश्रृङ्गारः समुदेति।

परन्तु महाकविभवभूतिः सम्भोगश्रृङ्गाराभिव्यञ्जने न तथाविधं साफल्यमधिगतवान्। "अलसललितमुग्धानी"—त्यादिपद्ये (I. 24) "किमपि किमपि मन्दमि"—त्यादिपद्ये च कविस्त्वनौचित्यमेव समातनोतिस्म। "अक्रमेणे"—त्यादिपदानाम्मर्यादितत्वव्यपाश्रयिणो व्यङ्ग्यार्थाः स्फुटीकृता वाधूलवीरराघवेण। एतादृशवर्णनमेव कटाक्षितमानन्दवर्द्धनेन—

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"तस्मादभिनेयार्थेऽनभिनेयार्थे वा काव्ये यदुत्तमप्रकृतेः राजादेरुत्तमप्रकृतिभिर्नायिकाभिः सह ग्राम्यसम्भोगवर्णनं तत्पित्रोः सम्भोगवर्णनमिव सुतरामसभ्यम् ॥"[१६]

करुणविप्रलम्भाभिव्यक्तौ भवभूतिर्भवभूतिरिव स्वप्रकर्षे सर्वातिशायितामुपभुनक्ति ।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्राणि

१. तैत्तिरीयोपनिषदि (ब्रह्मानन्दवल्यां सप्तमेऽनुवाके) ।
२. ना० (पृ० २७२)-ख० १ ।
३. द० (पृ० १) ।
४. ध्व० (पृ० ३२६) ।
५. ध्व० (पृ० ३३६) ।
६. ध्व० लो० (पृ० १७५) ।
७. ध्व० लो० (पृ० १७५) ।
८. ध्व० लो० (पृ० ८५) ।
९. ध्व० लो० (पृ० ५१-५२) ।
१०. ध्व० (पृ० ३७८-३७९) ।
११. ध्व० (पृ० ३७८) ।
१२. द० (पृ० ९२) ।
१३. ना० ल० र० (पृ० ८२) ।
१४. र० सु० (पृ० २८५) ।
१५. भा० प्र० (पृ० २६६) ।
१६. सा० द० (पृ० ३६३) ।
१७. "The description of the tender love of Rāma and Sītā purified by sorrow exhibits more genuine pathos than appears perhaps in any other Indian drama." —HSL. (p. 365).
१८. "The poet, however, in this drama finds abundant opportunities for presenting the pathos in its real perspective and in generating in an efficient manner in the mind of his audience the feeling of the sentiment of pity (Karuṇarasa)." —HIL. Vol. III, Pt. I (p. 259).
१९. "He is unrivalled in the treatment of tender human feeling.(Mark the verdict of Saṁskṛta critics—कारुण्यम्भवभूतिरेव तनुते)". —Introduction to the URC. (XIV).
२०. "In the expression of genuine pathos (Karuṇa) and the description of the wild scenery, it has rarely been surpassed anywhere." —HCSL. (p. 623).
२१. (i) "By Rasa synthesis is meant reducing of all Rasas to the nature of one, a formulation of one as prakṛti and rest as its vikṛtis.No Âlaṅkārika ever attempted a Karuṇa-synthesis; but Bhavabhūti, in his drama Uttararāmacarita, suggested such a

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synthesis in Karuṇa, and that it assumes the different forms called Sṛṅgāra, etc., even as the same water assumes the forms of whirl, bubble, etc. Karuṇa is the prakṛti, the other Rasas are its vikṛtis." —The Number of Rasas

(ii) "This comment has an oblique reference to the play itself, built upon the sentiment of pathos (Karuṇa Rasa)"—NHSL. (p. 341).

(iii) "Discarding the often repeated sentiment of love, Bhavabhūti selected the ruling theme of pathos and made a perfect job of it."—SDOD. (p. 182).

२२. ना० (पृ० ३०८-३१०)।
२३. Dr. Raghavan : Sṛṅgāraprakāsa. (p. 60).
२४. रस० (पृ० ३९)।
२५. उत्त० (पृ० ३५२)।
२६. उत्त० (पृ० ३५३)।
२७. उत्त० (पृ० १३०)।
२८. उत्त० (पृ० २०६-२०७)।
२९. उत्त० (पृ० १७४-१७५)।
३०. ध्व० (पृ० ५३३)।
३१. ध्व० लो० (पृ० ५१-५२)।
३२. ध्व० लो० (पृ० ६१-६२)।
३३. ध्व० लो० (पृ० ७८)।
३४. ध्व० लो० (पृ० २४८)।
३५. ध्व० (पृ० ३९७)।
३६. ध्व० (पृ० ४९८)।
३७. ध्व० लो० (पृ० २०५)।
३८. शृ० प्र० (ख० २, पृ० ४३०)।
३९. शृ० प्र० (ख० २, पृ० ४३६)।
४०. उत्त० (पृ० २०६)।
४१. शृ० प्र० (ख० २, पृ० ४३०)।
४२. शृ० प्र० (ख० २, पृ० ४३१)।
४३. शृ० प्र० (प्र० २२, पृ० ५१)।
४४. उत्त० (पृ० १७६)।
४५. ध्व० (पृ० ३३२)।

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माघकृतं भारवेरर्थगौरवस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञानम्

लेखक

सत्यव्रतसिंहः

यदिदं भारवेरर्थगौरवं तस्य सर्वप्रथमोऽनुसन्धाता महाकविर्माघ एव प्रतिभाति। 'न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवम्' इति भारव्युपज्ञं किरातकाव्यमतं मुहुर्मनसि कुर्वन् माघकविः भूयस्स्वकाव्यमप्यर्थभरनिर्भरं चिकीर्षति। किंविधं किम्प्रयोजनञ्चार्थगौरवं स्वकाव्ये निबद्धुमुचितमिति महती चिन्ता 'शिशुपाल'कवेः। चिन्तामिमामिवाभिमुखीकृत्य वक्ति कविः—[1]

> "क्षणशयितविबुद्धाः कल्पयन्तः प्रयोगा-
> नुदधिमहति राज्ये काव्यवद्दुर्विगाहे।
> गहनमपररात्रप्राप्तबुद्धिप्रसादाः
> कवय इव महीपाश्चिन्तयन्त्यर्थजातम्॥"

अर्थात् 'राज्यस्येव काव्यस्य योगक्षेमविधानाय तत्तदर्थसम्भार एव सुतरामपेक्ष्यते। कवयोऽपि राजान इव भवन्ति। राजानो यथा राज्यधुरां वोढुं सामादिनयप्रयोगे चिन्तारता दृश्यन्ते तथैव काव्यधुरां वोढुं कवयोऽपि तत्तच्छन्दोऽलङ्कारादिप्रयोगे चिन्तनैकनिरता एव सञ्जायन्ते। राज्यकाव्ययोरयमेव भेदो यत् पूर्वत्र राज्ञः कल्पना धन-धान्य-मणि-सुवर्णादिरूपमर्थजातं कल्पयति, अपरत्र च कवेः कल्पना तत्तद्वाच्य-लक्ष्य-व्यङ्ग्यरूपभूयिष्ठमभिधेयजातं सङ्गृह्णाति। उभयत्र मनःसमाधिरेव कश्चन स्पृहणीयः। मनःसमाधिनैव राजानः राज्यं तत्तदर्थभरसम्भृतं विदधति, मनःसमाधिनैव च कवयः काव्यमाहितार्थभरं निर्मान्ति।

सूक्तेरस्याः प्रमाणान्निश्चितमिदं यत् स्वकाव्यक्रियायां व्यापृतः तत्तत्प्रयोगकल्पनासु "क्षणशयितविबुद्धः" महाकविर्माघो भारवेरिव स्वस्याप्यर्थगौरवं महताऽभिनिवेशेन बहुशः प्रतिजानीते।

माघस्य चिन्तायां भारवेरर्थगौरवं किमाकारमित्यपि विचारणीयं भवति। किं वाचां यावदर्थपदतायामर्थगौरवम्? एकदा माघः माधववचसः वैशिष्ट्याविष्करणव्याजेन स्वकाव्यरूपां वाचं यावदर्थपदामनुसन्दधानो वक्ति[2]—

> "यावदर्थपदां वाचमेवमादाय माधवः।
> विरराम महीयांसः प्रकृत्या मितभाषिणः॥"

किन्तु स्वकण्ठत एव साधितमत्र कविना यन्मितभाषित्वमिदं महतां यद् वाचां यावदर्थपदत्वं निरर्थकपदराहित्यं वा। गिरां या वाच्यसमवाचकता तदर्थगौरवं किमप्युद्दिश्य भवेत् किन्तु न तदेवार्थगौरवमिति।

अन्यदा माघकविरेवोद्धवस्य भारतीमाहितभरां वर्णयन् स्वीयामपि गिरमाहितभरामेव विज्ञापयन्नाह[3]—

> "भारतीमाहितभरामथानुद्धतमुद्धवः।
> तथ्यामुतथ्यानुजवज्जगादाग्रे गदाग्रजम्॥"

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किमिदं गिरामाहितभरत्वं नाम ? अर्थगौरवमेव वाचो भर इति सर्वङ्कषाटीकाकृतां मल्लिनाथानामाशयः । उत्पादित-महार्थत्वेऽभिप्रायसम्पदि च गिरामाहितभरत्वमिति सन्देहविषौषधिकृतां वल्लभदेवानां मतिः । वस्तुतः पर्यायभेद एव नार्थभेदोऽत्र टीकाकृतोः । 'न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवम्' इति भारवेरेव वाचोऽत्र माघकाव्ये प्रतिबिम्बनम् । भारवेरर्थ-गौरवानुसार्यर्थगौरवं माघस्याप्यभिप्रेतमिति प्रकारान्तरेणापि माघः प्रतिपादयति[४]—

"वर्णैः कतिपयैरेव ग्रथितस्य स्वरैरिव ।
अनन्ता वाङ्मयस्याहो ! गेयस्येव विचित्रता ।।
बह्वपि स्वेच्छया कामं प्रकीर्णमभिधीयते ।
अनुज्झितार्थसम्बन्धः प्रबन्धो दुरुदाहरः ।।
म्रदीयसीमपि घनामनन्तगुणकल्पिताम् ।
प्रसारयन्ति कुशलाश्चित्रां वाचं पटीमिव ।।"

अर्थात् गीतमिव वाङ्मयमपि परिमितसाधनं सुतरामपरिमितमतिविचित्रमर्थजातं साधयितुमलम् । स्व-स्व-विद्या-विनयबलेन समञ्जसमसमञ्जसं वा बहु बहु वक्तुं शक्नुवन्ति विपश्चितः किन्तु तदैव किमपि वचनं सुवचनं भवति यत् श्रोतृहृदये लगति । वस्तुतः विरलं तद्वचनं न बहुलम् । कुशला एव वक्तारः कवयितारो वा तादृशीं सूक्तिरचनां कुर्वन्ति या प्रसन्नपदाऽपि सदर्थगुर्वी स्वगुणैरनल्पैः सहृदयहृदयानि सततं चमत्कर्तुं प्रभवति ।

सर्वमिदं माघोक्तं स्फुटता न पदैरपाकृता न च न स्वीकृतमर्थगौरवमिति भारविवचस एव प्रत्यभिज्ञायाः प्रसाद-कल्पम् । भारवेरर्थगौरवमेव तया तया वचोभङ्ग्या स्फुटीकर्तुं चित्रां वाचं प्रसारयन् दृश्यते 'शिशुपाल'कविः ।

कृतिनां वचांस्येवार्थगौरववन्ति भवितुमर्हन्ति नाकृतिनामित्यपि स्पष्टमावेदयति माघः[५]—

"विरोधिवचसो मूकान् वागीशानपि कुर्वते ।
जडानप्यनुलोमार्थान् प्रवाचः कृतिनां गिरः ।।
सङ्क्षिप्तस्याप्यतोऽस्यैव वाग्यस्यार्थगरीयसः ।
सुविस्तरतरा वाचो भाष्यभूता भवन्तु मे ।।"

यस्याशयोऽयं यद् ये खलु विद्यया, श्रद्धया, उपनिषदा च वाचमुपासमानाः स्वाभिप्रेतप्रकाशनं वीर्यवत्तरं कुर्वन्ति ते खलु कृतिनो वक्तारः कवयो वा स्वप्रतिकूलवादिनः वाक्पतीनपि मूकान्, स्वानुकूलवादिनश्च मन्दप्रज्ञानपि प्रगल्भवाचः सम्पादयन्ति । परिमितपदाऽपि कृतिनां वाणी सुतरामर्थगौरवेण सम्पन्ना भवति यां खल्वन्ये मनीषिणः विशदैः स्वकृतैः भाष्यैः संयोज्य सर्वजनहिताय सुबोधां कर्तुं प्रभवन्ति ।

अतः माघप्रामाण्यात् सिद्धमिदं यत् पुराणस्य महाकवेर्महर्षेर्व्यासस्य प्रतिभया स्पृष्टमपि तत्तदर्थवस्तु स्वप्रतिभया प्रतिसंस्कुर्वाणो भारविर्यत् तत्र तत्र किरातकाव्यरूपेण स्वशब्दार्थोक्तिषु किञ्चन नूतनं पश्यति, पुराणं वा किंचनाभिन-वमुल्लिखति तेन कृती स कविर्महाकविर्मन्तव्य इति, कृतित्वं च तस्य तत्तत्स्वकाव्यार्थसम्पदुत्पादने द्रष्टव्यमिति ।

तदिदं भारव्युपज्ञं माघोपक्रमञ्च भारवेरर्थगौरवमिति वचनं तदा प्रभृत्येवाद्यावधि संस्कृतकाव्यरसिकगोष्ठीषु कमपि मनःप्रहर्षणं घनध्वनिं कुर्वद् विजृम्भते । किंतु योऽर्थः भारवेरर्थगौरवस्य तमनाख्याय भारवेरर्थगौरवमिति मन्त्रपाठेन न किमपि सिद्ध्यति । विचारयामस्तावत् भारवेरर्थगौरववादस्य रहस्यम् । निर्विवादमिदं यत् प्रतिभाव्यु-त्पत्तिमान् कवयितैव कविरित्युच्यते । अत्र विषये काव्यमीमांसाकृता राजशेखरेण 'काव्यकवि'रित्येकः कवीनां वर्गो निर्दिष्टो यस्यान्तरिको भेदोऽष्टधा परिलक्षितः । तद् यथा[६]—रचनाकविः, शब्दकविः, अर्थकविः, अलङ्कारकविः,

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उक्तिकविः, रसकविः, मार्गकविः, शास्त्रार्थकविरिति च। अस्यां कविवर्गगणनायां योऽयमर्थकविरिति वर्गस्तत्र कश्चन भ्रमो भवेदर्थगौरवस्य। किन्तु भ्रमोऽयं निर्मूल एव। 'अर्थकवि'रिति समस्तं पदं नेदृशं यत्र गौरवेति मध्यमं पदं लुप्तं भवेत् यन्मनसिकृत्य भारविमर्थकविं मत्वा तत्काव्यञ्चार्थगौरवेण सञ्ज्ञापयितुं शक्यम्। अर्थकविस्तु स भवति योऽनलङ्कृतमर्थमात्रमेव महता संरम्भेण कवते। न भारविरेतादृशः। महाकविः सः। तत्काव्यं च महाकाव्यं संस्कृतमहाकाव्यपञ्चकेऽन्यतमम्। भारवेस्तत्सधर्मणश्च महाकवेः कृतिर्यत् काव्यं तद् यया वा विधया परीक्ष्यते रचनायाः वा शब्दसौष्ठवस्य वा, अर्थयोजनाया वा अलङ्कारविधानस्य वा, उक्तिवैशारद्या वा रससंयोजनाकौशलस्य वा, मार्गनैपुण्या वा शास्त्रार्थकवनस्य वा वस्तुतः सर्वमेव सुवर्णमिव पावकपाकेन महार्घतामश्नुते। पुनश्च यदा कनीयानपि कविः शब्दार्थचित्ररचनावैचित्र्यादिषु द्वित्रैर्गुणैर्विशिष्ट एव दृश्यते तदा महाकवेर्भारवेः सर्वगुणयोगित्वे काऽऽशङ्का।

अत एव हेतोः कविराजराजशेखरेण निरूपिते शास्त्रार्थकवित्वेऽपि भारवेरर्थगौरवं नान्तर्धिमर्हति। शास्त्रार्थकुशलान् शास्त्रार्थञ्च कवमानान् कवीनुद्दिश्य सूक्तमुक्तं महाकविना भारवेस्सधर्मणा माघेन[७]—

"षड्गुणाः शक्तयस्तिस्रः सिद्धयश्चोदयास्त्रयः।
ग्रन्थानधीत्य व्याकर्तुमिति दुर्मेधसोऽप्यलम्॥"

यस्यायं भावो यत् श्रवणादिना निदिध्यासान्तेन विधिना राजनयशास्त्रमधीत्य सर्वोऽपि सन्धिविग्रहयोः सामदण्डयोर्वा बलाबलनिरूपणे वाग्मित्वमाविष्कर्तुमलम्, किन्तु कविप्रतिमानेन निर्लोडिततत्तत्कार्यस्य भारवेरिव महाकवेर्यद्राजशास्त्रार्थस्पर्शि कवनं तत्कवयितारं हिमवन्तमिव गङ्गास्रोतः पवित्रयति विभूषयति च। एकोऽपि भारवेः श्लोकोऽयं पर्याप्त एवात्र दृष्टान्तीभवितुम्[८]—

"द्विषन्निमिता यदियं दशा ततः
समूलमुन्मूलयतीव मे मनः।
परैरपर्यासितवीर्यसम्पदां
पराभवोऽप्युत्सव एव मानिनाम्॥"

अयमपरो वा[९]—

"न समयपरिरक्षणं क्षमं ते
निकृतिपरेषु परेषु भूरिधाम्नः।
अरिषु हि विजयार्थिनः क्षितीशा
विदधति सोपधि सन्धिदूषणानि॥"

उपरिस्थितश्लोकयुगले स्पष्टमिदमाभाति यत् कविर्न मनुशुक्रादिरचितान् राजनयान् स्वकाव्ये निधत्ते, अपि तु स्वसमसामयिकीं विषमां राजतन्त्रस्थितिं परिपश्यन्, पराभूतानप्यात्मीयान् जनान् पराक्रमाराधनाय, स्वात्मसम्माननाय स्ववीर्यसम्पदुद्रेचनाय विजयाय च निभृतं सरसं सन्दिशति परांश्च निकृतिपरान् सम्बोधयन् निस्तेजस्कानिव विधत्ते। अत्र न शास्त्रार्थगौरवमपि तु काव्यार्थगौरवं किमपि येन कविवचनमिदं शास्त्रनिरपेक्षमपि सदाम्नायवचनमिवाधुनातनमपि भारतमुद्बोधयितुं विष्वग्गति कृतोत्साहं च संलक्ष्यते।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्राणि

१. शिशुपालवधम् ११.६।

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२. शिशुपालवधम् २.१३।
३. शिशुपालवधम् २.६९।
४. शिशुपालवधम् २.७२–७४।
५. शिशुपालवधम् २.२४–२५।
६. काव्यमीमांसा पञ्चमोऽध्यायः।
७. शिशुपालवधम् २।२६।
८. किरातार्जुनीयम् २।४१।
९. किरातार्जुनीयम् २।४५।

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काव्य की आत्मा

लेखक

सत्यदेव चौधरी, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय

आत्मा शब्द का अर्थ

'आत्मा'[1] शब्द मूलतः काव्यशास्त्र का न होकर दर्शनशास्त्र का है। वेदान्त, न्याय दर्शन आदि में इस शब्द का स्वरूप प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इन शास्त्रों द्वारा प्रस्तुत आत्मा के विभिन्न स्वरूपों और लक्षणों में से एक है—"चैतन्यमात्मा" अर्थात् चेतनता को आत्मा कहते हैं, और दूसरा है—"ज्ञानाधिकरणमात्मा"; अर्थात् आत्मा ज्ञान का अधिकरण अर्थात् आधार है। यहां 'ज्ञान' शब्द भी चेतनता का वाचक है; ज्ञान के अतिरिक्त इच्छा, द्वेष, प्रयत्न , सुख और दुःख ये सभी आत्मा के लिंग माने गये हैं, अर्थात् इन्हीं के द्वारा आत्मा की सत्ता अनुमित की जा सकती है।[2] अस्तु। स्पष्ट है कि आत्मा का यह स्वरूप सभी प्राणियों के, विशेषतः मानव के, शरीर को लक्ष्य में रखकर प्रस्तुत किया गया है। जो शरीर का अधिष्ठाता एवं संचालक है, वही आत्मा है। विषय के सुगम अवबोध के लिए कह सकते हैं कि इस प्रसंग में 'आत्मा' शब्द प्राण अथवा चेतनता का पर्यायवाची है, जिसके बिना शरीर गतिहीन अत एव नितान्त निरर्थक है। लगभग इसी 'प्राण' अथवा 'चेतनता' अर्थ को लेकर काव्यशास्त्र में भी 'आत्मा' शब्द का व्यवहार किया गया है।[3] निस्सन्देह यहां यह शब्द वाचक रूप में प्रयुक्त न होकर लाक्षणिक रूप में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। यहां 'आत्मा' शब्द का लक्ष्यार्थ है काव्य का अनिवार्य तत्व।

काव्यशास्त्र में 'आत्मा' शब्द का प्रयोग

काव्यशास्त्र में सर्वप्रथम 'आत्मा' शब्द का प्रयोग वामन (८वीं शती) ने रीति को काव्य की आत्मा मानते हुए किया—"रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य"। इनके उपरान्त इसी दृष्टि से आनन्दवर्द्धन (११वीं शती) ने ध्वनि को और विश्वनाथ (१४वीं शती) ने रस को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार करते हुए इस शब्द का प्रयोग किया—"ध्वनिरात्मा काव्यस्य", "वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्"; और इन दोनों आचार्यों के मध्यवर्ती आचार्य कुन्तक (१२वीं शती) ने 'वक्रोक्ति' को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार करते हुए इस शब्द के स्थान पर 'जीवित' शब्द का प्रयोग किया।[4] इस प्रसंग के अतिरिक्त 'काव्यपुरुषरूपक' को उद्धृत करते हुए सर्वप्रथम राजशेखर (९वीं शती)[5] ने और तदनन्तर विश्वनाथ (१४वीं शती)[6] ने आत्मा शब्द का व्यवहार किया।

वस्तुतः देखा जाय तो यह रूपक ही 'काव्य की आत्मा किसे माना जाए' इस प्रश्न का सर्वाधिक उत्तरदायी है। यह रूपक वामन के समय तक पूर्णतः स्पष्ट नहीं हुआ था। इनसे पूर्व दण्डी ने 'पदावली' को काव्य का शरीर बताते हुए केवल शरीर की चर्चा की थी, और वामन ने उपर्युक्त रूप में केवल आत्मा की। यद्यपि आचार्य वामन पर्यन्त 'आत्मा' शब्द अपने परवर्ती विशिष्ट अर्थ में पूर्णतः स्थिर नहीं हुआ था, तो भी यह धारणा प्रबल रूप में जाग्रत हो

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चुकी थी कि काव्य में कोई न कोई तत्त्व अनिवार्यतः विद्यमान रहता है। भामह, दण्डी और उद्भट के मत में यह तत्त्व 'अलंकार' था और वामन के मत में 'रीति'। और आगे चलकर, जैसा कि पहले लिख आये हैं, 'ध्वनि', 'वक्रोक्ति' और 'रस' को काव्य की आत्मा माना गया। इस प्रकार 'काव्य की आत्मा' का निर्धारण करने के लिए उक्त पांचों सिद्धान्तों का स्वरूप-प्रतिपादन एवं तुलनात्मक अध्ययन अपेक्षित है।

अलंकार सिद्धान्त

भामह, दण्डी और उद्भट ने यद्यपि अलंकार को स्पष्ट शब्दों में काव्य की आत्मा कहीं भी नहीं कहा, तो भी इन सबकी, विशेषतः दण्डी की, निम्नोक्त मान्यताओं से स्पष्ट है कि वे अलंकार को काव्य का सर्वस्व एवं अनिवार्य तत्त्व स्वीकार करते थे:—

१. भामह ने अलंकार को काव्य का एक आवश्यक आभूषण तत्त्व मानते हुए कहा कि जैसे आभूषणों के बिना किसी नारी का मुख सुन्दर होते हुए भी शोभा नहीं पाता, वही स्थिति अनेक आचार्यों द्वारा प्रस्तुत रूपक आदि अलंकारों की (काव्य के सम्बन्ध में) है।[७]

२. ये आचार्य काव्य के सभी शोभाकर धर्मों को अलंकार नाम से अभिहित करने के पक्ष में हैं। दण्डी के शब्दों में "काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मान् अलंकारान् प्रचक्षते" (काव्यादर्श २।१)। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि अनुप्रास, उपमा आदि तो अलंकार हैं ही, गुण, रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास आदि भी इसी नाम से अभिहित होते हैं। इसी धारणा का उल्लेख यद्यपि रीति को काव्य की आत्मा मानने वाले वामन ने भी किया—"सौन्दर्यमलंकारः" (अर्थात् काव्य का सभी प्रकार का चमत्कार अलंकार कहलाता है), तथापि उनके ग्रन्थ से इस बात की पुष्टि नहीं होती कि वे रीति की तुलना में अलंकार को ही काव्य का सर्वस्व मानते थे। भामह आदि अलंकार-वादियों की इस धारणा की पुष्टि के लिए निम्नोक्त तथ्य प्रस्तुत किये जा सकते हैं:

(क) इन आचार्यों ने अंगीभूत रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास तथा भावशान्ति को परवर्ती आनन्दवर्द्धन आदि आचार्यों के असमान इन्हीं नामों से अभिहित न कर इन्हें क्रमशः रसवत्, प्रेयस्, ऊर्जस्वी और समाहित अलंकार नाम दिया है, और उद्भट ने अंगभूत इन सभी को द्वितीय उदात्त अलंकार माना है।[८]

(ख) गुण को यद्यपि स्पष्टतः अलंकार नहीं कहा गया है, तथापि दण्डी के एक कथन से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उपमा आदि अर्थालंकारों की तुलना में अनुप्रास आदि अलंकारों तथा माधुर्य आदि दस गुणों को उन्हें 'साधारण अलंकार' कहना अभीष्ट है:

"काश्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थमुक्ताः प्रागप्यलंक्रियाः"॥
साधारणमलंकारजातमन्यत् प्रकाश्यते॥ काव्यादर्श २।३

किन्तु एक स्थल पर उन्होंने अलंकार और गुण दोनों को एक साथ स्पष्टतः अपने-अपने नामों से भी अभिहित किया है (काव्यादर्श ३।१८६)।

(ग) ध्वनि को इन तीनों आचार्यों ने यद्यपि कहीं भी स्पष्टतः अलंकार नाम से अभिहित नहीं किया, तथापि रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा, प्रतिवस्तूपमा, पर्यायोक्त (पर्यायोक्ति), अपह्नुति, दीपक, द्वितीय व्यतिरेक, अर्थान्तरन्यास, समासोक्ति, आक्षेप, अनुक्तनिमित्ता विशेषोक्ति, तुल्ययोगिता, संकर आदि अलंकारों के लक्षण अथवा उदाहरण इस तथ्य की ओर निस्सन्देह संकेत करते हैं कि ये आचार्य न केवल ध्वनि अथवा व्यंजना तत्त्व से परिचित थे, अपितु वे इसका अन्तर्भाव उक्त अलंकारों में प्रकारान्तर से करना चाहते थे। निदर्शन के लिए इन तीनों आचार्यों की एक-एक कारिका लीजिए:

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(१) "समानवस्तुन्यासेन प्रतिवस्तूपमोच्यते।
यथैवानभिधानेऽपि गुणसाम्यप्रतीतितः"॥
काव्यालंकार २।३४।

(२) "शब्दोपात्ते प्रतीते वा सादृश्ये वस्तुनोर्द्वयोः।
तत्र यद् भेदकथनं व्यतिरेकः स कथ्यते"॥
काव्यादर्श २।१७८।

(३) "पर्यायोक्तं यदन्येन प्रकारेणाभिधीयते।
वाच्यवाचकवृत्तिभ्यां शून्येनावगमात्मना"॥
काव्यालंकारसारसंग्रह ५।६।

इन लक्षणों में प्रयुक्त 'गुणसाम्यप्रतीति', 'सादृश्य प्रतीयमान' तथा 'वाच्य और वाचक वृत्तियों से शून्य अवगमात्मकता' आदि प्रयोग यह मानने को बाध्य करते हैं कि इन आचार्यों को ध्वनि तत्त्व को भी अलंकार में अन्तर्भूत करना अभीष्ट था, और यही कारण है कि ध्वनि के प्रवर्त्तक आनन्दवर्द्धन ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'ध्वन्यालोक' के प्रारम्भ में ही ध्वनि विरोधियों में (भाक्त और अनिर्वचनीयतावादियों के अतिरिक्त) अभाववादियों अर्थात् ध्वनि को न मानने वाले अलंकारवादियों का भी खण्डन किया है।[20] इसी प्रसंग में उपर्युक्त अलंकारों में से अधिकतर के उदाहरण प्रस्तुत कर[21] आनन्दवर्द्धन ने यह सिद्ध किया कि ध्वनि का विषय इन अलंकारों के विषय से कहीं और आगे है। ध्वनि महाविषयीभूत है, अतः पर्यायोक्त आदि अलंकारों का अन्तर्भाव ध्वनि में ही किया जाएगा, न कि ध्वनि का अन्तर्भाव इनमें।

(घ) दण्डी ने प्रबंध काव्य को भाविक अलंकार नाम दिया है। भाविक का व्युत्पत्तिपरक अर्थ है—जिस (काव्य) में कवि का भाव अर्थात् अभिप्राय आसिद्धि (समाप्ति पर्यन्त) रहे। इसी प्रसंग में दण्डी ने महाकाव्यगत वस्तुपर्वों (आधिकारिक और प्रासंगिक कथावस्तु) की पारस्परिक उपकारिता का तथा स्थानवर्णना अर्थात् प्रकृतोपयोगी विषयों के वर्णन का भी उल्लेख किया है।[3]

(ङ) काव्यशास्त्र से सम्बद्ध उपर्युक्त विषयों के अतिरिक्त दण्डी ने नाट्यशास्त्र से सम्बद्ध विषयों को भी अलंकार नाम दिया है। सन्धि, सन्ध्यङ्ग, वृत्ति, वृत्त्यङ्ग, लक्षण आदि को वे अलंकार के अन्तर्गत समाविष्ट करने के पक्ष में हैं :

"यच्च सन्ध्यङ्गवृत्त्यङ्गलक्षणाद्यागमान्तरे।
व्यावर्णितमिदं चेष्टमलंकारतयैव नः"॥ काव्यदर्श २।३६९।

'काव्यादर्श' के प्रख्यात टीकाकार रंगाचार्य रेड्डी के कथनानुसार इनमें से किन्हीं का अन्तर्भाव दण्डी द्वारा परिगणित स्वभावाख्यान (स्वभावोक्ति), उपमा आदि अलंकारों में किया जा सकता है और किन्हीं का भाविक अलंकार में (तत्र केषांचित् स्वभावाख्यानादौ अन्तर्भावः, केषांचित् भाविके इति यथायथं विषयानुरोधने ज्ञातव्यम्—काव्यादर्श-टीका २।३६७)। रंगाचार्य महोदय के वक्तव्य को और अधिक स्पष्ट करना चाहें तो कह सकते हैं कि ३६ लक्षणों का अन्तर्भाव उपमादि अलंकारों में किया जा सकता है और सन्धियों, सन्ध्यङ्गों, वृत्तियों और वृत्त्यङ्गों का भाविक में, क्योंकि ये सभी 'वस्तुपर्व' ही तो हैं।

इस प्रकार गुण, रस, ध्वनि, प्रबन्ध काव्य तथा नाट्यवादियों को ये अलंकारवादी आचार्य, विशेषतः दण्डी, 'अलंकार' नाम से अभिहित करते हैं। अतः इनके मत में केवल अनुप्रास, उपमा आदि ही अलंकार नहीं हैं, अपितु काव्य के वे सभी अंग 'अलंकार' कहलाते हैं जो काव्य के चमत्कारोत्पादक अथवा सौन्दर्यविधायक हैं।

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निष्कर्षतः, अलंकारवादियों को अलंकार का व्यापक अर्थ अभीष्ट है--दण्डी के शब्दों में 'काव्यशोभाकर धर्म' और वामन के शब्दों में (सभी प्रकार का काव्यगत) 'सौन्दर्य'।

रीति सिद्धांत

रीति सिद्धान्त के प्रवर्त्तक आचार्य वामन हैं, और वही इसके एकमात्र आचार्य हैं, क्योंकि आगे इस सिद्धान्त का अनुगमन नहीं हुआ है। उनके कथनानुसार 'विशिष्ट पदरचना' को रीति कहते हैं। उसमें यह विशेषता गुणों के कारण आती है: 'विशेषो गुणात्मा'। इसी सूत्र के आधार पर रीति और गुण में अभेद स्वीकार किया जाता है। गुण दो प्रकार के हैं—शब्दगुण और अर्थगुण। इनकी संख्या दस-दस है। यद्यपि इन दोनों प्रकार के गुणों के नाम भी एक से हैं--ओज, प्रसाद, श्लेष, समता, समाधि, माधुर्य, सौकुमार्य, उदारता, अर्थव्यक्ति और कान्ति; किन्तु प्रत्येक शब्दगत और अर्थगत गुण के स्वरूप एवं लक्षण में नितान्त अन्तर है।

इन गुणों से विशिष्ट 'रीति' को वामन ने काव्य की 'आत्मा' कहा है। इन्होंने इसके तीन भेद माने हैं: वैदर्भी, गौडीय और पांचाली। इनमें से वैदर्भी में सभी गुण विद्यमान रहते हैं, गौडीय में दो गुण--ओज और कान्ति तथा पांचाली में भी दो गुण—माधुर्य और सौकुमार्य। इन रीतियों में ये गुण शब्दगत रहते हैं अथवा अर्थगत—इस ओर वामन ने यद्यपि कोई संकेत नहीं किया, किन्तु उनके विवेचन से, और विशेषतः इस मौन से प्रतीत यही होता है कि उन्हें गुणों के दोनों ही रूपों का सद्भाव इन रीतियों में अभीष्ट है। इनमें से उन्होंने वैदर्भी को सर्वश्रेष्ठ माना है और इसका यह कारण प्रस्तुत किया है कि यह रीति 'समग्रगुणा' होती है। इसी रीति की उन्होंने एक अन्य कोटि स्वीकार की है—शुद्ध वैदर्भी। यह तभी मानी जाती है जब किसी समग्रगुणपरिपूर्ण रचना में समास का अभाव हो—"सापि समासाभावे शुद्धवैदर्भी" (१।२।१९)।

अब मूल प्रश्न पर आते हैं। वामन 'रीति' को किस आधार पर काव्य की आत्मा मानते हैं? इसके दो आधार सम्भव हैं—काव्य के अन्य उपादानों को अपने अभीष्ट काव्यतत्त्व के अन्तर्गत मानना अथवा उन उपादानों द्वारा इसकी पुष्टि मानना। अलंकारवादियों, विशेषतः दण्डी, ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में प्रथम आधार ग्रहण किया था, किन्तु वामन ने स्वयं इस ओर कोई संकेत नहीं किया। फिर भी यदि 'रीति' को एक स्वतंत्र काव्य सिद्धान्त माना गया है तो इसका प्रमुख कारण यही है कि 'रीति' के अपर पर्याय 'गुण' के २० भेदों में अन्य कतिपय शास्त्रीय काव्योपादानों का किसी-न-किसी रूप में अन्तर्भाव किया जा सकता है। मम्मट ने इन्हीं बीस गुणों का खण्डन अनेक रूपों में किया है। उनमें से एक रूप यह है कि इनमें से कुछ मम्मट-सम्मत माधुर्य, ओज और प्रसाद में अन्तर्भूत होते हैं और कुछ काव्य के अन्य उपादानों में। उदाहरणार्थ:

१. वामन-सम्मत शब्दगत श्लेष, समाधि, औदार्य और प्रसाद--ये चार मम्मट-सम्मत ओज में अन्तर्भूत होते हैं, और
२. वामन-सम्मत शब्दगत माधुर्य और अर्थव्यक्ति गुण क्रमशः मम्मट-सम्मत माधुर्य और प्रसाद में।
३. वामन-सम्मत अर्थगत अर्थव्यक्ति का स्वभावोक्ति अलंकार में अन्तर्भाव हो सकता है, और
४. अर्थगत कान्ति का रस, ध्वनि और गुणीभूतव्यंग्य में।

यदि इस स्थिति को मम्मट के स्थान पर वामन के दृष्टिकोण से सोचें तो कह सकते हैं कि वामन की 'रीति' से सम्बद्ध गुणों में न केवल परवर्ती आचार्यों द्वारा स्वीकृत माधुर्य, ओज और प्रसाद सम्मिलित हैं, अपितु एक ओर स्वभावोक्ति अलंकार और दूसरी ओर रस के अतिरिक्त ध्वनि और गुणीभूतव्यंग्य भी सम्मिलित हैं। इनमें से गुण और रस के विषय में तो कोई सन्देह नहीं है, क्योंकि गुण के सम्मिलित न होने का प्रश्न ही उपस्थित नहीं होता और रस

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को वामन ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में सम्मिलित किया—"दीप्तरसत्वं कान्तिः"। शेष रहे तीन उपादान—ध्वनि तथा गुणीभूत-व्यंग्य और स्वभावोक्ति अलंकार। इनमें से प्रथम दो रस के साथ सम्बद्ध होने के कारण स्वीकृत किये गये हैं, अतः ये भी मान्य हैं। हां, स्वभावोक्ति को मान्य समझने के सम्बन्ध में पर्याप्त खींचतान करनी पड़ेगी, क्योंकि वामन-सम्मत अर्थव्यक्ति और मम्मट-सम्मत स्वभावोक्ति में बहुत निकट का सम्बन्ध नहीं है। अस्तु! यह है प्रथम आधार, जिसके बल पर वामन के दृष्टिकोण से रीति को काव्य की 'आत्मा' माना जा सकता है।

अब दूसरे आधार—काव्य के अन्य उपादानों द्वारा अपने काव्यतत्त्व की पुष्टि—को लीजिए। हमारे विचार में वामन के दृष्टिकोण से रीति को काव्य की आत्मा इस आधार पर नहीं माना जा सकता। कारण यह है कि वैदर्भी रीति में सब गुणों की, और गौडीया तथा पांचाली रीतियों में दो-दो गुणों की स्वीकृति का तात्पर्य यही लिया जा सकता है कि इन गुणों के सम्मिलित अथवा समवेत रूप का नाम ही ये रीतियां हैं। दूसरे शब्दों में, बीस गुणों के इस रूप का अपर नाम वैदर्भी है और दो-दो गुणों के इस रूप का नाम गौडीया अथवा पांचाली। [यही कारण है कि आनन्दवर्द्धन ने रीति और गुण में 'अभेद' स्वीकार किया है।] अतः ये गुण (उपादान) इन रीतियों के पोषक नहीं हैं।

इस प्रकार प्रथम आधार पर वामन के दृष्टिकोण से रीति को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकृत कर लेने पर कतिपय प्रश्न उपस्थित होते हैं :

पहला प्रश्न यह है कि दण्डी के 'वैदर्भ मार्ग' और वामन की वैदर्भी रीति में क्या कोई अन्तर है? इसका उत्तर है कि हां, महान् अन्तर है। दस गुण 'वैदर्भ मार्ग' के प्राण हैं। दण्डी की इस धारणा का तात्पर्य यह है कि जिस रचना में इनमें से किसी एक गुण की (अथवा किन्हीं दो-तीन गुणों की भी) अवस्थिति हो, वहां 'वैदर्भ मार्ग' की स्वीकृति की जाती है। किन्तु इस वामन-सम्मत वैदर्भी रीति में बीस गुणों का संयोग (चाहे वह समवाय रूप में हो अथवा समवेत रूप में) अनिवार्य है। वामन के 'रीति सिद्धान्त' का यही सबसे बड़ा दोष एवं शैथिल्य है। प्रथम तो किसी पद्य में बीस गुणों का संयोग अपने आप में असम्भव परिकल्पना है। यदि रीति सिद्धान्त का पक्षपात लेकर इसे सिद्ध करने का आग्रह किया भी जाए तो इसके लिए निस्सन्देह, अवांछनीय एवं हास्यास्पद खींचतान करनी पड़ेगी।

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि 'अलंकार' के सम्बन्ध में वामन का दृष्टिकोण क्या है? वस्तुतः वामन पर अलंकारवाद का पर्याप्त प्रभाव है। उन्हें दण्डी आदि के समान 'अलंकार' के दोनों अर्थ अभीष्ट हैं—व्यापक भी और संकुचित भी। पहले व्यापक अर्थ को लीजिए। वामन काव्य को 'अलंकार' के कारण ग्राह्य मानते हैं और अलंकार से उनका अभिप्राय है काव्य का सभी प्रकार का 'सौन्दर्य',[१३] जिसमें रीतिजनित 'सौन्दर्य' भी निस्सन्देह समाविष्ट हो जाता है। वामन को अलंकार का संकुचित अर्थ—अनुप्रास, उपमा आदि भी अभीष्ट है। इसके दो प्रमाण हैं। पहला यह कि वह इन प्रख्यात अलंकारों को गुणों में अन्तर्भूत करने का कहीं संकेत नहीं करते; वे इन्हें स्वतन्त्र मानते हैं। दण्डी की भी यही स्थिति है। वे भी इन्हें गुणों में अन्तर्भूत नहीं करते। दूसरा प्रमाण यह कि वामन इन्हीं अलंकारों को गुण की अपेक्षा निम्नकोटि का स्वीकार करते हैं। इनके कथनानुसार गुण काव्य के शोभाकारक धर्म हैं तो अलंकार उसी उत्पन्न शोभा के वर्द्धक हेतु। अतः काव्य में गुण की स्थिति नित्य है और अलंकार की अनित्य[१४]। दण्डी का दृष्टिकोण भी लगभग यही है। वे गुण को तो 'वैदर्भ मार्ग' का प्राण मानते हैं, किन्तु अलंकारों को नहीं।[१५]

इस प्रकार वामन अलंकार की इन दोनों स्थितियों को स्वीकृत करते हुए यदि रीति को काव्य की 'आत्मा' मानते हैं तो इससे वे अपनी इस मान्यता के बल को कम अवश्य कर लेते हैं। वस्तुतः वामन अलंकारवाद से इतना अधिक प्रभावित थे कि वे न तो इस वाद का खण्डन कर सके, न अनुप्रास, उपमा आदि अलंकारों को अपनी 'रीति' में अन्तर्भूत कर सके, और न इन्हें 'रीति' के पोषक रूप में स्वीकृत कर सके। फिर भी, यदि इन्होंने रीति को 'आत्मा' पद से गौरवान्वित किया तो केवल इसी आधार पर कि वह अलंकारवादियों की अपेक्षा काव्य के बाह्य रूप को कहीं अधिक चमत्कृत

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करने के पक्ष में थे। उनके शब्दगुणों की (और अधिकतर अर्थगुणों की भी) परिभाषाओं की तुलना दण्डि-प्रस्तुत गुणों की परिभाषाओं से करने पर इसी तथ्य की पुष्टि हो जाएगी। उनका यह बाह्य रूप चकाचौंध मात्र न होकर स्थायी उज्ज्वलता का द्योतक है। इसका एक प्रमाण यह है कि इन्होंने शब्दगुण के अतिरिक्त अर्थगुण भी माना है, और दूसरा प्रमाण यह है कि उनकी दृष्टि में ये गुण केवल पाठ अर्थात् शब्द रचना के धर्ममात्र नहीं हैं। क्योंकि सभी प्रकार की रचनाओं में ये दिखायी नहीं देते। ये विशिष्टता की अपेक्षा रखते हैं—"न पाठधर्माः सर्वत्रादृष्टेः विशेषापेक्षया" (३।१।२८ तथा वृत्ति)।

निष्कर्षतः, वामन अलंकारवादियों के सिद्धान्तों को अधिकांशतः स्वीकृत करते हुए भी यह मानते थे कि 'रीति' काव्य की आत्मा है। यह उनकी गुणग्राहकता और शिथिलता दोनों का द्योतक है। किन्तु हां, अलंकारवादियों की अपेक्षा काव्य के बाह्य पक्ष पर वास्तविक बल देने का तो द्योतक है ही।

ध्वनि सिद्धान्त

ध्वनि सिद्धान्त के प्रवर्त्तक आनन्दवर्द्धन ने 'ध्वनि' को स्पष्ट शब्दों में काव्य की आत्मा के रूप में घोषित करते हुए कहा कि उनसे पूर्व भी विद्वानों द्वारा यही मान्यता स्वीकृत की गयी थी:

"काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्वः"।

ध्वनि कहते हैं उस प्रतीयमान अथवा व्यंग्य अर्थ को जिसे अर्थ (वाच्यार्थ) अपने आप को और शब्द अपने अर्थ (वाच्यार्थ) को गौण बना कर अभिव्यक्त करते हैं:

"यत्रार्थः शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ।
व्यङ्क्तः काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिरिति सूरिभिः कथितः"॥ ध्वन्या० १।१३।

इनसे पूर्व 'अलंकार' को काव्य का सर्वस्व और 'रीति' को काव्य की आत्मा के रूप में घोषित किया जा चुका था। अपने मत की पुष्टि के लिए आनन्दवर्द्धन ने प्राचीन शास्त्रीय परिपाटी का अनुकरण करते हुए (लक्षणा शब्द-शक्ति के अतिरिक्त)[१६] इन दोनों तत्त्वों का भी खण्डन किया। पहले अलंकार-तत्त्व को लीजिए। भामह आदि अलंकारवादियों के समर्थकों की ओर से कहा जा सकता है कि 'अलंकार' नामक तत्त्व की स्वीकृति किये जाने पर 'ध्वनि' नामक तत्त्व की आवश्यकता ही नहीं है—"तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे"; क्योंकि भामह-प्रस्तुत प्रतिवस्तूपमा, दण्डि-प्रस्तुत व्यतिरेक, तथा भामह, दण्डी और उद्भट द्वारा प्रस्तुत पर्यायोक्ति आदि अलंकारों में ध्वनितत्त्व के स्पष्टसंकेत मिल जाते हैं। इसी प्रकार अलंकार व्यंग्य को भी 'ध्वनि' न मानकर 'अलंकार' ही माना जा सकता है। आनन्दवर्द्धन ने इनका खण्डन करते हुए कहा है कि उक्त प्रतिवस्तूपमा आदि अलंकारो में 'व्यंग्यार्थ' की प्रतीति होने पर भी उसका प्रधान रूप से कथन नहीं होता, उनमें प्रधान चमत्कार तो अलंकार-तत्त्व का ही रहता है। अतः इन्हें 'ध्वनि' न कहकर अलंकार कहना चाहिये।[१७] हां, व्यंग्यांश-समन्वित इन पर्यायोक्ति आदि अलंकारों का चमत्कार अन्य वाच्यालंकारों—उपमा, रूपक आदि की तुलना में कहीं अधिक बढ़ जाता है।[१८] और, यदि कहीं इन अलंकारों में व्यंग्यार्थ की प्रधानता हो भी तो उन्हें इन अलंकारों के स्थान पर ध्वनि का ही उदाहरण माना जाएगा।[१९] वस्तुतः ध्वनि अंगी है और अलंकार, गुण और वृत्तियां उसके अंग हैं।[२०] निष्कर्ष रूप में अलंकार के सम्बन्ध में आनन्दवर्द्धन का मन्तव्य है कि अलंकार उन्हें कहते हैं जो शब्द और अर्थ के आश्रित रहकर कटक, कुण्डल आदि के समान (शब्दार्थ रूप शरीर के शोभाजनक) हैं,[२१] और इनकी यह स्थिति बाह्यपरक है। अतः इनके अन्तराल में 'ध्वनि' को, जो कि मूलतः एक आन्तरिक तत्त्व है, समाविष्ट नहीं माना जा सकता।

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'अलंकार' के अतिरिक्त आनन्दवर्द्धन ने 'रीति' का भी खण्डन किया। 'रीति' को इन्होंने 'संघटना' नाम देते हुए कहा कि वह गुणों पर आश्रित रह कर रसों की अभिव्यक्ति करती है—

"गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ती माधुर्यादीन् व्यनक्ति सा।
रसान्........................"॥ —ध्वन्या० ३।६।

इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि आनन्दवर्द्धन की दृष्टि में रीति की सिद्धि इसी में है कि वह रस की अभिव्यक्ति में सहयोग दे और यह भी साक्षात् रूप में नहीं, एक पग और पीछे, गुणों के आश्रित रह कर; तथा यह भी उस 'रस' की अभिव्यक्ति में, जो स्वयं ध्वनि पर आश्रित है—उसका एक प्रभेद मात्र है। आनन्दवर्द्धन रीति को केवल घटना—रचना-प्रकार—मात्र मानते हैं। स्वयं वामन भी मूलतः इसे एक बाह्य तत्त्व स्वीकार करते हैं क्योंकि आनन्दवर्द्धन ने यदि समास के सद्भाव और असद्भाव को रीति के स्वरूप-निर्देश में स्थान दिया तो यही दिशा वामन ने भी अपनायी थी। स्पष्ट है कि समास-निर्देश बाह्य तत्त्व का सूचक ही है। आनन्दवर्द्धन के इसी दृष्टि का परिपालन उनके अनुयायी परवर्ती आचार्यों द्वारा किया गया। परिणामतः, विश्वनाथ के शब्दों में, रीति अपने 'आत्मपद' से च्युत होकर 'अंगस्थान' मात्र बन कर रह गयी। निष्कर्षतः, आनन्दवर्द्धन ने 'रीति' को केवल एक बाह्य तत्त्व स्वीकार करते हुए उसे 'आत्मा' मानने वाले वामन का खण्डन किया है, और उनके सम्बन्ध में स्पष्टतः कहा है कि वह अस्फुट रूप से प्रतीत होने वाले ध्वनि जैसे आन्तरिक काव्यतत्त्व की व्याख्या करने में नितान्त असमर्थ थे:

"अस्फुटस्फुरितं काव्यतत्त्वमेतद् यथोदितम्।
अशक्नुवद्भिर्व्याकर्तुं रीतयः सम्प्रवर्तिताः"॥ ध्वन्या० ३।४७।

इस प्रकार आनन्दवर्द्धन ने ध्वनि तत्त्व से पूर्ववर्ती उक्त दोनों तत्त्वों का खण्डन उनके प्रति अपनी मान्यताओं के आधार पर किया—'अलंकार' को आभूषक मात्र मानते हुए तथा 'रीति' को एक संघटना (रचनाप्रकार) मात्र। किन्तु इससे इनके प्रवर्त्तक आचार्यों के प्रति निस्सन्देह यथोचित न्याय नहीं हुआ। वस्तुतः इनका खण्डन उन्हीं के समान इन दोनों तत्त्वों को व्यापक अर्थ लेकर करना चाहिए था, न कि केवल अपनी मान्यतानुसार इनका सीमित अर्थ लेकर। आनन्दवर्द्धन के इस शैथिल्य का—अथवा यों कहिये कि एक प्रकार की न्यूनता का—आनन्दवर्द्धन की ही ओर से उत्तर भी दिया जा सकता है कि यदि वे पूर्ववर्ती आचार्यों के अलंकार एवं रीति विषयक व्यापक दृष्टिकोण को ही अपनाते तो भी परिणाम वही निकलता कि ये दोनों तत्त्व मूलतः बाह्यपरक हैं, और इनके इसी बाह्य स्वरूप का ही इन्होंने अपनी मान्यताओं में स्पष्टतः उल्लेख किया है। इधर इसके अतिरिक्त ये स्वसम्मत 'ध्वनि' को नितान्त आन्तरिक काव्यतत्त्व स्वीकार करते हुए काव्य की आत्मा घोषित करते हैं, और वस्तुतः इसे इस महनीय पद पर आसीन करने के लिए केवल यही एक प्रबल तर्क पर्याप्त है। अनेक स्थलों पर उन्होंने इस तथ्य को उद्घोषित किया है:

"प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम्।
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु"॥ ध्वन्या० १।४।

निस्सन्देह यही प्रतीयमानार्थ (व्यंग्यार्थ, ध्वनि) अलंकार और रीति जैसे बाह्यपरक उपादानों की तुलना में 'आत्मा' जैसे आन्तरिक तत्त्व से सम्मानित किये जाने का कहीं अधिक अधिकारी है।

इसके अतिरिक्त आनन्दवर्द्धन ने काव्य के विविध चमत्कार को ध्वनि पर आधारित मानते हुए अपनी उक्त मान्यता को परिपुष्टि की है। ध्वनि के तारतम्य के अनुरूप उन्होंने काव्य के तीन रूप स्वीकृत किये हैं—ध्वनि, गुणीभूत-व्यंग्य और चित्र। ध्वनि के प्रमुख भेद पाँच हैं और गुणीभूतव्यंग्य के आठ। फिर इनके अनेक उपभेद हैं, जो पदांश, पद, वाक्य से लेकर प्रबन्धगतता तक फैले हुए हैं। इस तरह इन दोनों काव्यतत्त्वों के भेदोपभेदों में प्रत्येक प्रकार का

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काव्य-सौन्दर्य अन्तर्भूत किया जा सकता है। स्वयं आनन्दवर्द्धन के शब्दों में इनके सम्पर्क से वाणी अभिनवता और समृद्धि को प्राप्त कर लेती है।[२२] ध्वनि का एक भेद 'असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्य' है, जो रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास आदि का पर्याय है।[२३] गुणीभूतव्यंग्य के एक भेद 'अपरस्यांग' से अभिप्राय है—रसवद् आदि अलंकारों का चमत्कार।[२४] इधर चित्र-काव्य के अन्तर्गत माधुर्य आदि गुणों और उससे सम्बद्ध रीतियों के अतिरिक्त सभी अलंकारों का चमत्कार सन्निहित है। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि गुण और अलंकार भी आनन्दवर्द्धन के अनुसार व्यंग्यरहित नहीं होते, उनमें भी व्यंग्य की सत्ता रहती है, किन्तु अस्फुट रूप से। निष्कर्षतः, आनन्दवर्द्धन के अनुसार सभी प्रकार के काव्य-सौन्दर्य में ध्वनितत्त्व प्रमुख, गौण अथवा अस्फुट रूपों में से किसी-न-किसी रूप में अनिवार्यतः विद्यमान रहता है। इसलिए भी ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा माना गया है।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक तीसरा कारण और भी उल्लेखनीय है। आनन्दवर्द्धन और उनके अनुकरण में मम्मट तथा विश्वनाथ ने अलंकार, गुण, रीति और यहाँ तक कि दोष का भी स्वरूप ध्वनि के सर्वोत्कृष्ट भेद 'रस' पर निर्धारित किया है।[२५]

इस प्रकार इन उपर्युक्त तीनों कारणों के आधार पर आनन्दवर्द्धन ने 'ध्वनि काव्य की आत्मा है' यह घोषित करते हुए अन्य काव्यांगों की सत्ता स्वीकार की तथा इन्हें ध्वनि से सम्बद्ध करते हुए इनकी वास्तविक स्थिति का स्पष्टीकरण किया।

वक्रोक्ति सिद्धान्त

'काव्य की आत्मा' के प्रसंग में अग्रिम उल्लेखनीय काव्यतत्त्व है—'वक्रोक्ति', जिसे कुन्तक ने काव्य का जीवित (आत्मा) स्वीकार करते हुए अपने ग्रन्थ को इसी मान्यता के आधार पर 'वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्' नाम से अभिहित किया, तथा 'विचित्र' नामक मार्ग के प्रसंग में 'वक्रोक्ति' के वैचित्र्य को 'जीवित' शब्द से संकेतित किया। वक्रोक्ति कहते हैं—भणिति अर्थात् कवि-कर्मकौशल से उत्पन्न वैचित्र्यपूर्ण कथन को। दूसरे शब्दों में, जो काव्यतत्त्व किसी कथन में लोकोत्तर चमत्कार उत्पन्न कर दे, उसका नाम 'वक्रोक्ति' है। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि लोकवार्ता से—यों कहिये लौकिक सामान्य वचन से—विशिष्ट कथन 'वक्रोक्ति' के अन्तर्गत आ सकता है।

कुन्तक से पूर्व 'अलंकार' को काव्य का सर्वस्व और रीति तथा ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकृत किया जा चुका था तथा भरत और आनन्दवर्द्धन द्वारा रस का स्वरूप अधिकांशतः व्यवस्थित हो चुका था। कुन्तक स्वयं इन चारों काव्यतत्त्वों से पूर्णतया परिचित थे। इनमें से वामन-सम्मत रीति को निस्सार वस्तु समझ कर इन्होंने इस पर विशिष्ट प्रकाश डालना समुचित नहीं समझा। शेष तीन काव्यतत्त्वों को इन्होंने अपनी मान्यता के अनुसार वक्रोक्ति से सम्बद्ध, अथवा इसी में अन्तर्भूत स्वीकृत करते हुए भी कहीं इनका खण्डन नहीं किया। अलंकार के प्रति इनका दृष्टि-कोण यद्यपि भामह, दण्डी और उद्भट जैसे अलंकारवादियों के समान न होकर अधिकांशतः आनन्दवर्द्धन के समान ही है,[२६] तथापि वे उनके द्वारा प्रतिपादित अलंकार के 'व्यापक' अर्थ को भुला नहीं सके—'काव्यता (तो) सालंकार (वचन) की होती है, यह एक तत्त्व है'—'तत्त्वं, सालंकारस्य काव्यता' (१।६), और इसी धारणा के वशीभूत होकर ही मानों वे वक्रोक्ति को एक 'अपूर्व अलंकार' की संज्ञा दे रहे हैं—'काव्यस्यायमलंकारः कोऽप्यपूर्वो विधीयते' (१।२)। ठीक इसी प्रकार इसी प्रसंग के आसपास ही इन्होंने वक्रोक्ति को 'विचित्रा अभिधा' भी कहा है—'विचित्रैव अभिधा वक्रोक्ति-रित्युच्यते' (१।१०, वृत्ति)। 'विचित्रा अभिधा' से उनका तात्पर्य ध्वनि से ही है। इस प्रकार एक ओर वक्रोक्ति को 'अलंकार' कहना और दूसरी ओर प्रकारान्तर से 'ध्वनि' कहना कुन्तक की इन दोनों सिद्धान्तों के प्रति, विशेषतः ध्वनि सिद्धान्त के प्रति, मान्यता एवं समादर-भावना का सूचक है। शेष रहा चौथा काव्यतत्त्व, इसे तो इन्होंने मुक्त कण्ठ से स्वीकार करते हुए अपने ग्रन्थ में यत्रतत्र अनुस्यूत किया है।

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इस प्रकार रीति को छोड़कर शेष तीनों काव्य तत्त्वों—अलंकार, ध्वनि और रस—के प्रति इन्होंने यद्यपि उदार दृष्टिकोण रखा है, तथापि हैं ये मूलतः वक्रोक्तिवादी ही, और इस मान्यता का एकमात्र कारण पूर्व-निर्दिष्ट ही है कि वे लौकिक वार्ता से उच्च भावभूमि पर अवस्थित प्रत्येक उक्ति को 'वक्रोक्ति' नाम से अभिहित करते हैं और इसी के फलस्वरूप इन्होंने इसके अनेक भेदोपभेद करते हुए प्रकारान्तर से सभी काव्यतत्त्वों को इसी में अन्तर्भूत किया है और इसका आधार है उक्ति की वक्रता अर्थात् विच्छित्ति। किन्तु इनके विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट नहीं होता कि 'वक्रोक्ति' केवल बाह्य तत्त्व है अथवा केवल आन्तरिक तत्त्व। कहीं वे इसे वामन के समान बाह्य तत्त्व के रूप में स्वीकार करते प्रतीत होते हैं, न केवल स्थूल प्रसंगों में अपितु सूक्ष्म प्रसंगों में भी, और कहीं आनन्दवर्द्धन के समान आन्तरिक रूप में। अन्तर केवल नाम का ही है। आनन्दवर्द्धन जिसे ध्वनि कहते हैं कुन्तक उसे वक्रोक्ति कह देते हैं। इस प्रकार हमारे सम्मुख वक्रोक्ति के ये दोनों रूप उपस्थित होते हैं—बाह्य और आन्तरिक। बाह्य के भी दो रूप हैं (क) स्थूल प्रसंगों को बाह्य मानना और (ख) सूक्ष्म प्रसंगों को बाह्य मानना।

बाह्य रूप

जहाँ तक स्थूल प्रसंगों को बाह्य रूपात्मिका वक्रोक्ति नाम देने का प्रश्न है, वह निस्सन्देह स्वीकार्य है। शब्दालंकारों को 'वर्णविन्यासवक्रता' के अन्तर्गत और अर्थालंकारों को 'वाक्यवक्रता' के अन्तर्गत निरूपित करना कुन्तक की दृष्टि से नितान्त संगत है, किन्तु सूक्ष्म प्रसंगों को बाह्यरूपात्मिका वक्रोक्ति नाम देना अत्यन्त असंगत और कभी-कभी हास्यास्पद सा प्रतीत होता है। उदाहरण लीजिए :—

'कामं सन्तु दृढं कठोरहृदयो रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे'[२७]

इस पद में 'राम' शब्द का गृहीत अर्थ आनन्दवर्द्धन और कुन्तक दोनों को एक ही अभीष्ट है—सकलदुःखसहिष्णु। आनन्दवर्द्धन ने इसे अर्थान्तरसंक्रमित वाच्यध्वनि का उदाहरण माना है, किन्तु कुन्तक ने पदपूर्वार्द्ध वक्रता का, क्योंकि 'रामः' पद के पूर्वार्द्ध अर्थात् प्रातिपदिक 'राम' के ही कारण काव्य चमत्कार है, इसके प्रत्यय (सु) के कारण नहीं।

इसी प्रकार निम्नोक्त पद्य :—

"तदा जायन्ते गुणाः यदा ते सहृदयैर्गृह्यन्ते।
रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि"॥[२८]

में दूसरे 'कमलानि' पद का गृहीत अर्थ है—सौन्दर्यादि विशेष गुणों से युक्त, और यही अर्थ आनन्दवर्द्धन और कुन्तक दोनों को अभीष्ट है। आनन्द वर्द्धन यहाँ अर्थान्तरसंक्रमितवाच्यध्वनि मानते हैं और कुन्तक पदपूर्वार्द्ध वक्रता।

इन और इस प्रकार के अन्य उदाहरणों और उनके समन्वय से प्रतीत होता है कि कुन्तक की वक्रोक्ति बाह्यात्मिका है, और इसी आधार पर उन्होंने 'रूपक-व्यंग्य', 'उत्प्रेक्षा-व्यंग्य' और 'व्यतिरेक-व्यंग्य' के उदाहरणों को भी क्रमशः रूपक, उत्प्रेक्षा और व्यतिरेक नामक [वाच्य] अलंकारों के उदाहरण-स्वरूप प्रस्तुत करके विषय को अव्यवस्थित-सा कर दिया है :

"चन्दनासक्तभुजंगनिःश्वासानिलमूर्च्छितः।
मूर्च्छयत्येष पथिकान् मधौ मलयमारुतः"॥

—ध्वन्या० वृत्ति, २।२७ व० जी० ३।९४।

(अर्थात्, चन्दनवृक्ष में लिपटे हुए साँपों के निःश्वासवायु से मूर्च्छित अर्थात् प्रवृद्ध यह मलयानिल वसन्त ऋतु में पथिकों

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को मूर्च्छित करता है)। इस पद्य में आनन्दवर्द्धन ने उत्प्रेक्षा-ध्वनि स्वीकार की है और कुन्तक ने इसे (वाच्य) उत्प्रेक्षा का ही एक भेद मानते हुए इसे 'वाक्यवक्रता' के अन्तर्गत रखा है। यहाँ 'व्यंग्यार्थता' अथवा 'वक्रता' यह है कि यद्यपि वसन्त ऋतु में मलयानिल के स्पर्श द्वारा विरही जनों का मूर्च्छित हो जाना वर्जित किया जाता है, तथापि यहाँ उत्प्रेक्षा यह की गयी है कि मानों मलयानिल इसी कारण विरही जनों को मूर्च्छित कर रहा है कि वह स्वयं सर्पों की फुँकार से मूर्च्छित (प्रवृद्ध) है।

आन्तरिक रूप

उक्त सभी स्थूल एवं सूक्ष्म---यों कहिए क्रमशः संगत एवं असंगत---प्रसंगों को देखने से एक सुविज्ञ पाठक को भी आपाततः यही प्रतीत होता है कि कुन्तक की वक्रोक्ति बाह्यरूपात्मिका ही है, किन्तु कहीं वे आनन्दवर्द्धन प्रस्तुत ध्वनि के उदाहरणों को, जो निस्सन्देह आन्तरिक तत्त्व को ही प्रस्तुत करते हैं, यथावत् स्वीकार करते हुए भी 'ध्वनि' के स्थान पर 'वक्रता' शब्द का प्रयोग कर देते हैं:

"गगनं च मत्तमेघं धारालुलितार्जुनानि च वनानि।
निरहंकारमृगाङ्का हरन्ति नीला अपि निशाः"॥[३१]

(यह अँधेरी रात्रियाँ जिनमें आकाश पर मत्त मेघ छाये हैं और चन्द्रमा निरहंकार (गर्वरहित) हो गया है... मन को हरण कर लेती हैं)। यहाँ मेघों को 'मत्त' कहने से तात्पर्य है कि वे अति सघन होकर उमड़-घुमड़ रहे हैं, और चन्द्रमा के 'निरहंकार' कहने से तात्पर्य है कि उसका प्रकाश क्षीण पड़ गया है। आनन्दवर्द्धन के अनुसार इन दोनों पदों में 'अत्यन्त तिरस्कृत वाच्य-ध्वनि' का चमत्कार है, और कुन्तक के अनुसार 'पदपूर्वार्द्धवक्रता' के 'उपचारवक्रता' नामक एक उपभेद का। निस्सन्देह यहाँ 'मत्त' और 'निरहंकार' शब्दों का आन्तरिक चमत्कार ही दोनों आचार्यों को अभीष्ट है, न कि इनका मुख्यार्थ, किन्तु एक आचार्य इसे 'ध्वनि' कहते हैं, और दूसरे आचार्य 'वक्रता'।

इस प्रकार हमने देखा कि जिस प्रकार 'ध्वनि' के सम्बन्ध मे दृढ़ता पूर्वक कहा जा सकता है कि वह अपने आप में अनिवार्यतः और सम्पूर्णतः एक आन्तरिक तत्त्व है और अलंकार, रीति आदि बाह्यपरक तत्त्व इसी के परिपोषक रूप में ही स्वीकृत हैं, इसी प्रकार वक्रोक्ति के सम्बन्ध में दृढ़तापूर्वक यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वह केवल बाह्य अथवा केवल आन्तरिक तत्त्व है।

वक्रोक्ति के उपभेदों पर एक सरसरी-सी दृष्टि डाल देने से भी इस कथन की पुष्टि हो जायगी। उदाहरणार्थ पदपूर्वार्द्धवक्रता के ८ उपभेदों में से 'रूढ़िवैचि-यवक्रता' और 'उपचारवक्रता' तो आन्तरिक तत्त्व के सूचक हैं और शेष ६ उपभेद बाह्य तत्त्व के। किन्तु फिर भी यदि समग्र रूप में वक्रोक्ति के सम्बन्ध में इस दृष्टि से विचार करें तो स्पष्टतः ज्ञात होता है कि उसके बाह्य पक्ष का पलड़ा उसके आन्तरिक तत्त्व की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक भारी है। किन्तु ऐसा मानते हुए भी यह निस्संकोच कहा जा सकता है कि वक्रोक्ति-तत्त्व की यह बाह्यपरकता भामह आदि के अलंकार-तत्त्व और वामन के रीति-तत्त्व दोनों की अपेक्षा अनेक रूपों से निराली है। कुन्तक का दृष्टिकोण इन आचार्यों की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक व्यापक है। वक्रोक्ति के ३० उपभेद, इन उपभेदों में प्रायः सभी स्वीकृत काव्यतत्त्वों की समाहिति, अलंकार के प्रति कुन्तक का दोहरा दृष्टिकोण, रस के प्रति उनका आग्रहपूर्ण समादर, और ध्वनि तथा इसके भेदोपभेदों की प्रकारान्तर से स्वीकृति---ये सभी तथ्य इस वास्तविकता के सूचक हैं कि वक्रोक्ति सिद्धान्त की यह बाह्यपरकता अलंकार सिद्धान्त और रीति सिद्धान्त की बाह्यपरकता की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक व्यापक है, और कुन्तक ने इसी व्यापक एवं विशिष्ट बाह्य रूपात्मिका वक्रोक्ति को काव्य की आत्मा घोषित किया है।

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काव्यशास्त्रीय क्षेत्र में जितना समादर रस को मिला उतना किसी अन्य काव्य तत्त्व को नहीं। भरत को रसतत्त्व का प्रवर्त्तक समझा जाता है। उन्होंने इसे नाटक के अनिवार्य धर्म के रूप में स्वीकार किया[३०] तथा कतिपय काव्य तत्त्वों—अलंकार, गुण, दोष—के रससंश्रयत्व पर भी प्रकाश डाला।[३१] अलंकारवादी आचार्यों—भामह, दण्डी और उद्भट—ने यद्यपि रस, भाव आदि को रसवद् आदि अलंकार नाम से अभिहित किया तो भी उन्होंने अपने दृष्टिकोण से इसे समुचित समादर प्रदान किया। भामह और दण्डी ने इसे महाकाव्य के लिए 'एक आवश्यक तत्त्व' के रूप में स्वीकृत किया।[३२] भामह के अनुसार कटु ओषधि के समान कोई शास्त्र-चर्चा भी इसी के संयोग से मधुवत् बन जाती है।[३३] दण्डी का माधुर्य गुण 'रसवत्' ही है, तथा इसकी यह रसवत्ता मधुपों के समान सहृदयों को प्रमत्त बना देती है।[३४] दण्डी के 'माधुर्य' गुण का एक भेद वस्तुगत माधुर्य कहाता है, जिसका अपर नाम 'अग्राम्यता' है। दण्डी के शब्दों में यही अग्राम्यता काव्य में रससेचन के लिए सर्वाधिक शक्तिशाली अलंकार है।[३५] इसके अतिरिक्त रुद्रट ने भी, जो एक ओर अलंकार-सिद्धान्त से और दूसरी ओर ध्वनि-सिद्धान्त से प्रभावित था, रस को मुक्तकण्ठ से स्वीकार किया। भामह और दण्डी के समान इन्होंने भी रस को महाकाव्य के लिए आवश्यक तत्त्व माना।[३६] प्रथम बार इन्होंने ही, वैदर्भी, पांचाली नामक रीतियों और मधुरा, ललिता नामक वृत्तियों के रसानुकूल प्रयोग का निर्देश किया,[३७] शृंगार रस का प्राधान्य स्वीकार किया,[३८] तथा कवि को रस के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहने का आदेश दिया।[३९]

अलंकारवादी आचार्यों के उपरान्त ध्वनिवादी आचार्य आनन्दवर्द्धन ने ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा तथा रस को ध्वनि का एक भेद 'असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्यध्वनि' नाम से स्वीकृत करते हुए भी रस को ध्वनि का सर्वोत्कृष्ट रूप घोषित किया।

इसी प्रकार आनन्दवर्द्धन के परवर्ती प्रख्यात अनुकर्ता ध्वनिवादी आचार्य मम्मट ने भी रस को काव्य का सर्वोपरि प्रयोजन निर्दिष्ट किया।

आनन्दवर्द्धन के उपरान्त वक्रोक्तिवादी कुन्तक ने वक्रोक्ति को काव्य का 'जीवित' स्वीकार करते हुए भी काव्य का अमृत एवं अन्तश्चमत्कार का वितानक मानते हुए प्रकारान्तर से सर्वप्रमुख काव्य-प्रयोजन के रूप में रस को घोषित किया।[४०] उन्होंने उपसर्गगत और निपातगत पदवक्रता के प्रसंग में रस की चर्चा की,[४१] प्रकरण-वक्रता और प्रबन्ध-वक्रता के लिए रस की अनिवार्यता का अनेक रूपों में निर्देश किया[४२] और रसवत् अलंकार को 'सब अलंकारों का जीवित' कहते हुए प्रकारान्तर से रस की उत्कृष्टता मुक्त कण्ठ से स्वीकृत की।[४३]

कुन्तक के उपरान्त इस दिशा में अग्निपुराणकार ने काव्य में रस की अनिवार्यता का संकेत करते हुए कहा कि जिस प्रकार लक्ष्मी त्याग (दान) के बिना शोभित नहीं होती उसी प्रकार वाणी भी रस के बिना शोभित नहीं होती।

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रस के प्रति उक्त समादरभाव अग्निपुराणकार के समय के आसपास और अधिक उच्च रूप ग्रहण कर गया। अब रस को 'आत्मा' पद पर आसीन कर दिया गया। 'वाग्वैदग्ध्यप्रधानेऽपि रस एवात्र जीवितम्'। अर्थात् काव्य में यद्यपि वाणी की विदग्धता की प्रधानता (अनिवार्यता) रहती है तथापि उसका जीवित (आत्मा) तो रस ही होता है। इसी प्रकार महिमभट्ट ने भी रस को सर्वसम्मति से ही काव्य को आत्मा स्वीकृत करने का निर्देश किया—'काव्यस्यात्मनि संगिनि... रसादिरूपे न कस्यचिद् विमतिः' (व्यक्तिविवेक)। इधर इसी बीच काव्यपुरुष रूपक भी पूर्णतः स्थिर हो चुका था, जिसके बीज दण्डी और वामन के समय से मिलने प्रारम्भ हो गये थे। राजशेखर और उनके उपरान्त विश्वनाथ

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ने इसी रूपक के अन्तर्गत काव्य को आत्मा रूप में घोषित किया, और विश्वनाथ ने तो सर्वप्रथम अपना काव्य-लक्षण भी इसी मान्यता के आधार पर प्रस्तुत किया––'वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्'।

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किसी काव्य-तत्त्व को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकृत करने के दो आधारों का पीछे निर्देश किया जा चुका है। पहला आधार है उसी काव्य-तत्त्व में काव्य के अन्य तत्त्वों का समावेश एवं अन्तर्भाव समझना, और दूसरा आधार है अन्य काव्य-तत्त्वों द्वारा इसी तत्त्व की पुष्टि समझना। निस्सन्देह दूसरा आधार अधिक मान्य है, क्योंकि यह अपेक्षाकृत अधिक पुष्ट, स्वस्थ, आग्रह-रहित एवं तर्कपूर्ण है। रस को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकृत करने का एक कारण यह भी है कि आनन्दवर्द्धन और उनके अनुकर्त्ताओं, मम्मट और विश्वनाथ ने तथा इनके परवर्ती संग्रहकर्त्ता आचार्यों ने अन्य काव्य-तत्त्वों––अलंकार, गुण और रीति को रस के साथ सम्बद्ध करते हुए इन्हें उसके पोषक रूप में प्रस्तुत किया। इन्होंने इन तीनों का लक्षण तो रस के आधार पर स्थिर किया ही, दोष का लक्षण भी रस के ही अपकर्ष पर स्थिर किया। जहाँ दोष रस का अपकर्षक है वहाँ वह दोष है, अन्यथा नहीं।

इस प्रकार पहले हमने देखा कि रस के प्रति समादर भाव प्रकट किया गया, तदनन्तर रस के साथ अन्य काव्य-तत्त्वों का स्वरूप सम्बद्ध किया गया, और अन्ततः उसे आत्मा रूप में उद्घोषित कर दिया गया। और इन सबका एकमात्र कारण यह है कि रस अन्य काव्यतत्त्वों की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक आन्तरिक तत्त्व है; यहाँ तक कि वह ध्वनि के उपर्युक्त प्रमुख पाँच भेदों से शेष चार भेदों की अपेक्षा भी कहीं अधिक आन्तरिक है।

उपसंहार

इस प्रकार 'काव्यात्मा' के प्रसंग में उक्त पाँच सिद्धान्तों के एतद्विषयक पर्यवेक्षण के उपरान्त काव्य की आत्मा किसे माना जाए, इसके निर्णय का मार्ग सुगम हो जाता है। 'चैतन्यमात्मा' तथा 'ज्ञानाधिकरणमात्मा' इस आधार पर काव्य के प्रसंग में 'आत्मा' शब्द का तात्पर्य है काव्य का अनिवार्य तत्त्व, जिसे बाह्य न होकर आन्तरिक होना चाहिए। अलंकार, रीति और वक्रोक्ति तत्त्व बाह्य ही हैं।[४६] शेष रहे दो काव्यतत्त्व––ध्वनि और रस। हमारे विचार में ध्वनि को काव्य की आत्मा मानना चाहिए। इस स्वीकृति के कारण अनेक हैं।

प्रथम कारण यह है कि यह तत्त्व काव्य में अनिवार्यतः विद्यमान रहता है। यहाँ तक कि रस के उदाहरण में भी इसी तत्त्व का अस्तित्व अनिवार्यतः अपेक्षित है। रस का चमत्कार व्यंग्यार्थ पर आधारित रहता है। रस वस्तुतः ध्वनि का ही एक भेद है। ध्वनि तत्त्व के अभाव में किसी कथन को 'काव्य' नहीं कह सकते। वह या तो लोक-वार्ता कहा जाएगा या शास्त्रचर्चा।

दूसरा कारण यह है कि ध्वनि-तत्त्व रस की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक व्यापक है। ध्वनि-तत्त्व के तारतम्य के आधार पर काव्य को तीन श्रेणियों में विभक्त किया जाता है––ध्वनि-काव्य, गुणीभूतव्यंग्य-काव्य और चित्र-काव्य। इन तीनों श्रेणियों में ध्वनितत्त्व क्रमशः मुख्य, गौण और अस्फुट रूप में विद्यमान रहता है। ध्वनिकाव्य के प्रमुख पाँच भेदों में 'असंलक्ष्यक्रमव्यंग्यध्वनि' नामक ध्वनि-भेद का अपर नाम ही रसादि (अंगीभूत रस, भाव, रसाभास, भावाभास, भावोदय, भाव-सन्धि, भावशबलता और भाव-शान्ति) है। इस प्रकार अंगीभूत रस आदि का अन्तर्भाव ध्वनि में हो जाता है। गुणीभूतव्यंग्य के आठ भेदों में से 'अपरांग' नामक एक भेद के अन्तर्गत रसवद्, प्रेयस् आदि अलंकारों का अन्तर्भाव हो जाता है, जो वस्तुतः उस स्थिति में स्वीकृत किये जाते हैं जब रस, भाव आदि अंगभूत रूप में वर्णित हों। इस प्रकार रस चाहे अंगीभूत रूप में वर्णित हो अथवा अंग रूप में वह काव्य-श्रेणी की दृष्टि से ध्वनि से ही सम्बन्धित है। अब काव्य शेष रहे ध्वनि के शेष चार भेद और गुणीभूत व्यंग्यार्थ के शेष सात भेद! ये सभी ध्वनि से सम्बन्धित हैं ही।

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के तीसरे भेद चित्रकाव्य को लीजिए। चित्रकाव्य से तात्पर्य है अलंकार-प्रयोग, किन्तु इसमें भी ध्वनि-तत्त्व की सत्ता चाहे वह अस्फुट रूप से ही क्यों न हो, नितान्त अनिवार्य है; और इसी चित्रकाव्य के अन्तर्गत सभी शब्दालंकारों और अर्थालंकारों का काव्य-चमत्कार निहित हो जाता है। शेष रहे गुण और रीति नामक काव्यतत्त्व; तो ये दोनों रस-ध्वनि से सम्बद्ध रहने के कारण वस्तुतः ध्वनि से ही सम्बद्ध हैं। इनका चमत्कार वस्तुतः रस-ध्वनि का ही चमत्कार होता है। इस प्रकार ध्वनि-तत्त्व में सभी प्रकार का काव्य-चमत्कार अन्तर्भूत हो जाता है। अतः वह एक व्यापक काव्य-तत्त्व है।

इस प्रकार उक्त दोनों कारणों से ध्वनि को ही काव्य की आत्मा मानना चाहिए। किन्तु समस्या का अन्त यहीं नहीं हो जाता। रस को काव्य की आत्मा स्वीकार करने वालों की ओर से यह कहा जा सकता है कि रस के उदाहरण और अपरस्यांग नामक गुणीभूत व्यंग्य के उदाहरण भी तो रस हैं ही, ध्वनि के शेष चार भेदों, गुणीभूतव्यंग्य के शेष सात भेदों के उदाहरण भी वस्तुतः रस ही हैं, क्योंकि उनका चमत्कार किसी-न-किसी रस से सम्बन्धित रहता है। उदाहरणार्थ, वस्तु-ध्वनि का प्रसिद्ध उदाहरण 'गतोऽस्तमर्कः' अर्थात् 'सूर्य डूब गया' तभी काव्य के अन्तर्गत माना जाएगा जब वक्ता का अभिप्राय केवल इतना मात्र न हो कि अब अनध्ययन का समय हो गया, अथवा कार्य समाप्त करने का समय हो गया, आदि, अपितु उसकी आन्तरिक मनोभावनाओं का परिचायक भी हो। उदाहरणार्थ 'कार्य समाप्त हो गया' इस व्यंग्यार्थ को तभी काव्य का विषय माना जाएगा जब वक्ता को अपने प्रियजनों से मिलने की उत्सुकता हो, अथवा उसकी ऐसी किसी अन्य मनोलालसा का पता चले। इस प्रकार ऐसे उदाहरणों में भी वस्तुतः रस की सत्ता विद्यमान है। अतः रस को ही काव्य की आत्मा मानना चाहिए, ध्वनि को नहीं। निस्सन्देह व्यंग्यार्थ प्रतीति का प्रयोजन किसी मनोवृत्ति का द्योतन ही है, किन्तु इसी आधार पर ध्वनि-गुणीभूत-व्यंग्य अथवा चित्र-काव्य के सभी भेदों के उदाहरणों को शृंगार आदि रसों से सम्बद्ध करना समुचित नहीं है, क्योंकि शास्त्रीय दृष्टि से रस अपने पारिभाषिक अर्थ में सब प्रकार के काव्य-चमत्कार अथवा काव्यानन्द का वाचक नहीं है, अपितु वह विशिष्ट प्रकार के आनन्द का—स्थायिभाव के साथ विभावादि के संयोग से जन्य आनन्द का—वाचक है। यों चाहें तो रस का व्यापक अर्थ सब प्रकार का काव्य-चमत्कार भी ले सकते हैं, किन्तु यह उसका लक्ष्यार्थ ही है, वाच्यार्थ नहीं; और शास्त्रीय चर्चाओं में वाच्यार्थ के ही बल पर सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित किये जाने चाहिए, लक्ष्यार्थ के बल पर नहीं। इस दृष्टि से रस अपनी सीमा में परिबद्ध है, वह काव्य का अनिवार्य तत्त्व नहीं है।

निष्कर्षतः, काव्य के अनिवार्य, व्यापक एवं आन्तरिक तत्त्व ध्वनि को ही काव्य की आत्मा (साधन) स्वीकृत करना चाहिए, क्योंकि यही तत्त्व सब प्रकार के काव्यानन्द (साध्य अथवा सिद्धि) का साधन बनने की पूर्ण क्षमता रखता है।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. प्रस्तुत लेख में 'आत्मा' शब्द को हिन्दी प्रयोग के अनुसार जान-बूझकर स्त्रीलिंग में प्रयुक्त किया गया है।

२. (क) चैतन्यमात्मा; शिवसूत्र १।१; ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानविमर्शिनीव्याख्या; भास्करीटीका, पृ० २४५।
   (ख) इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गम्, न्यायसूत्र १।१।१०।
   (ग) 'प्राण एव आत्मा' इति केचित् श्रुत्यन्तविदः (वेदान्तिनः)।
   (घ) 'चैतन्यविशिष्टं शरीरमात्मा' इति चार्वाकाः। प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदयम् (अड्यार लाइब्रेरी संस्करण) पृ० ४१।
   (ङ) आत्मेन्द्रियाद्यधिष्ठाता। न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावली १।४७।
   (च) आत्मत्वाभिसम्बन्धवान् आत्मा। तर्कभाषा (चौखम्भा) पृ० १५, पृ० १५०।

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(छ) ज्ञानाधिकरणमात्मा। तर्कसंग्रह (चौखम्भा) पृ० ८।

३. यही कारण है कि मैकडॉनल ने आत्मा की व्युत्पत्ति 'अन्' (सांस लेना) धातु से मानते हुए इसका मूल अर्थ श्वास या प्राण माना है, तथा ऋग्वेद में आत्मा शब्द श्वास अर्थ में अनेक स्थलों पर प्रयुक्त हुआ है। किन्तु आचार्य शंकर ने कठोपनिषद् के भाष्य में एक प्राचीन श्लोक उद्धृत किया है, जिसमें आत्मा शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति इन चार धातुओं से मानी गयी है:
आप्, आङ्पूर्वक दा, अद् तथा अस्——

"यदाप्नोति यदादत्ते यच्चात्ति विषयानिह।
यच्चास्य सन्ततो भावस्तस्माद् आत्मेति कीर्त्यते।।"

४. यह कथन कुन्तक के ग्रन्थ के नाम 'वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्' के आधार पर किया जा रहा है। इस ग्रन्थ की किसी भी कारिका में वक्रोक्ति को 'जीवित' नहीं कहा गया है, यद्यपि उन्हें इसे 'जीवित' अथवा 'आत्मा' मानना निस्सन्देह अभीष्ट था।

५. काव्यमीमांसा (बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना) पृ० १३, १४।

६. काव्यस्य शब्दार्थौ शरीरम्, रसादिश्चात्मा, गुणाः शौर्यादिवत्, दोषाः काणत्वादिवत्, रीतयोऽवयवसंस्थानविशेषवत्, अलंकाराः कटककुण्डलादिवत्, इति।
साहित्यदर्पण, प्रथम परिच्छेद, पृ० १६।

७. (क) रूपकादिरलंकारस्तथान्यैर्बहुधोदितः।
न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितामुखम्।। काव्यालंकार १।१३।।

(ख) अनेन वागर्थविदामलंकृता।
विभाति नारीव विदग्धमण्डना।। काव्यालंकार ३।२८।

८. काव्यालंकार (भामह) ३।५, ६, ७; काव्यादर्श (दण्डी) २।२-५; काव्यालंकारसारसंग्रह (उद्भट) ४।२, ३, ५, ७।

९. वही, ४।८।

१०. तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाहुस्तमन्ये।
केचिद् वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचुस्तदीयम्।। ध्वन्यालोक, १।१।

११. हिन्दी ध्वन्यालोक, १।१३ (वृत्ति) पृ० ५४, ७५।

१२. काव्यादर्श २।३६४, ३६५।

१३. काव्यं ग्राह्यमलंकारात्। सौन्दर्यमलंकारः। का० सू० वृ० १।१।१, २।

१४. (क) काव्यशोभायाः कर्त्तारो धर्मा गुणाः। वही, ३।१।१।

(ख) तदतिशयहेतवस्तु अलंकाराः। वही, ३।१।२।

(ग) पूर्वे नित्याः। वही, ३।१।३।

१५. काव्यादर्श १।४२, २।३।

१६. ध्वन्यालोक १।१४, १९।

१७. अलंकारान्तरस्यापि प्रतीतौ यत्र भासते।
तत्परत्वं न वाच्यस्य नासौ मार्गो ध्वनेर्मतः।।

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यत्र वाच्यस्य व्यंग्यप्रतिपादनौन्मुख्येन चारुत्वं न प्रकाशते नासौ ध्वनेर्मार्गः। ....ध्वन्या० २।२७ तथा वृत्ति।

१८. ध्वन्या० २।२८,२।९२९।

१९. वही, पृ० १९३।

२०. वही, पृ० ७४। १।१३,२।२७। वृत्ति।

२१. वही २।६।

२२. ध्वन्या० ४।४।

२३. वही, २।३।

२४. वही, २।५; का० प्र० पञ्चम उल्लास, पद्यसंख्या ११६, १२५।

२५. (क) ध्वन्या० २।६; का० प्र० ८।६७; सा० द० १०।१।
(ख) ध्वन्या० २।६; का० प्र० ८।६०; सा० द० ८।१।
(ग) का० प्र० ९।१०५। वृत्ति।
(घ) का० प्र० ७।४९; सा० द० ७।१।

२६. तुलनार्थ १।३६,३७।

२७. ध्वन्या०, पृ० ९९; वक्रोक्तिजीवित, पृ० १९७।

२८. ध्वन्या०, पृ० १७०।

२९. वही, पृ० १७३।

३०. नाट्यशास्त्र १।११०,१७,१२३।

३१. वही १७।१०८।

३२. का० प्र० १।२१; का० आ० १।१८।

३३. का० अ० ५।३।

३४. का० आ० १।५१।

३५. वही, १,६२।

३६,३७,३८,३९. का० अ० १६।१-५; १४।३७-३८; १२।२।

४०,४१. व० जी० १।५,२; ३३।

४२. व० जी० ४।४, ८,१०,१६,२१।

४३. यथा स रसवन्नाम सर्वालंकारजीवितम्।
काव्यैकसारतां याति तथेदानीं विवेच्यते ।। व० जी० ३।१४।

४४. वे कितनी सीमा तक बाह्य हैं यह विषय प्रस्तुत प्रसंग से सम्बद्ध नहीं है।

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E--ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

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FRESH LIGHT ON THE POST-ASOKAN HISTORY OF KAUSAMBI

By

K. D. BAJPAI, SAGAR

Kauśāmbī (now Kosam in the Allahabad district), the capital of the Vatsa kingdom finds numerous references in ancient Indian literature. Its name occurs in several historical inscriptions, sealings and coins found at Kosam and in the region around. A large number of sculptural and architectural remains, terracotta figurines and other relics eloquently speak of Kauśāmbī as a great centre of art in northern India, particularly during the period between the third century *B.C.* and the sixth century *A.D.* Prior to this period, during the days of the Buddha, Udayana was the ruler of Vatsa, who married Vāsavadattā, the beautiful daughter of king Pradyota of Ujjayinī. In the Maurya period Kauśāmbī again came to prominence. Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor, had a liking for Kauśāmbī. This flourishing town was situated on the main trade route joining Pāṭaliputra and Śrāvastī in the north with Vidiśā and Ujjayinī in the south. Aśoka erected an inscribed pillar at Kauśāmbī (which is *in Situ*). The capital and other remains of an Aśokan pillar are reported to have recently been unearthed.

After Aśoka's death the Maurya empire was disintegrated. Puṣyamitra Śunga who killed the last Maurya ruler Bṛhadratha succeeded in occupying a considerable portion of the Maurya empire in the north. Sooner or later, Puṣyamitra seems to have shifted his capital from Pāṭaliputra to Kauśāmbī.[1] Kauśāmbī since then came to occupy an important political position, which continued till the rise of the Guptas.

After the death of Puṣyamitra or during his last days the Śuṅga empire seems to have been divided (among his sons) into several independent kingdoms. These kingdoms were : (1) Pāṭaliputra or Magadha (2) Kauśāmbī or Vatsa (including sometime major parts of South-Western Magadha and parts of the Southern Atavika territory), (3) Vidiśā or Daśārṇa, (4) Ayodhyā or north Kosala, (5) Ahicchatra or north Pañcāla and (6) Mathurā or Śūrasena. These kingdoms were related among themselves, as is borne out by inscriptional evidence, particularly in the case of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañcāla.

Puṣyamitra's eldest son Agnimitra is known to have made Vidiśā as his head-quarter.[2] From there he could look after not only Daśārṇa and western Mālwā, but also the Southern region upto Vidarbha. Agnimitra's son Vasumitra is credited with having defeated the Yavanas (Greeks) on the bank of the Sindhu (tributary of the Cambal river). But it appears that soon after the Scythians started their inroads on Mālwā from the Saurāṣṭra side. These foreigners could not be checked and eventually they succeeded in occupying a part of the western Mālwā during the reign of the later Śuṅgas.[3] Agnimitra and his successors could

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rule over Vidiśā for a period of about 76 years. The last ruler Devabhūti was killed by Kāṇva[4] Vasudeva. The later and his three successors held parts of the Vidiśā region for a period of only 45 years according to the Purāṇas. The Kāṇvas were succeeded by the Sātavāhanas in the eastern Mālwā.

The cases of other territories in the north were somewhat different. In so far as Magadha is concerned, we have so far been able to get the names of only a few kings[5] with Mitra ending names, assignable to the period between 1st cent. *B.C.* and 2nd cent. *A.D.* It seems that there was no Mitra dynasty as such in Magadha which could have continued its rule for a considerable time. I think that major parts of Magadha were under the rulers of Kauśāmbī,[6] whose coins and inscriptions are known from various parts of Bihar also. My contention is that Bahastimitra of Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription is no other than the Bṛhaspatimitra[7] of the Kauśāmbī coins, (known in quite large numbers). This Bahasatimitra is called 'Magadha rāja' in Khāravela's inscription, alluding thereby to the wide influence of the Kauśāmbī dynasty including Magadha. It should be borne in mind that Magadha of the period under review has not given any typical regional coinage as is the case with Pañcāla, Mathurā or Kauśāmbī.

The reigning period of each of the three dynasties of Ayodhyā, Ahicchatra and Mathurā seems to have spread over several hundred years. Majority of the rulers of these families bore Mitra ending names as is clear from their coins and inscriptions.[8]

The case of Kauśāmbī is, however, different. Here we get almost a continuous chain of rulers from about the middle of the 2nd century *B.C.* (or earlier) upto the conquest and occupation of the region by Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th cent. *A.D.*[9] The main points pertaining to the political history of Kauśāmbī during this long period are briefly given below :

The first probable ruler occupying the throne of Kauśāmbī about the middle of the second cent. *B.C.* was Śuṅgavarmā. One of his copper coins bearing the name 'Sugavamasa' in the Aśokan Brāhmī script and the figure of a horse standing before *yūpa* with some other symbols, has recently been brought to light by the author.[10] The coin is in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad, who acquired it from Kauśāmbi.[11] The epithet 'Śuṅga' in his name, no doubt, shows his affiliation with the Śuṅga house of Puṣyamitra. No less significant is the horse standing before a *yūpa* on this coin, especially when we recollect that Puṣyamitra Śuṅga is credited with having performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. All the same, at the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to equate Śuṅgavarmā with Puṣyamitra or any other known ruler of the latter's family.

Other early rulers of the Kauśāmbī house known to us are Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti. These names, along with a few others of the family, occur in the Bharhut inscriptions referring to the gifts made by king Dhanabhūti. According to the inscription no. 1 incised on the pillar of the eastern gateway of Bharhut "This gateway was caused to be made by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputra Agaraju (Aṅgarāja) and grandson of king Gārgiputra Viśvadeva within the dominion of the Śuṅgas.[12]

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I take that Viśvadeva, Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti belonged to the Śuṅga house of Kauśāmbī. They were probably the descendants of king Śuṅgavarmā referred to above. The ruling house of Kauśāmbī lent its patronage to the Stūpa at Bharhut which was located in their territory.

Cunningham had announced the discovery of two coins of king Aṅgarāja, the father of Dhanabhūti. Recently more coins of this king from Kauśāmbī bearing the name *Agarajusa* (exactly as on the Bharhut inscription) have been brought to light.[13] They are of various sizes and weights, showing the important postion of the ruler[14].

I identify Agaraju of the Bharhut inscriptions with Agaraju of the coins. The paleography goes in support of this theory. This king may have ruled over Kauśāmbī about 125 *B.C.*

We now come to king Dhanabhūti, the son of Aṅgarāja. From the Bharhut inscriptions no. 1, 2 and 103[15] and the Mathurā pillar inscription of Dhanabhūti (II)[16] we can form a a geneology as under :

Gārgī
|
Viśvadeva = Gauptī
|
Agaraju = Vātsī
|
Dhanabhūti = Nagurakṣitā (?)
|
Vadhapāla
|
Dhanabhūti (II) of Mathurā.

I am unable to accept the dates assigned to the above by Cunningham.[17] To me it seems that Dhanabhūti I flourished a little before 100 *B.C.*, when the eastern gateway at Bharhut was erected.[18]

Fortunately for us a clay seal of Dhanabhūti has recently been obtained from Kauśāmbī by Sri Janeshwardas, who has kindly permitted me to publish it. The seal with a decorated and holed knob is 4.4. cm. high and the diameter of its circular bottom is 4.00 cm. The bottom bears a *swastika* and another symbol (which seems to be a combination of *Indradhwaja* and taurines). The Brāhmī legend written almost in the centre is Dhanabhutisa.[19]

On a close comparision of the characters on this seal with those occurring on the Bharhut inscriptions of Dhanabhūti (no. 1 and 103) cited above, I noticed a remarkable similarity. I have, therefore, no doubt that this seal from Kauśāmbī can be attributed to king Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions, whom I take to be the ruler of Kauśāmbī.

The other post Aśokan rulers of Kauśāmbī with non-Mitra ending names are Vavaghoṣa, Aśvaghoṣa, Jyeṣṭhagupta, Parvata, Indradeva, Viṣṇudeva, Dhanadeva, etc. Their period ranges between 1st cent. *B.C.* and 2nd cent. *A.D.*

Regarding the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī, Allan mentioned only four kings in his Catalogue.[20] Prof. *A.S.* Altekar brought to light the names of eight more Mitra (and several non-Mitra) rulers of Kauśāmbī.[21] In my list of the Kauśāmbī Mitra kings there are now 25 rulers.[22] Some of these are known to us from inscriptions also.[23] These Mitra kings

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ruled over the Vatsa kingdom from the 2nd cent. *B.C.* to the 2nd cent. *A.D.* though not necessarily in actual succession to each other, as all the Kauśāmbī rulers falling under the period did not bear Mitra ending names.

The Mitras seem to have been succeeded by the Maghas. The first Magha ruler Bhīmasena extended his authority from Kauśāmbī to Bandhogarh (in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh). Nine Magha rulers are mentioned in the Purāṇas, but their number, as now known from coins and inscriptions, is more than nine.[24]

The Mitras and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī were independent rulers and they did not bear allegience to any foreign power. The theory advanced by certain scholars that the Kauśāmbī region for a considerable time remained under the supremacy of the Kuṣhāṇas, has been refuted by the author.[25]

Kauśāmbī continued to maintain her independent status right upto about the middle of the 4th century *A.D.*, when it was conquered and annexed by Samudragupta to his empire. The contemporary ruler of Vatsa defeated by the Gupta monarch was probably Rudradeva, who is known to us from some copper coins[26] and a clay seal from Jhūsī near Allahabad.

REFERENCES

1. No epigraphic or other records of Puṣyamitra or his immediate successors are known from Pāṭaliputra or thereabout. They are, however, known from the region between Ayodhyā and Bharhut.
2. Vidiśā having been made the headquarter of the main Śuṅga line, it was probably in the fitness of things that Antialkides, the Greek ruler of Taxila, sent his ambassador Heliodorus to Vidiśā and not to any other capitals, such as Ahicchatra, Mathurā or Kauśāmbī. Besides Agnimitra and Vasumitra, the other rulers of the Vidiśā house bearing Mitra ending names are Vajramitra, Revatimitra and Venimitra. The last two are known from the Bharhut inscriptions.
3. Recently some coins bearing apparently Scythian names and assignable to the later half of the 2nd cent. B.C. and early 1st cent. B.C. have been acquired from Ujjain. This and the literary references such as those of the *Kālakācāryakathānaka* tend to prove the occupation of the Ujjayini region by the Śakas before 57 B.C.
4. Copper coins from Kauśāmbī bearing the legend 'Kaṇvasya' may be assigned to the Kāṇva dynasty.
5. *E. g.* King Visanghamitra known from the Kailvan (dist. Patna) stone inscription dated the year 108 (186 A.D.), *Indian Archaeology-A Review*, 1955-6, p. 29; pl. XLIV, B. The Bodhagayā railing inscriptions give us the names of kings Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra. But these were not the rulers of Magadha (see my paper in *JNSI*, XXVI, I).
6. See my paper 'Agnimitra of the Vaiśālī sealing', *JUPHS* (N.S.), Vol. IX, pt. 2, pp. 87-9.
7. Bṛihaspatimitra of the Morā (Mathurā) brick inscription also seems to be the same ruler of Kauśāmbī.

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8. See Allan, *B.M.C., Ancient India*, pp. 135-39; 169-75; 192-204 and respective plates.
9. Although the number of the Pañcāla kings known to us now is quite large (see my paper in *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 9-19; pl. I), the same, cannot be, said of Pañcāla.
10. Coin of king Śuṅgavarmā from Kauśāmbī (*Indian Numismatic Chronicle, Patna*, no. 5)
11. A coin of king Viṣṇudeva bearing similar features has been assigned by Allan (*B.M.C., Anc. Ind.*, p. 147, pl. XIX, 13) to the house of Kanauj (?) In fact this latter king also belongs to the Kauśāmbī house. I have shown (*JNSI*, XXVI, 1) that there was no independent Mitra dynasty at Kanauj.
12. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1-2; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 16-17, pl. LIII.
13. Cunningham, *Ibid*, p. 17; *JNSI*, IV, pp. 137-8; XXII, pp. 131-33, pl. VI, 21. The reading *agarajusa* is quite clear on some coins in the author's possession and in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad.
14. The name Aṅgarāja (I prefer it to Agrarāja; cf. Vaṅgapāla of Pañcāla) itself possibly implies his sovereignty over the Aṅga kingdom. The contemporary Aṅga is not known to have any *janapada* coinage of its own.
15. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions* pp. 1-3, 30-31.
16. Cunningham, *op.cit.* pp. 16, 130, pl. LIII.
17. *op.cit.* p. 16, 130.
18. Cf. Barua, *Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference* (*Allahabad*, 1928, pp. 681-92.
19. This interesting seal of Dhanabhūti will shortly be published by the author.
20. *Op.cit.* Intro., pp, XCVI-XCVIII; pp. 150-54. Allan has wrongly attributed *op-cit.* (p. 172; pl. XXV, 8-11) the coins of Gomitra of Kauśāmbī to Gomitra II of Mathurā.
21. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 1-16; 133-145 and plates.
22. Of these coins those of Īśvaramitra, Rāmamitra, and Priyamitra have already been published by me (*JNSI*, XV, p. 44-5, pl. II, 5-6; XXII, p. 131, pl. VI, 18-19). The coins of the rest will be published soon.
23. *e. g.* Bṛihaspatimitra, Varuṇamitra, Śivamitra, Poṭhamitra and Devamitra.
24. For a detailed study of the Maghas and the related king see my paper 'The Maghas of Kausāmbī and South Kosala and the Allied problems' published in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, III, pt. I (1962), pp. 11-21.
25. *Ibid.*
26. See *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 13-14, pl. III, 6. The name on the coin is *SriRudra*. Subsequently a few more coins of this ruler have been found at Kauśāmbī.

Abbreviations

JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JUPHS—Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
B.M.C.—Catalogue of the British Museum (Coins of Ancient India) by J. Allan.

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SA'DI AT SOMANATHA

By

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The shrine of Somanātha has seen many vicissitudes of history. Its origins go back to hoary antiquity. K. M. Munshi holds that the first temple of Somanātha was built about the beginning of the Christian era and the second constructed under the kings of Valabhi (cir. 480-767).[1] V. N. More calls the second the first temple.[2] In the eighth century Muslim armies from Sindh over ran Saurāṣṭra a nd sacked valabhi. The temple of Somanātha fell on evil days during that period either due to the vandalism of invaders or the ravages of time. About 800 another temple of red stone was raised under the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭra. The Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj had a special devotion and reverence for it. In the tenth century Somanātha was the guardian deity of Gujarat and the Cālukyas of Aṇahillapāṭana held it in high esteem. But in the earlier part of the eleventh century, it attracted the cupidity of Sultan Mahmood of Gazni, who stormed, desecrated and destroyed it on January 8, 1026. But no sooner had Mahmood turned his back on Somanātha than its lofty structure began to rise again like a phoenix from the ashes of its ruin. The Cālukya King Bhīma (1022-1072) built a magnificent stone temple on its pristine site very soon after the departure of Mahmood. In 1045 Sīyaka II came to Prabhāsa and weighed himself in gold for giving it away to the Brāhmaṇas. About 1100 Siddharāja Jayasiṁha (1094-1144) paid a visit to the shrine, which must have coincided with new additions and embellishments in it. But, this flourishing shrine again fell into disrepair owing to the negligence, incompetence and venality of government officers and temple authorities (*gaṇḍas*), as we learn from the Veraval Praśasti of Bhāva Bṛhaspati. It is not unlikely that the bitter sectarian outlook of the court and the bureaucracy, characterised by religious bickerings and antagonisms, was responsible for the lukewarm and rather perverse attitude of the officers towards this temple. However, Kumāra-pāla (1144-1173) under the inspiration and guidance of Bhāva Bṛhaspati, restored the temple and raised there a *meru prāsāda* "august like unto mount Kailāsa" in 1169. Not only the temple, but also the entire town was rebuilt. Bhīma II added a Meghanāda Maṇḍapa to this temple. This temple stood aloft till 1297, when Alaf Khan, the general of Sultan Ala-uddin Khalji of Delhi, once more sacked and desecrated it.

The temple of Somanātha had become so famous far and wide as to attract an incessant train of pilgrims, visitors and travellers from all countries. Among these visitors was the famous Persian poet Musharrif-al-Din-bin-Muṣliḥ-al-Din 'Abdullāh' (1184-1291), known by his pen-name Sā'dī. His life can be divided into three parts, from his birth till 1226, during which he mostly studied at Baghdad, from 1226 to 1256, during which he wandered

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hither and thither in the lands of Islam from India in the east to Syria and Hijaz in the west, and from 1256 to 1291, during which he composed his major literary works.[3] In the second period of his life he paid a visit to Somanātha also, an account of which he wrote in his *Bustān.* About the fame of the temple of Somanātha Sā'dī writes :

Caravans from each district were moving along;
To look at that spiritless image they throng.
Kings of *China* and *Chighil,* like Sā'di, forsooth !
From that hard-hearted idol were longing for truth.
Men of eloquence, gathered from every place,
Were beseeching in front of that dumb idol's face."[4]

Sā'dī also went to Somanātha on his way to Mecca and saw the famous idol :

"An ivory idol I saw at Somnat
Begemmed, as in paganish times was Monat.
So well had the sculptor its features designed,
That an image more perfect no mortal could find."[5]

The poet was unable to follow as to how the living beings bowed to the lifeless image:

"I was helpless to clear up the circumstance, how
The animate should to th' inanimate bow ?"[6]

He made bold to ask the priest about this matter but he was furious at him. Seeing himself in danger, the poet sought refuge in resignation and meekness and began to cajole the priest as follows :

"I am here as a trav'ller a very short while,
And a stranger knows seldom the good from the vile.
You're the queen of the chess-board and therefore aware
And the monarch's adviser of this temple fair.,"[7]

On this the feelings of the priest were assuaged and he in a sympathetic tone explained to the visitor that the idol raised his hands every morning and asked him to wait there for the night so that he could himself see that thing next day :

"Like yourself, too on many a journey I've been,
And idols not knowing themselves I have seen,
Save this, which each morning, just where it now stands,
To the great God of Justice upraises its hands !
And if you are willing, remain the night here !
And tomorrow, the secret to you will be clear."[8]

Early next morning, as the rays of the sun began to dispell the darkness of the night, as if an army of Tatars were advancing over the country of Zanj, the poet saw the temple compound full of men and women, in whose presence the idol performed the aforesaid miracle :

"The pagans depraved with unpurified face,
Came from door, street and plain to the worshipping place.

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The city and lanes were of people bereft;
In the temple, no room for a needle was left.
I was troubled from rage and from sleeplessness dazed,
When the idol its hands upwards, suddenly, raised.
All at once, from the people there rose such a shout,
You'd have said that the sea in a rage had boiled out."[9]

On this the priest gazed intently at the poet hoping that all his doubts had disappeared. The latter, unable to say anything, feigned conviction in the divinity of the idol and, to manifest the intensity of his feeling, burst into tears and offered obeisance to the idol :

"Asking pardon, I went to the image of bone—
In a chair made of gold, on a teak-timber throne—
A kiss to the hand of the idol I gave,
Saying, "Curse it and ev'ry idolatrous slave !"[10]

Thereby the poet had won the confidence of the priests of the temple, but his mind was not at rest. He felt that some secret device underlay that miracle. He was seized by a keen desire to unravel the secret and ultimately he found it :

"I fastened the door of the temple one night,
And, scorpion-like, ran to the left and the right.
All under and over the throne I then pried,
And a curtain embroidered with gold I espied,
A fire temple prelate in rear of the screen,
With the end of a rope in his hand, could be seen !
The state of affairs I at once saw aright—
Like David when steel grew like wax in his sight.
For, of course, he has only the rope to depress,
When the idol upraises its hand for redress !"[11]

On this the priest was ashamed and dismayed and speedily fled, but the poet was after him, and pushed him into a well, for otherwise he would have himself lost his life :

"He bolted and I in pursuit of him fell,
And speedily tumbled him into a well;
For I knew that the Brahmin escaping alive,
To encompass my death would incessantly strive."[12]

Then the poet teaches the following moral :

"When you know of the business a villain has planned,
Put it out of his pow'r ! when he falls to your hand.
Your feet, in the track of a cheat, do not place !
If you do, and discover him, show him no grace."[13]

But, after that incident, the life of the poet in India was not safe and he hastily left the country and reached Mecca via Sind :

"When I found that I caused a disturbance to spread,

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I abandoned that country and hastily fled.
I travelled to Sind, after that Judgment Day;
By Yemen and Mecca I, thence, took my way."[14]

The above account of the visit of Sā'dī to Somanātha deserves to be believed because the author clearly states that he stopped there on his way from Shiraz to Mecca. When a person states a fact he deserves to be believed unless the contrary is proved. It is well-known that Sā'dī was a widely travelled man. He visited Balkh, Ghazni, Panjab, Yemen, the Hijaz, and other parts of Arabia, Abyssinia, Syria, especially Baalbekk, North Africa and Asia Minor. He travelled, in true dervish-fashion, in all sorts of ways, and mixed with all sorts of people. Besides this he was a moralist and an ethical teacher. There can be no question of his being a liar, especially when he recounts an experience in the first person singular. In the account of the visit to Somanātha, he does not introduce the story in connection with a fictitious character, but positively and definitely narrates it as his own experience during one of the peregrinations to Mecca. At that time the fame of Somanātha and its miraculous idols had travelled to so many countries that people from there unceasingly came to visit them. There is, therefore, no wonder that the tourist and traveller Sā'dī, agitated by a singular curiosity to see the miracles of Somanātha, went there, on his way to the sacred places of Arabia. At least, the burden of proving him wrong lies on those who dispute his veracity.

Sādis' account of Somanātha brings to light some new and interesting facts about that famous shrine. It must have been the temple, restored by Kumārapāla, which Sā'dī must have visited sometime between 1226 and 1256. It was held in great esteem and reverence by the people and at prayer time the entire citizenry surged up in the compound of the temple, so that there was no place even for a needle. Sā'dī gives the unique information that the idol in the temple was an ivory image of rare excellence and craftsmanship, which raised its hands, through a mechanism, worked by a priest behind the curtain, in answer to the supplications of the devotees. This fact is not corroborated by older traditions. Though writers, like Farishta, have given graphic accounts of the sculptured image at the temple of Somanātha older authorities have stated that it was a solid stone *liṅga*. Considering and summing up this evidence H. C. Ray has observed that "the idol of Somanātha was a solid unsculptured *liṅga* and not a statue. Gardizi described the god as a stone (*sang*). Ibz-al-Athir said that it had no appearance of being sculptured."[15] It appears that in subsequent restorations of the temple also the form of the *liṅga* stone was retained, for Alaf Khan, the general of Ala-al-Din, who destroyed the temple in the thirteenth century, is said to have shattered the idol to pieces and carried away the fragments to Delhi stating "we shall make *chunam* out of it."[16] The ivory statue referred to by Sā'dī, therefore, seems to refer to some other subsidiary image in the temple compound. We know that when Kumārapāla restored the temple of Somanātha, he built some temples of Gaurī, Bhīmeśvara, Kapardin, Siddheśvara and other divinities also in that compound and the chaplain Bhāva Bṛhaspati placed gold pinnacles on them as well. It appears that, in course of time, some idol in one of these

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temples attained great name and fame by reason of its miraculous feats. In those days it was common practice to stage miracles in temples in order to steel the faith of the believers. In particular, after the repeated destructions of the shrine, such devices became all the more imperative to reclaim the belief of the people. In this connection the following remark of Sā'dī is very pertinent.

"....each morning, just where it new stands,
To the Great God of Justice upraises its hands."

This observation shows that the god, represented by the ivory-image, was not the chief deity of the temple, but was rather a subsidiary god, who was supposed to refer the supplications of the devotees to the Great God, the God of Justice, by raising his hands. The devotees first visited the shrine of this god and then, following the clue of his upraised hands, went to the temple of the Chief God. But since the action of the ivory-image of this god was very thrilling and spectacular, it had won universal acclaim and popularity. Sā'dī also concentrated his attention on this god, without caring to visit the Great God, whom he calls the God of Justice. He remained mainly engrossed in the affairs of the shrine of this god and gave ample descriptions of it.

Thus the account of Sā'dīs' visit to the temple of Somanātha throws welcome light on some aspects of its working.

REFERENCES

1. K. M. Munshi, *Somnath, the Shrine Eternal*, p. 16.
2. V. N. More, *Somnatha*, p. 18.

In the Veraval Praśasti of Bhāva Bṛhaspati (verse 15) we have the following history of the temple :

"King Soma built a golden temple, then Kṛsṇa....a silver one; the illustrious Bhīmadeva (erected) 'the jewel peak' (*ratnakūṭam*) with most resplendent large stones; the latter which in course of time had become ruinous, this most excellent king (*Kumārapāla*) converted into (the building) called Meru".

On the basis of the above verse A. K. Majumdar thinks that the first temple of Somanātha was constructed in the tenth century; about a century later Bhīma I built the second temple on its ruin, and after the second temple had fallen into decay, Kumārapāla built another temple after another hundred years had gone by. [*Chalukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 317-72].

It is not unlikely that by the time the Veraval Praśasti was composed the earlier history of the temple was forgotton and a mythical origin was ascribed to the temple. All ancient authorities unanimously refer to the sanctity of Somanātha. There must have been some shrines there to house the idol of Somanātha, to worship which people thronged from all corners of the country from very early times.

3. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdausi to Sā'dī*, pp. 526-529.

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4. G. S. Davie, *The Garden of Fragrance, being a complete Translation of the Bostān of Sā'dī* ch. VIII, p. 261; for the original text see *Kulliyāt-i-Sā'dī* ed. Āgā Mohammad Ali Faroghi (Tehran 1320 H) p. 216.

زهر ناحیت کاروان هاروان -- بدیدار آن صورت بے روان
طمع کرده رایان چینو چگل -- چو سعدی وفازان بت سنگدل
زبان آوران رفته از هر مکان -- تضرع کنان پیش آن بے زبان

5. *Ibid*, p. 261; *Text* p. 215.

بتي ديدم از عاج در سومنات -- مرصع چو در جاهیلت منات
چنان صورتش بسته تمثالگر -- که صورت نه بندد از آن خوبتر

6. *Ibid*, p. 262; *Text* p. 216.

فرد ماندم از کشف آن ماجرا -- که حیی جمادی پرستد چرا

7. *Ibid*, p. 263; *Text* p. 217.

که سالوک این منزلم عنقریب -- بد از نیک کمتر شناسد غریب
تو داني که فرذین این رقعهٔ -- نصیحت گو شاه این بقعهٔ

8. *Ibid*, p. 263; *Text* p. 217.

بسی چون تو گردیدم اندر سفر -- بتان دیدم از خویشتن بے خبر
جزاین بت که هر صبح ازاینجا که هست -- برآرد بیزدان داداد و مست
وگر خواهي امشب همین جاباش -- که فردا شود مسر این بر تو فاش

9. *Ibid*, p. 264; *Text* p. 218.

مغان تباه رای نا شسته روی -- بدیر آمدند از درودشتو کوي
کس از مرد در شهرو از زن غاند -- در آن بتکده جای درزن غاند
من از عضه رنجورواز خواب مست -- که ناگاه عتثال برداشت دست
بیکبار از ایشان برآمد خروش -- تو گفتي که دریا برآمد بجوش

10. *Ibid*, p. 264; *Text* p. 219.

شدم عزر گویان بر شخص عاج -- بکرسي زر کوفت بر تخت ساج
بتک رایکے بوسه دادم بدست -- که لعنت برو بادوبربت پرست

11. *Ibid*, p. 265; *Text* p. 218.

در دیر محکم ببستم بشي -- دویدم چپو راست چون عقربی
نگه کردم از زیر تختوزبر -- یکے پرده دیدم مکلل بزر
پس پرده مطرانی آزد پرست -- مجاور سر دیسمانی بدست
بغودم درآن حال معالوم شد -- چوداود کاهن براو موم شد
که ناچار چون در کشد ریشمان -- برآرد صنم دست فریاد خوان

12. *Ibid*, p. 265: *Text* p. 219.

تبازیدو من در پیش تافتم -- نگو نش بچاهی درانداختم
که دانستم ار زنده آن برهمن -- بماند، کند سعی در خون من

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13. *Ibid*, p. 265; *Text* p. 219.

چو از کار مفسد خبر یافتی -- زدست ش بر آور چو دریافتی

فریبنده راپاي درپے منه -- چو رفتي و دیدي امانش مده

14. *Ibid*, p. 266; *Text* p. 219.

چو دیدم که غوغائی انگیختم -- رها کردم آن بوم و بگریختم

بهند آمدم بعد از آن رستخیز -- وز آنجا براه یمن تاحجیز

15. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol II. p. 960.

16. K. M. Munshi, *Somanātha, the Shrine Eternal*, p. 48.

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गुरु गोरखनाथ के समय का निरूपण

लेखक

परशुराम चतुर्वेदी

गुरु गोरखनाथ के मत एवं व्यक्तित्व अथवा उनके नाथयोगी-सम्प्रदाय की न्यूनाधिक चर्चा करने वाले साहित्य की कमी नहीं है और इस दृष्टि से लिखे गये विविध ग्रन्थ विभिन्न भाषाओं में भी उपलब्ध हैं। परन्तु इनमें कहीं पर भी हमें उनके जन्म एवं मरण अथवा आविर्भाव-काल तक के निश्चित समय का यथेष्ट ऐतिहासिक विवरण नहीं मिलता। साम्प्रदायिक ग्रन्थ 'नाथलीलामृत' के अन्तर्गत पाये जाने वाले एक श्लोक में,[१] जन्म-तिथि एवं मासादि के साथ-साथ किसी संवत् का भी उल्लेख न होने से, उनका जन्मकाल पूर्णतः निर्धारित नहीं हो पाता। 'योगिसम्प्रदायाविष्कृति'[२] में आया हुआ यह प्रसङ्ग भी कि उनके गुरु मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ ने युधिष्ठिर सं० १९३९ (लगभग ११६२ ई० पू०) में उन्हें अपना कार्यभार सौंपा था और तत्पश्चात् गिरनार पर्वत पर जाकर समाधि ले ली थी हमें, किन्हीं अन्य प्रमाणों द्वारा प्राप्त समर्थन के अभाव में, काल्पनिक-सा ही प्रतीत होता है। इसी प्रकार कुछ प्रचलित किंवदन्तियाँ उन्हें एक ऐसे देवा-धिदेव का अवतार सिद्ध करना चाहती हैं जिसने भिन्न-भिन्न युगों के अनुसार विभिन्न स्थानों में शरीर धारण किया था।[३] किंतु यह भी साधारणतः स्वीकारयोग्य नहीं समझा जा सकता। स्वयं गुरु गोरखनाथ की समझी जानेवाली उपलब्ध रचनाओं से इस प्रकार कोई प्रकाश पड़ता नहीं दीखता और न उनकी ओर संकेत करने वाले किन्हीं अवशिष्ट ऐति-हासिक चिह्नों इत्यादि से ही इस सम्बन्ध में कोई सहायता मिल पाती है। नाथयोगी-सम्प्रदाय वाले इन्हें प्रायः भगवान् शिव अथवा विष्णु का रूप समझ लेते हैं और तदनुसार वे इनका कोई-न-कोई पौराणिक परिचय भी दे दिया करते हैं। इसी प्रकार, बहुत से अन्य प्रकार के लेखक भी, इन्हें अधिकतर कोई अलौकिक महासिद्ध अथवा अमर महा-पुरुष मान करके, इनके विविध चमत्कारों की चर्चा करने लग जाते हैं। इन दोनों ही दशाओं में, इनके वास्तविक जीवन की घटनाओं के विषय में कोई अनुमान कर पाना हमारे लिए अत्यन्त कठिन तथा कभी-कभी अनावश्यक तक बन जाया करता है। तदनुसार इस प्रश्न पर विचार करने वाले लेखकों के कथन में पूरी दृढ़ता नहीं आ पायी है और वह स्वभावतः अनुमानमात्र ही बन कर रह गया है।

गुरु गोरखनाथ को एक ऐतिहासिक महापुरुष मानकर लिखने की प्रवृत्ति वस्तुतः बहुत पीछे जगी जान पड़ती है। जहाँ तक पता है इनके सम्बन्ध की ऐतिहासिक चर्चा का श्रीगणेश पहले-पहल ईसवी सन् की १९वीं शती के कुछ ही पूर्व हुआ। इनके तथा कतिपय अन्य नाथ-पन्थियों के विषय में प्रासङ्गिक उल्लेख करने का वैसा प्रयत्न, सर्वप्रथम, कदा-चित् नेपाल का इतिहास लिखने वाले कुछ पश्चिमी विद्वानों ने ही किया तथा वह अधूरा भी कहा जा सकता था। कहते हैं कि कर्नल कर्क पैट्रिक[४] नामक एक लेखक द्वारा इस प्रकार की रचना सन् १७९३ ई० में ही प्रस्तुत की गई थी, किंतु उसमें सम्भवतः गुरु गोरखनाथ के व्यक्तित्व का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया था और न उसमें इनका वैसा कोई परिचय ही दिया गया था। एफ० हैमिल्टन[५] नामक एक अन्य लेखक ने सन् १८१९ ई० में प्रकाशित अपने एक ऐसे ग्रन्थ के अन्त-र्गत उक्त विषय के प्रसङ्ग में, 'गोरखा' लोगों की भी चर्चा करते समय, इस प्रश्न की ओर पाठकों का ध्यान सर्वप्रथम आकर्षित किया। एच० ओ० ओसफील्ड[६] (सन् १८८० ई०) तथा फिर सिल्व्यां लेवी[७] (सन् १९०२ ई०) ने भी इस पर, किसी-न-किसी रूप में, न्यूनाधिक प्रकाश डालने की चेष्टा की। इसका एक परिणाम यह हुआ कि समय पाकर, ऐसे

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ग्रन्थ पीछे गुरु गोरखनाथ या नाथ-योगी सम्प्रदाय पर लिखने वालों के लिए विशिष्ट मूलस्रोत से बन गये। परन्तु, उपर्युक्त इतिहासपरक रचनाओं का भी प्रमुख वर्ण्य विषय केवल यही प्रश्न न होने के कारण, उनके लेखकों द्वारा इससे सम्बद्ध कई गुत्थियों की ओर स्वभावतः यथेष्ट ध्यान दिया गया नहीं दीख पड़ता, और न उनके अधिकतर प्रचलित जनश्रुतियों को अपना आधार मान लेने के कारण भी, इस ओर कोई विशेष प्रगति हो पायी है। यहां तक कि 'वंशावली पर्वतीया' के अनुवाद का सम्पादन करते समय, उसकी प्रस्तावना लिखने वाले डी० राइट ने भी बहुत कुछ उक्त नियम का ही अनुसरण किया है।[८] जहां तक पता चलता है, १९वीं शताब्दी की विभिन्न खोज-सबन्धी पत्रिकाओं में निबन्ध लिखने वाले भी इस विषय में उससे अधिक नहीं कर पाये हैं।

नेपाल का इतिहास लिखने वालों की ओर से किये गये उल्लेख प्रायः इसी रूप में मिलते हैं कि गुरु गोरखनाथ ने, वहां पर कभी कहीं अन्यत्र से आकर कोई-न-कोई तान्त्रिक चमत्कार प्रदर्शित किया था; कुछ दिनों तक वहां पर ठहर कर इन्होंने कठिन तपस्या की थी; वहां के नेवारों के विरुद्ध गोरखों द्वारा विजय प्राप्त की जाने में इन्हें सहायता पहुंचाई थी तथा इनके शिष्यों ने वहां शैवधर्म का प्रचार किया था। परन्तु ये वहां पर कहां से गये, कब गये, अपनी किस अवस्था में वहां पहुंचे, वहां कब तक रहे, इत्यादि बातों के सम्बन्ध में किया गया कोई सर्वसम्मत निर्णय, उन इतिहासों में नहीं पाया जाता। इसी प्रकार तिब्बत की बौद्ध परम्पराओं के अनुसार भी, उन्हें प्रायः किसी ऐसे जादूगर के ही रूप में चित्रित किया गया मिलता है,[९] जिसका कोई मेल इनसे नहीं बैठ सकता। नेपाल का इतिहास लिखने वाले डी० राइट का अनुमान है कि गोरखनाथ वहां पर महाराज वरदेव के समय, ईसवी सन् की ५वीं शताब्दी के प्रथम चरण में गये होंगे[१०] किंतु सिल्व्यां लेवी के अनुसार, ईसा की ७वीं शताब्दी में वहां पर मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ का आगमन हुआ था जिस समय महाराज नरेन्द्रदेव राज्य करते थे[११] और, इसी कारण उनके शिष्य गोरखनाथ का भी समय उसके आस-पास ही ठहराया जा सकता है। डा० शहीदुल्ला ने भी लेवी का ही समर्थन किया है और इन्होंने उक्त घटना के लिए सन् ६५७ ई० का एक निश्चित समय तक भी दे दिया है।[१२] परन्तु डा० प्रबोधचन्द्र बागची का कहना है कि नेपाल की प्राचीनतम वंशावली (१३वीं शती) में मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ के नेपाल जाने का कोई प्रसङ्ग न तो महाराज नरेन्द्रदेव के समय का आता है और न उनके उत्तराधिकारी के ही राज्यकाल का[१३], जिस कारण इस प्रकार का जाल कभी पीछे रच दिया गया होगा।[१४] उधर नेपाली भाषा में लिखी गई एक पुस्तक के लेखक बालचन्द्र शर्मा के अनुसार, महाराज वरदेव के समय कलिसं० ३६२३ (लगभग ५२२ ई०) में, मच्छिन्द्रनाथ और उनके पश्चात् गोरखनाथ नेपाल आये थे, जिसकी कोई कथा 'भाषा वंशावली' में भी आती है।[१५] महाराज वरदेव के दरबार का ललित-पतन (पाटन) में होना भी कहा गया है जिससे सम्बद्ध कोई 'मीननाथ (ललितपत्तन) को आर्को अभिलेख' भी वहां पर प्रस्तुत किया गया है[१६] और इस बात से उसका समर्थन हो जाता है। अतएव, यदि गुरु गोरखनाथ वा उनके गुरु मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ-विषयक उपर्युक्त चर्चाएं विश्वसनीय ठहरायी जा सकें, तो उस दशा में, उनका आविर्भाव-काल क्रमशः या तो ५वीं वा ७वीं अथवा ६ठीं ईसवी शती तक में भी किसी समय मान लिया जा सकता है।

इसी प्रकार कतिपय जनश्रुतियों तथा दन्तकथाओं के विषय में लिखने वाले कुछ लेखकों ने भी, सर्वप्रथम ईसवी सन् की १९वीं शताब्दी में ही, हमारा ध्यान गुरु गोरखनाथ के आविर्भाव-काल की ओर आकृष्ट कर दिया। पंजाब की पौराणिक गाथाओं के अनुसार पूरन-भगत एवं रसालू दोनों परस्पर वैमातृ-बन्धु थे और उन्हें वहां पर गुरु गोरखनाथ का अनुसरण करने वाला भी कहा जाता है। उनमें से प्रथम के लिए यह भी प्रसिद्ध है कि उनका एक अन्य नाम 'चौरङ्गीनाथ' रहा। तदनुसार दोनों के विषय में चर्चा करते समय, रिचर्ड टेम्पुल (सन् १८८४ ई०) ने बतलाया है कि रसालू का समय ईसवी सन् की आठवीं शती का प्रारम्भिक युग होना चाहिए, जिसके लिए उन्होंने अनेक सामग्रियों की छानबीन की है तथा इनके नाम के एक रूप का, अनेक अन्य के साथ, 'रिसाल' होना तक अनुमान किया

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है,[१७] जिसके द्वारा उनके कथन का समर्थन होता जान पड़ता है। इसी प्रकार कर्नल टाड ने पीछे, राजस्थान का पुरावृत्त लिखते समय, मेवाड़ वाले बाप्पा रावल के, एक दिन जङ्गलों में गोरखनाथ नामक किसी योगी से मिलने तथा उससे कोई दोधारी तलवार पाकर इसके द्वारा मेवाड़ राज्य पर अधिकार जमा लेने की कथा भी कही है।[१८] उन्होंने, उनके समय का निरूपण करते समय, उनका 'गोह' से नवीं पीढ़ी में होना तथा तदनुसार सन् ७२८ ई० में वहां वर्तमान रहना भी बतलाया है।[१९] अतएव, यदि गुरु गोरखनाथ का रसालू एवं पूरन भगत का गुरु होना सिद्ध किया जा सके तथा उनकी बाप्पा रावल के साथ भेंट होने की कथा भी विश्वसनीय ठहरायी जा सके, तो इन दोनों ही दशाओं में, इनका समय ईसवी सन् की ८वीं शताब्दी मान लिया जा सकता है। परन्तु प्रायः टेम्पुल के ही समय में लिखने वाले कुछ अन्य लोगों ने रसालू का, सन् ४०० ई० में भी, वर्तमान रहना कहा है।[२०] कुछ दूसरों ने उन्हें ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी तक भी पहुँचा दिया है,[२१] जिन दोनों बातों में मेल बिठा सकना सम्भव नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसके सिवाय पंजाब एवं राजस्थान में प्रचलित गूगा वा जाहरपीर की भी भिन्न-भिन्न लोक-गाथाओं का उपयोग इस संबंध में किया गया है। कहा गया है कि वह भी गुरु गोरखनाथ का शिष्य रहा तथा उसका समय ईसवी सन् की १२वीं शताब्दी के कभी पूर्व अथवा ११वीं शताब्दी तक के कुछ पहले तक ठहराया जाता है।[२२] उधर मराठी के लेखक पांगारकर का कहना है कि सन्त ज्ञानेश्वर के परदादा त्र्यम्बक पन्त गुरु गोरखनाथ की शरण में उस समय गये थे जब ये तीर्थाटन के लिए निकले और इसके अनुसार इनका समय १३वीं ईसवी शती के प्रथम चरण तक भी हो सकता है।[२३] अतएव, यदि उक्त सारी जनश्रुतियों वा लोक-गाथाओं को एक साथ ही ध्यान में रखा जाय तो, हम गुरु गोरखनाथ को प्रथम से १३वीं शती तक का भी मानने लग जाते हैं।

गुरु गोरखनाथ का समय निर्धारित करते समय हमें इस ओर सहायता पहुंचाने वाली कुछ अन्य ऐसी सामग्री का भी प्रस्तुत किया जाना उपर्युक्त ईसवी सन् १९वीं शती में ही आरम्भ हो गया था जिन्हें प्रमुखतः इनके गुरु, शिष्य वा समसामयिक समझे जाने वाले व्यक्तियों से सम्बद्ध कहा जा सकता है तथा जिनका, इनके साथ ही, अधिकतर ऐतिहासिक उल्लेखों पर आधारित होना भी सिद्ध है। कहते हैं कि गुरु गोरखनाथ ने अपने गुरु मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ को, उनके कदली-वन में रहते समय, लगभग उन्हीं दिनों सचेत किया था जब बंगाल के राजा गोपीचन्द ने, अपनी माता मयनावती के परामर्श द्वारा हाड़ीपा का शिष्यत्व ग्रहण किया था। इन गोपीचन्द का जीवन-काल इनके पिता उन माणिक राजा के समयानुसार ठहराया जा सकता है, जो रङ्गपुर (पूर्वी बंगाल) के पड़ोस में रहने वाले और धर्मपाल के भाई भी थे[२४] तथा जिन्हें ईसवी सन् की ११वीं शती के पूर्वार्द्ध काल का समझा जाता है।[२५] प्रायः यही बात, इन गोपीचन्द की बहन चन्द्रावती के साथ चन्द्रनगर के राजा (सन् १०२७ ई० में वर्तमान) के विवाह-सम्बन्ध द्वारा[२६] तथा फिर इनके राजेन्द्र चोल (रा० का० १०६३-१११२ ई०) से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण भी[२७] सरलतापूर्वक सिद्ध की जा सकती है। परन्तु डा० शहीदुल्ला का कहना है कि सन् ६७३ ई० में भारत की यात्रा करने वाले चीनी यात्री इत्सिग के अनुसार, बौद्ध पण्डित धर्मकीर्ति का देहान्त सन् ६५१ ई० में ही हो चुका था, जिनके गोपीचन्द का समकालीन होने के कारण, गुरु गोरखनाथ का भी समय नवीं ईसवी शती सिद्ध किया जा सकता है।[२८] इसी प्रकार यदि अभिनव गुप्त द्वारा उनके 'तन्त्रालोक' (र० का० सन् १०१५ ई०) में लिये गये 'मच्छन्दविभु' नाम के कारण, मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ का ११वीं शताब्दी के पहले का होना सिद्ध किया जा सके उस दशा में, उनका शिष्य होने के नाते, ये भी ११वीं शताब्दी के पहले तक लाये जा सकते हैं।[२९] 'प्रबन्ध-चिन्तामणि' ग्रन्थ के आधार पर तो यह भी अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि अपने एक अन्य समसामयिक योगी कन्थड़िनाथ के कालानुसार ये १०वीं शताब्दी में रहे होंगे।[३०] परन्तु इनके एक शिष्य धर्मनाथ के विषय में कहा गया है कि वे काठियावाड़ वाले कच्छदेश के अन्तर्गत सं० १४३८ (सन् १३८१ ई०) में आये थे तथा वहां रह कर उन्होंने घोर तपस्या भी की थी जिसके चिह्नस्वरूप वहां पर कोई पहाड़ी भी अभी तक वर्तमान है।[३१] इसके अतिरिक्त इनके एक अन्य शिष्य बाबा रतन हाजी के विषय में कहा गया है कि उनका देहान्त सन् ११९९ ई० में हुआ

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था[३२], जिसके अनुसार ये १२वीं शताब्दी के हो जाते हैं और इनका समय और भी पहले चला जाता है। इसी प्रकार उज्जैन के राजा भर्तृहरि के लिए प्रसिद्ध है कि उन्होंने, अपनी पत्नी पिङ्गला रानी का देहान्त हो जाने पर धैर्य धारण करने के उद्देश्य से, गुरु गोरखनाथ से भेंट की थी तथा उन्होंने इनकी शिष्यता भी स्वीकार कर ली थी। उनका समय, उनके भाई महाराज विक्रमादित्य (रा० का० १०७६-११२६ ई०) के अनुसार, ११वीं-१२वीं शताब्दी में पड़ सकता है[३३] जिस कारण इससे कुछ ही पहले वा आसपास के ये स्वयं भी ठहराये जा सकते हैं। गुरु गोरखनाथ के शिष्य समझे जाने वाले सिद्ध चर्पटीनाथ के लिए भी कहा जाता है कि वे चम्बा स्टेट के साहिल वर्मा के गुरु थे, जिनका सन् ९२० ई० में वर्तमान रहना भी बतलाया जाता है।[३४] इसके अनुसार इनका समय, १०वीं वा ९वीं शताब्दी तक जा सकता है। अतएव इस प्रकार की उपलब्ध सामग्रियों के आधार पर, इनका ९वी-१०वीं शती से लेकर १४वीं तक का भी होना संभव है।

गुरु गोरखनाथ का समय निरूपित करते समय बहुधा विभिन्न साहित्यिक प्रसङ्गों का भी सहारा लिया जाता है। संयोग की बात है कि इस प्रकार की सामग्री का भी उपयोग ईसवी सन् की १९वीं शताब्दी से ही होता आया है। डा० विल्सन ने सम्भवतः सन् १८२४ ई० में ही, 'कबीर गोरखगोष्ठी' नामक पुस्तक के अन्तर्गत गुरु गोरखनाथ एवं सन्त कबीर (१५वीं ईसवी शताब्दी) की किसी बातचीत का प्रसंग पाकर, उन दोनों के समकालीन होने का अनुमान किया था[३५] जो वस्तुतः उस रचना के प्रामाणिक होने पर ही, सम्भव कहा जा सकता था तथा जो, स्वयं कबीर के ही द्वारा इनकी चर्चा, किसी दिवंगत पुरुष के रूप में की जाने के कारण,[३६] कभी तर्क-सङ्गत नहीं कहला सकता, प्रत्युत कोरा काल्पनिक भी बन जाता है। सन्त कबीर के समकालीन समझे जाने वाले उड़िया कवि सारलादास की पुस्तक 'महाभारत' के आधार पर तो कहा जा सकता है कि इनके समय तक गुरु गोरखनाथ एक ऐसे पौराणिक इष्टदेव भी बन चुके थे जिसे, किन्हीं दो व्यक्तियों के बीच प्रतिद्वन्द्विता का अवसर आ जाने पर, अपनी विजय के लिए प्रायः स्मरण कर लिया जाता था,[३७] जिस प्रकार के कुछ प्रसङ्ग[३८] कबीर की रचनाओं से भी उद्धृत किये जा सकते हैं। इसी प्रकार उस समय के एक राजस्थानी चारण कवि बादर ढाढी द्वारा गोरख जैसे 'जोगी' तक के अपना 'ग्यान' भूल जाने की चर्चा की जाने[३९] के कारण भी, हम प्रायः उक्त निष्कर्ष पर ही पहुंचते हैं, तथा मैथिल कवि विद्यापति की एक इधर उपलब्ध अधूरी रचना 'गोरक्ष-विजय नाटक'[४०] के आधार पर यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि उनके समय तक इनसे सम्बद्ध ऐसी कतिपय लोक-गाथाएं भी प्रचलित हो चुकी थीं जिनका प्रचार, आगे चल कर बङ्गाल जैसे अन्य प्रान्तों में भी हुआ। मिथिला के ही ज्योतिरीश्वर ठाकुर (१४वीं ईसवी शताब्दी) की रचना 'वर्णरत्नाकर' से प्रकट होता है कि उनके समय तक इनकी गणना प्रसिद्ध सिद्धों में की जाने लगी थी[४१] और सम्भवतः उन्हीं के समकालीन कन्नड़ कवि गोरन्न मन्त्री की पुस्तक 'नव-नाथ-चरित्रमु' से पता चलता है कि उनके समय तक ये नव नाथों में भी सम्मिलित हो गए थे।[४२] इसके सिवाय मराठी कवि म्हाईभट (१४वीं ईसवी शताब्दी) की रचना 'लीलामृत' में इनका प्रसङ्ग स्वामी चक्रधर द्वारा इन्हें तथा इनकी रचनाओं को महत्त्व दिये जाने के रूप में आया है।[४३] उनके पूर्ववर्ती सन्त ज्ञानेश्वर की मराठी रचना 'अमृतानुभव' में गुरु गोरखनाथ को उनके गुरु निवृत्तिनाथ के गुरु गहनीनाथ का भी गुरु होना बतलाया गया है[४४] जिसके अनुसार ये १२वीं ईसवी शताब्दी के हो जाते हैं और संस्कृत के किसी माहेश्वर ग्रन्थ के आधार पर तो यह भी कहा गया है कि गुरु गोरखनाथ का समय लगभग १२वीं ईसवी शताब्दी का पूर्वार्द्ध था।[४५] इसी प्रकार एक लिङ्गायत ग्रन्थ 'प्रभुलिङ्ग-लीला' के अन्तर्गत गोरखनाथ एवं अल्लभ प्रभु के किसी "विस्तृत तात्त्विक संवाद" का भी पाया जाना बतलाया गया है। यह भी कहा गया है कि इन दोनों का कुछ-न-कुछ परस्पर मतभेद भी रहा, जिस कारण, लिङ्गायत सम्प्रदाय के सन् १०५० ई० के आसपास प्रवर्तित होने के आधार पर[४६], ये उक्त सन् की १२वीं शताब्दी के कभी पहले भी लाये जा सकते हैं। स्व० राहुल जी का तो कहना है कि तिब्बत के 'सस्क्य' नामक विहार वाले पांच

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लामा गुरुओं (सन् १०९१-१२७९ ई०) की ग्रन्थावली 'स-स्क्य-क्कं-बुम्' के आधार पर इन्हें १२वीं ईसवी शताब्दी के पहले तक का[४७] तथा, 'चतुर शीति-सिद्धप्रवृत्ति' के अनुसार, इन्हें मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ के पिता मीननाथ के महाराज देवपाल (सन् ८०९-८४९ ई०) का समसामयिक होने के कारण, उसके परिणामस्वरूप ९वीं शताब्दी ईसवी तक का भी ठहराया जा सकता है।[४८] अपने इस मत के आधार पर, उन्होंने ८४ सिद्धों की एक वंशावली भी बना दी है, जिसमें इन्हें ९वां स्थान दिया गया दीख पड़ता है[४९] जो वहां वाली सिद्धों की चित्रावली के अनुसार है। स्व० हरप्रसाद शास्त्री द्वारा वासिल-ज्यू (Wassiljew) वाले तर्कों पर आश्रित अनुमान[५०] से भी इसी बात की पुष्टि होती जान पड़ती है। अतएव इस प्रकार की सामग्रियों के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि गुरु गोरखनाथ का समय ईसवी १५वीं शताब्दी से ९वीं तक जा सकता है।

गुरु गोरखनाथ का आविर्भाव-काल निश्चित करते समय, इस प्रश्न पर कुछ न-कुछ प्रकाश डाल सकने वाले एकाध ऐसे ऐतिहासिक उल्लेखों, अभिलेखों, हस्तलेखों, चित्रों अथवा मूर्तियों एवं मुद्राओं तक का भी उपयोग किया जाने लगा है जो, इधर की खोजों के फलस्वरूप, हमारे सामने आते जा रहे हैं तथा जिनके आधार पर अपेक्षाकृत अधिक विश्वास भी किया जाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में सबसे पहले यह कहा जाता है कि दिल्ली के सुलतान अलाउद्दीन खिलजी (रा० का० सन् १२९०-१३१० ई०) ने गोरखपुर के गोरखनाथ मन्दिर को ढहाया था, जो कदाचित् बहुत पुराना भी था। इस कारण इसके आधार पर गुरु गोरखनाथ का समय कम-से-कम ईसवी १३वीं शताब्दी से पहले होना चाहिए[५१] और यह काल, उनके बहुत दिनों में देवत्व का पद प्राप्त करने की दृष्टि से, कुछ सदियों पूर्व भी होगा। इसी प्रकार शार्ङ्गदेव की सोमनाथ वाली 'सित्राप्रशस्ति' (सं० १३४३=सन् १२८७ ई०) से पता चलता है कि उसके लेखनकाल तक भी इनकी गणना पाशुपत-सम्प्रदाय वाले देव-पञ्चायतन में, आञ्जनेय (हनुमान्), सिद्धि-विनायक (गणेश), सरस्वती एवं भैरव के साथ होने लगी थी[५२] जिस कारण ये, उस समय तक भी, आराध्यदेवों में सम्मिलित कर लिये जा चुके थे। इसके सिवाय बड़ोदा से अनतिदूर वर्त्तमान डभोई दुर्ग (नि० का० सम्भवतः १२००-५० ई०) में पायी जाने वाली कतिपय मूर्तियों में से भी एक अर्थात् आकृति सं० ४, इन्हीं की जान पड़ती है और शेष के मत्स्येन्द्र, जालंधर आदि की होने का अनुमान किया जाता है।[५३] इस कारण इसके अनुसार भी हम कह सकते हैं कि इन्हें उक्त समय तक पौराणिक देवों जैसी मान्यता अवश्य मिल चुकी होगी। प्रो० ए० वी० विलियम जेक्सन का अनुमान है कि उज्जैन वाली भर्तृहरि की गुफा के भीतर भी गुरु गोरखनाथ की कोई आकृति वा चित्र है; जिसकी बाईं ओर गोपीचन्द्र की आकृति बनी हुई है और इसके आधार पर इन तीनों के एक साथ वर्तमान रहने वा समकालीन होने की सम्भावना भी हो सकती है।[५४] इनमें से किसी का भी समय ज्ञात हो जाने पर शेष के विषय में भी पता चल सकता है। इसके सिवाय स्व० राहुल जी द्वारा तिब्बत से प्राप्त एवं प्रकाशित ८४ सिद्धों की उपर्युक्त चित्रावली के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि इनका समय, उसमें चित्रित अन्तिम सिद्ध कालपा के स्व० राहुल जी द्वारा अनुमानित कालानुसार, १२वीं ईसवी शताब्दी अथवा उसके पहले भी कहा जा सकता है, क्योंकि इनके लिए वहां पर ९वां स्थान भी दिया गया दीख पड़ता है।[५५] इसी प्रकार मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ की रचना माने जाने वाले 'कौल-ज्ञाननिर्णय' ग्रन्थ की एक प्राचीन प्रति के लेखन-काल को ११वीं ईसवी शताब्दी के अनन्तर का न मानते हुए उसके इससे कम-से-कम एक सौ वर्ष पहले अर्थात् १०वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भिक समय में, होने का अनुमान किया गया है।[५६] इसके आधार पर गुरु गोरखनाथ के आविर्भाव-काल का भी उसके आसपास होना सम्भव है। इनसे सम्बद्ध कुछ चिह्नों का तो कतिपय उपलब्ध मुद्राओं पर अङ्कित होना बतलाया जाता है,[५७] किन्तु उनमें से सबसे प्राचीन का समय अभी तक ठहराया नहीं जा सका है, जिस कारण इस प्रकार की सामग्री के आधार पर कुछ कह पाना सरल नहीं है। परन्तु उपर्युक्त अन्य सङ्केतों के अनुसार भी हम केवल इतना ही कह सकते हैं कि इनका काल, १०वीं शताब्दी वा उसके पहले भी जा सकता है।

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गुरु गोरखनाथ के समय का निरूपण करने वाले सभी विद्वान् लेखकों ने उपर्युक्त अथवा कुछ अन्य ऐसी सामग्रियों का भी उपयोग ठीक एक ही प्रकार से नहीं किया है और न इनके आधार पर उन सभी ने केवल एक ही-जैसा परिणाम निकाला है। कुछ लोगों ने इनमें से किन्हीं एकाध की ओर सङ्केत करके उनमें से किसी को विशेष महत्त्व प्रदान कर दिया है, किन्तु कई दूसरों ने इनमें से अनेक का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन वा विवेचन करते हुए, इसके फलस्वरूप, कुछ का निराकरण कर दिया है तथा अन्य को स्वीकार करने के लिए अपनी ओर से तर्क भी उपस्थित किये हैं। फिर भी, जहां तक पता चलता है, इन लोगों में से किसी के भी कथन में पूरी असन्दिग्धता नहीं आयी है और न इसी कारण उसने इसे अपना अन्तिम निर्णय ही ठहराया है। कुछ ने इनके आविर्भाव-काल का किसी संवत् वा सन् के आसपास वा पूर्व होना मानकर छोड़ दिया है। कुछ ने इसे किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के समय अथवा कभी उसके पूर्व तक ले जाना आवश्यक समझा है। कुछ ने इसके किन्हीं दो अवधियों के बीच होने की ही कल्पना कर ली है तथा कुछ ने इन्हें नाथपन्थ के आदि प्रवर्तकों में से एक स्वीकार करते हुए उन सभी के लिए कोई समय प्रस्तावित कर देना मात्र ही उचित मान लिया है। ऐसे लोगों में कई वे भी मिल सकते हैं, जिन्होंने अपनी ओर से विशेष प्रयास न करके, अन्त में किसी अपने पूर्ववर्ती लेखक का ही अनुसरण कर लिया है। इसका कारण यह हो सकता है कि या तो हमने उपर्युक्त प्रत्येक सामग्री के विषय में पूरी जांच-पड़ताल नहीं की है अथवा कभी-कभी इनकी विभिन्नता वा पारस्परिक विरोध-सम्बन्धी उलझनों के झमेले में न पड़कर, ऐसे प्रश्नों को केवल कोई गौण स्थान दे दिया है; और, इसकी अपेक्षा अपने किसी उद्देश्य-विशेष की सिद्धि को अधिक महत्त्व प्रदान करते हुए आगे बढ़ गये हैं। नेपाल का इतिहास लिखने अथवा विभिन्न लोक-गाथाओं की व्याख्या करने वालों ने तो ऐसा प्रत्यक्ष रूप में ही किया होगा। जिन लोगों ने गुरु गोरखनाथ वा नाथयोगी सम्प्रदाय के इतिहासादि के लिखने की चेष्टा विशेष रूप से भी की है उन्होंने भी सभी उपलब्ध सामग्रियों के विचित्र गोरखधन्धे में न पड़कर किसी मार्ग-विशेष का ग्रहण कर लेना अपने लिए श्रेयस्कर माना है। फलतः जो कुछ भी अभी तक इस सम्बन्ध में हो पाया है वह आगे वाले शोध-कर्ताओं के लिए केवल मार्ग-प्रदर्शन मात्र ही कर सकता है, यद्यपि यह भी सम्भव है कि वस्तुस्थिति का परिचय पा लेने पर, अभी तक निर्दिष्ट सङ्केतों में से ही किसी के सहारे कभी कोई ऐसा भी परिणाम निकल आये, जो वस्तुतः तथ्य के सर्वथा अनुकूल सिद्ध किया जा सके। अतएव, इस दृष्टि से विचार करने पर, अभी तक वाले प्रयत्नों का एक सिंहावलोकन एवं मूल्याङ्कन कर लेना कदाचित् अनावश्यक नहीं कहला सकता।

प्रत्यक्ष है कि उपरिलिखित सामग्रियों के अन्तर्गत इस प्रकार की सारी बातों का समावेश नहीं किया जा सका है और वे केवल कतिपय विशिष्ट उदाहरणों के ही रूप में, स्वीकार कर ली जा सकती हैं। इनमें से अन्तिम दो अर्थात् साहित्यिक प्रसङ्गों तथा ऐतिहासिक उल्लेखों वा सङ्केतों के आधार पर स्वभावतः केवल इतना ही कहा जा सकता है कि उनके प्रस्तुत किये जाने के समय तक गुरु गोरखनाथ अवश्य अस्तित्व में आ चुके रहे होंगे अथवा उनमें से कुछ के अनुसार इनका समय उनके आसपास ही रहा होगा। इन दोनों में से दूसरी के द्वारा पता चलता है कि इनका आविर्भाव-काल कभी १०वीं ईसवी शताब्दी के पूर्व रहा होगा। इसी प्रकार, उक्त प्रथम के सहारे यहां तक भी सूचित होता है कि ईसवी ९वीं शताब्दी तक का भी इनका होना सम्भव है। इसके सिवाय इन दोनों में से कुछ सामग्री के आधार पर हम यहां तक भी अनुमान कर सकते हैं कि उनके द्वारा निर्दिष्ट काल तक, इनके विषय में लोगों की धारणा कैसी रही होगी अथवा इनका प्रभाव कहां तक व्यापक भी बन चुका होगा। शेष तीन प्रकार की सामग्रियों में से भी दो जो इनके समसामयिक समझे जाने वाले व्यक्तियों से सम्बद्ध हैं तथा जिनका काल-विस्तार १०वीं से लेकर १४वीं ईसवी शताब्दी तक चलता है, उनके आधार पर, हम यह भी कह सकते हैं कि ऐसे लोगों में से सभी के जीवन-काल में इनका विद्यमान रहना, साधारणतः सम्भव नहीं हो सकता और न यह तर्कसङ्गत ही कहला सकता है। ऐसा अनुमान केवल उसी दशा में किया जा सकता है जब उन्हें, इनके एक विशिष्ट योगी होने के कारण, कम-से-कम ३-४ सौ वर्षों तक जीवित

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रहने वाला मान लिया जा सके अथवा इनके विषय में केवल इस प्रकार कह दिया जा सके कि इन्होंने पूर्ण अमरत्व प्राप्त कर लिया होगा। इनके प्राय: ईसवी पूर्व प्रथम शताब्दी से लेकर कम से कम उसकी १५वीं शताब्दी तक के अनेक ऐतिहासिक व्यक्तियों और घटनाओं के साथ, किसी-न-किसी रूप में जुड़े रहने की बात को तथ्यवत् स्वीकार कर लेने पर या तो कोई ऐसा ही निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता[५८] है अथवा यह भी अनुमान कर लिया जा सकता है कि इनके सम-सामयिक माने जाने वाले उपर्युक्त सभी व्यक्ति इनके वास्तविक समकालीन नहीं हो सकते, प्रत्युत उनमें से कुछ का इनसे पहले तथा कुछ का पीछे होना भी अनिवार्य है।[५९] अतएव, अन्त में, केवल ऐसी सामग्रियां ही शेष रह जा सकती हैं जो अधिकतर जनश्रुतियों, दन्त-कथाओं वा लोक-गाथाओं पर अवलम्बित हैं। इनके आधार पर अभी तक ईसवी ५वीं शताब्दी से लेकर ७वीं अथवा ८वीं तक के भीतर कभी इनका वर्तमान रहना अनुमान किया जा सकता है।

परन्तु, यदि गुरु गोरखनाथ के आविर्भाव-काल का, किसी समय ५वीं से लेकर ७वीं वा ८वीं ईसवी शताब्दी तक के भीतर होना स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो उस दशा में, इस सम्बन्ध की अनेक पूर्व-प्रचलित मान्यताओं के प्रति, हमें अनास्था भी प्रकट करनी पड़ सकती है अथवा वे कम-से-कम हमारे लिए इतनी सन्दिग्ध वा अविश्वसनीय ही बन जा सकती हैं, जिससे उन्हें यथेष्ट ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व नहीं दिया जा सके। उदाहरण के लिए, ऐसा मान लेने पर हमारे सामने, सर्वप्रथम, एक प्रश्न इस रूप में उठ सकता है कि क्या गुरु गोरखनाथ स्वामी शङ्कराचार्य (सन् ७८८-८२० ई०) के अद्वैतवाद द्वारा प्रभावित नहीं रहे होंगे जिस विषय में बहुतों की धारणा बहुत दृढ़-सी जान पड़ती है।[६०] इसी प्रकार हमें इस बात में भी पूरा सन्देह करने का अवसर मिल सकता है कि जो हिन्दी की उपलब्ध रचनाएं 'गोरख-बानियां' कहला कर प्रसिद्ध हैं वे, अपनी भाषा के उतनी पुरानी न होने पर भी, वस्तुतः इन्हीं की हो सकती हैं अथवा उनमें से किसी अल्पांश का भी रचयिता होना इनके लिए कभी सम्भव हो सकता है। इसके सिवाय एक तीसरा प्रश्न हमारे सामने इस रूप में भी आ सकता है कि जो कतिपय रचनाएं इनके द्वारा संस्कृत में रची गयी समझी जाती हैं तथा जिनके आधार पर हम इनकी विचारधारा अथवा साधना-पद्धति के विषय में अपनी कोई विशिष्ट धारणा बना चुके हैं,[६१] क्या उनका भी अपने वर्तमान रूप में प्रामाणिक ठहराया जाना कभी सम्भव हो सकता है? अतएव, यदि हम कभी किन्हीं सर्वथा विश्वसनीय प्रमाणों के आधार पर, उपर्युक्त निर्णय देने के लिए बाध्य हो जा सकें वैसी दशा में हमें उस ऐतिहासिक तथ्य की स्वीकृति के सामने, अपने किसी भी पुराने पूर्वग्रह को त्याग देना तथा अपने को मोहग्रस्त बनने से बचाना पड़ सकता है और इसके कारण, अनेक प्रश्नों के प्रति हमारी दृष्टि में परिवर्तन आ-जा सकता है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि अद्यावधि स्वभावतः उपलब्ध सामग्रियों के आधार पर, गुरु गोरखनाथ के समय का उत्तरोत्तर पहले की ही ओर खिसकता जाना अधिक तर्क-सङ्गत प्रतीत होता है। इस कारण इस सम्बन्ध में अनुसन्धान करने वालों के लिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक हो जाता है कि वे सर्वप्रथम, उक्त प्रकार की सारी उपलब्धियों की ही कोई वैज्ञानिक छानबीन कर लें। गुरु गोरखनाथ के मत एवं व्यक्तित्व तथा इनके व्यापक प्रभाव को ध्यान में रखकर किया गया इस प्रकार का प्रयास यदि किसी प्रकार सफल हो सके तो वह किसी दिन भारतीय इतिहास के धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक विकास से सम्बद्ध बहुत-सी विशेष पेचीदा गुत्थियों के सुलझाने में भी हमारे काम आ सकता है।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. **कार्त्तिक्यां शुक्लपक्षे या देवत्यां च त्रयोदशी।**
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३९. दे० "गोरख भुले ग्यानकुं, जत लछिमण जावे", (डा० हीरालाल माहेश्वरी की पुस्तक 'राजस्थानी भाषा और साहित्य' के पृ० ८१ पर उद्धृत)।

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५२. दे० "गोरक्षकं भैरवमाञ्जनेयं, सरस्वतीं सिद्धिविनायकं च।
चकार पञ्चायतनान्तराले बालेन्दुमौलिस्थितिमानसोमः॥

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LAND AND PEOPLE OF ANCIENT KAMARUPA

By

P. D. Chaudhury, Gauhati

References to ancient Assam are available in abundance in the Epic, Paurāṇic and Tāntric literature. Prāgjyotiṣa was the name of ancient Assam in the earlier times and Kāmarūpa in the later times. From the beginning of the Gupta period down to the 12th century of the Christian Era, the kingdom of ancient Assam was known both as Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa though the rulers used to call themselves Lords of Prāgjyotiṣa. Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's report, Bāṇa's 'Harṣa carita' and the subsequent discoveries of the Copper-plate Charters and rock inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa Kings form the most valuable and authentic sources of the early history of Assam. In the present paper it is proposed to have a general discussion of our land and people through the inscriptions that belong to the pre-Ahom period (upto 12th century *A.D.*) and it is why the word Kāmarūpa instead of Assam has been used in the title of the paper.

Copper-plate and stone inscriptions serve as very valuable materials for the construction of history of Kāmarūpa up to the end of the 12th century *A.D.* These epigraphic records form the most important source of history of the Pre-Ahom period and they have rendered it possible to trace an almost unbroken hisotry of ancient Assam from about the 4th down to the 12th century of the Christian Era.

In ancient India, it was the practice with its rulers to record land-grants on copper-plates which served as title deeds of the donees. This practice prevailed in ancient Assam also. Most of the land-grant charters hither to discovered in Assam consist of a set of three copper-plates, joined together by a ring the ends of which are secured in a seal of the king. The obverse of the first and the reverse of the third plate are blank and thus, the inscription covers only four sides of the plates the middle one being inscribed on both sides.

The king's seal is heart-shaped and divided into two parts; the triangular upper part contains the figure of an elephant-head 'en face' in relief, and in the semi-circular lower compartment is the inscription of the king's name and titles. Round the edge of the seal runs a raised rim which serves as a protection to the seal. The whole thing, in the language of Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, 'looks just like a heartshaped box, without a lid.' Of the copper-plate land grant records in our State, the Doobi Copper-plate inscriptions of Bhāskaravarman of the 7th century *A.D.* found in Kāmrūpa district is the earliest. The set records, *inter alia*, the defeat of the Bengal army at the outset of the battle at the hands of the Kāmarūpa princes Bhāskaravarman and his elder brother Supratiṣṭhitavarman, but later on the Kāmarūpa princes were defeated by the vast Gauḍa army. The Nidhanpur Copper-plate inscription

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comes next. It was discovered in the village of Nidhanpur, situated in the district of Sylhet, Assam and was deciphered by the late lamented Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyāvinod, who in the 'Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali' edited ten copper-plate inscriptions including this set of Bhāskaravarman. Each of these two sets of Bhāskaravarman, of course, consists of more than three plates.

The Hayungthal copper-plate inscription of Harjaravarma Deva of the 9th century *A.D.* succeeds the Nidhanpur plate in order of chronology. It is unfortunate that only the middle one of this set of three copper-plates could be recovered. One peculiarity of the charter is that unlike the other copper-plate grants of the Kāmarūpa Kings, this one was ordered by the crown prince Vanamala and not by the king himself.

It may be added that though this grant does not help us in fixing the date of Harjaravarman, we are not in the dark about the time to which the donor of this grant belonged. The famous rock inscription at Tezpur in the Darrang district, bearing the date 510 Gupta Era corresponding to 830 *A.D.* proves beyond doubt that Harjara flourished in the 9th century *A.D.*

Copper-plate inscriptions of other Kāmarūpa Kings, such as, Balavarma, Vanamalavarmadeva, Ratnapāla, Indrapāla and Dharmapāla, have also been found in different places of our State and quite a few of them have now been preserved in the State Museum at Gauhati.

Copper-plate inscriptions of the Kāmarūpa Kings give no clue to the existence of any indigenous era, but simply mention their regnal years. The Rock Inscription of Harjaravarman at Tezpur dated 510 Gupta era corresponding to 830 *A.D.* and the 'Kanaivadasi' Rock Inscription at North Gauhati dated 1127 Śaka corresponding to 1205 *A.D.* make it evident that the Gupta era was in use in Kāmarūpa in the 9th century and Śaka era in the 13th century. Other Rock Inscriptions that have of late, come to light, such as Baḍaganga Rock Inscription and "Umachal" Rock Inscription do not bear any date. From the epigraphic records that have been, so far, brought to light, it is not possible to say when the Gupta era came to be used in Kāmarūpa and when the Śaka era established its use in place of the former.

In this connection, it may not be out of place, if a few extracts from "The Kāmarūpa Era", an article from the learned pen of the late Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur be quoted here: "....In the 'Kāmarūpar Purāvrtta' (App. A of the *Kamarupar Buranji* published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam) there is mention of a Kāmarūpi era. It is stated there in that in the Kāmarūpi year 612 Bhukhtiyar Khiliji advanced as far as Kāmapīṭha and that being defeated he fled. It is also mentioned that in the Kāmarūpi year 1023 Parrikhit Narayan surrendered himself to Makram Khan. It is further mentioned in this 'Purāvytta' that Mirjumla invaded Assam in the Kāmarūpi year 1071....Some of the copper-plate inscriptions of the kings of Kāmarūpa mention only the regnal years of the kings as stated above but no clue to any era can be found from any of these records. Unfortunately not a single coin minted by the Kāmarūpa kings has yet come to light though there are good

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reasons to suppose that these kings actually struck coins. In the absence of epigraphic and numismatic proof the existence of a Kāmarūpi era can, therefore, at best, be only surmised ......"

The copper-plate inscriptions record grants of land yielding paddy. This shows that Kāmarūpa possessed regular fields and harvests of corn and that rice was the staple food of the people as it is now. The special mention of arecanut and betel leaf in the Nowgong copper-plate inscription of Balavarma testifies the fact that betel-nut had been favourite of the people of Kāmarūpa in those days also.

The elephant-head 'en face' neatly set in relief is invariably seen in the seals of the copper-plate grants. Stone panels of the pre-Ahom period containing realistic representation of elephants have also been discovered in different parts of the province in super-abundance; special reference to elephants in the Epic and other literature are also not wanting. It shows that the inhabitants of ancient Assam were quite familiar with this animal which was considered a valuable treasure of their reputed country, from time immemorial. On the other hand, representation of the lion is conventional and unrealistic. This typical way of lion representation shows that the people of Assam were not very familiar with this stately animal.

Clear references to lofty temples and magnificent building, are available in the copper-plate inscripteous of the Kāmarūpa King From the copper plate grant of Vanamala, we know that he reconstructed a Śiva temple during his reign. There is also a clear reference to the erection of a huge palace in the Nowgong copperplate grant of Balavarma Deva. We find further references to lofty structures in the inscriptions of Ratnapāla and Indrapālavarma Deva. The architectural remains that have hitherto been discovered in different parts of the province, prove beyond doubt that the artists and the architects of ancient Assam reached such a standard as they could justly be proud of.

The kings of Kāmarūpa were devotees of Lord Śiva. In the copper-plate inscriptions there are ample references to show that the kings of Kāmarūpa were adherents of Śaivism. The late Padmanath Vidyvinode in his article, namely, 'Māhadeva the Ishtadeva of the kings of Kāmarūpa', discussed fully the different verses of the inscriptions relating to the salutation to Lord Śiva and established the fact that the kings of Kāmarūpa were adherents of Śaivism.

The copper-plate grants of the Kāmarūpa kings, brought to light so far, have rendered it possible to trace the genealogy of the kings, almost in an unbroken continuity from the 4th century to which Pushyvarma, the first king of the line of Bhaskaravarman has been assigned, down to the 12th century of the Christian era, the time of Dharmapala, the last king of Pala dynasty in Kāmarūpa, as evinced by the copper-plate inscriptions. It is very unfortunate that not a single coin of the pre-Ahom period has been found as yet though there are evidences to show that coins were minted by the kings of Kāmarūpa. Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur says, "....it is rather surprising that we have not been able to find a single coin minted by any of the numerous kings prior to Naranarayana, the Koch king of the 16th century. It is not at all likely that the Kāmarūpa kings did not strike coins. We have

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on the authority of the Silimpur inscription deciphered by Mr. R. G. Basak that about the 12th century the Kāmarūpa king Jayapala, who was probably the son of Dharmapala, offered to make a 'tulapurusha' gift of gold, including 900 gold coins, to a Brahmin named Prahasa. This proves that gold coins were actually minted by these kings, and as evinced by the Nalanda seal of Bhaskaravarman, the art of impressing seals on clay or molten metal was known as early as the 7th century". People of Assam were acquainted with the use of iron which was extremely used in weapons of war. Of the precious metal gold and copper were available within the kingdom itself, Harjaravarman's Rock Inscription and Vanamala's copper-plate charters prove beyond doubt that boats maintained by kings of Kāmarūpa were numerous and that they were beautifully carved, painted and well decorated. The people of Kāmarūpa traded with people of other parts in India. These traders were called 'Sadagars' and the main routes of their trade were the Brahmaputra and its navigable tributaries. People of all castes and occupations lived happily and well contented. Streets were wide and crowded with elephants, horses and chariots which kings and nobles used to mount on. The capital city was adorned with pious and learned people. All these tend to prove that our land and the people were affluent and prosperous during the reign of the Kāmarūpa kings.

Palaces and the temples of the pre-Ahom period are almost non-existent, though their ruins, as referred to above, are to be found here and there. The reasons of their destructions as noticed by Sir Edward Gait, are mainly two, namely, the Agencies of Nature and Invasions of Foreigners

The finest and the oldest specimen of sculptural or iconoplastic art in Assam is the temple-stone door-frame at Dah-Parvatia in the district of Darrang (Central Assam). Its carving is characteristic of the style of the early Gupta schools of sculpture. The two goddesses, Gangā and Jamunā, stand with garlands in hands in artistic pose and elegant posture. The door jambs are decorated with beautiful ornamental foliage. The artist's sense of proportion, the beautiful symmetry of the figures and ornamental devices, and the excellence of execution tend to prove that this door-frame belongs to the same period as the great schools of sculpture which existed at Pāṭāliputra and Vārāṇasi in the fifth and sixth centuries *A.D.*

The Rock inscription known as the 'Umachala Rock Inscription' is the earliest epigraphic record so far discovered in Assam. It is on the north-eastern slope of the Kāmākhyā or Nilachal hill near Gauhati. It bears no date but on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to the fifth Century *A.D.* (Edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, part II).

Then comes the Rock Inscription of Mahābhūtavarma or Bhūtivarman of the Sixth Century *A.D.* This inscription (not dated) was found in the Mikir Hills, Assam. Other Rock inscriptions such as Harjaravarman Rock Inscription, Tezpur, and Kanai Barasi Rock Inscription of the pre-Ahom period have already been referred to above.

It has been aptly observed by K. L. Barua, that the early history of Kāmarūpa is

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very interesting. There was hardly any other Hindu dynasty in northern India that ruled uninterruptedly for a period of eight hundred years like the dynasty of Pushyavarman. Conquerors like Samudragupta, Yaśodharman, Mahāsena Gupta and Yaśovarman could no doubt defeat the Kāmarūpa kings in battle, but they could not include Kāmarūpa within their territories. The repeated early Musalman invasions were succesfully repulsed by the kings. Kāmarūpa, which remained an independent kingdom till the last, unconquered even by the Moghuls. The Ahom kings who succeeded the Koch kings became themselves Hindus and erected numerous Hindu temples. The extent of their kingdom was no doubt reduced and it came to be known as Assam, but even that small kingdom, with its limited resources, successfully resisted all Muhammadan invasions and continued to be independent till the advent of the British in 1826.

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PANHIDEP HATI
SOME NOTES ON THE WORSHIP OF SARASVATI IN BALINESE HINDUISM

By

J. ENSINK, UTRECHT

In a volume dedicated to one of the most learned men of India it does not seem out of place to devote some attention to the cult of the goddess of learning in Bali.

As is well known, Hinduism is the most important religion of Bali and Sarasvatī is worshipped all over the island, along with so many other Hindu deities. Sarasvatī in Balinese Hinduism is the subject of a recent study by C. Hooykaas,[1] who especially discusses the "birthday" (Bal. *odalan*) of the goddess (a festival akin to Sarasvatī pūjā on the ninth day of Navarātri in southern India) and her identity with Umā and Prajñāpāramitā.

Two forms of Sarasvatī are distinguished : 1⁰ the embodiment of knowledge (OJav. *vidyātmikā*); 2⁰ the śakti of the Lord Brahmā (OJav. *śaktinya Bhaṭāra Brahmā*). In the second form she is said to be responsible for Brahmā's having four faces. The god wanted to follow the lovely goddess with his eyes wherever she went, but turning his head for that purpose ill befitted his dignity; therefore, he developed four faces. As a Balinese informant said : "The Lord Brahmā got four faces, when he saw the goddess Sarasvatī." (Bal. : *Bhaṭāra Brahmā ñaturmukha sēdavēge ñakṣi Saṅ Hyaṅ Sarasvatī*).[2]

As *vidyātmikā*, Sarasvatī is an important deity. One of my informants, speaking Indonesian, considered her identical with *Tuhan* (the highest God) in that form. Vidyātmikā Sarasvatī is said to reside in the palm-leaf manuscripts (Bal. *ron tal;* Indon. *lontar*), which accordingly are treated with due respect by the pious Balinese.

To those who want to begin the study of these books a ritual commonly called *paṅhiḍep hati* (making the mind attentive; strengthening the mind's capacity),[3] or more fully *nunas paṅhiḍep hati* (to pray for strengthening of the capacity of one's mind), is recommended. This prayer is often understood to be addressed to Sarasvatī : *nunas paṅhiḍep hati riṅ Hida Saṅ Hyaṅ Aji-Sarasvatī* (to pray for strengthening of the capacity of one's mind to the goddess Aji-Sarasvatī)[4].

So far I only once have found *paṅhiḍep hati* mentioned in a text. The plam-leaf book Aji Sarasvatī, Cod. Kirtya III 88[5] has the following passage on p. 8.

Sari niṅ paīdep ati.

Siṅ srana vēnaṅ. Ma. Pukulun Saṅ Hyaṅ Tutur Meṅēt, Tutur Jati, sumusup riṅ ṙana ēniṅ,

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siṅ tinular isēp, tēka iṅēt 3, *leyak asih, janma manusa asih, deva Batara asih, tēka patuh iṅkup, asih den avēlas, oṅ Yaṅ Tuṅgal paramasalatya nama.*

The essence of paidép ati.

Any offering and ingredient is allowed.

The *mantra* is : "May the Divine Lords Tutur Meṅēt and Tutur Jati[6] enter into the pure mind. All that can be learned from others I absorb, so that I remember, remember, remember. May the witches be benevolent, may men be benevolent, may the gods and the Lord be benevolent, nay, may they be strongly attached to me, may they be compassionately benevolent. Oṃ, homage to the One, most powerful !"

From my own experience and from oral communication I was able to gather more information about *paṅhiḍep hati.* A Bauddha priest (*padanda Boddha* or *Buddha*),[7] Ida Padanda Buda Sukawati, kindly performed the ritual for me[8] and explained some points to me, but I could not obtain the Sanskrit *mantras* he used.

According to this *padanda* only full moon and new moon days are auspicious for *paṅhiḍep hati.* So on a new moon day I, together with a friend,[9] repaired to the priest's residence (*griya*) and we were received in the *bale piyasan,* the building in the open air house-temple (*pamraian*), where the priest recites his texts.

In Balinese Hindu ritual a prayer should be accompanied by an offering (*bēbantēn*). In this case my host[10] had sent to the *griya* some offering together with the ingredients for the ritual (*mēsraṇa*), all prepared by the ladies of Puri Saren, Ubud. In contradistinction to the text quoted above there appeared to be certain rules pertaining to the offerings in this ritual. My host gave me the following specification.—

Bebanten :

pras ajuman sasantun (an offering containing food and some coins as a token payment to the priest),[11]

canaṅ burat vaṅi apasaṅ (one portion of a preparation of betel).

Mēsraṇa :

sasin pucuk baṅ (an ornament of the red china rose, Hibiscus rosa sinensis),

bras kuniṅ (grains of yellow rice),

buṅan jēpun putih (frangipani flowers, Plumeria acutifolia).

Preliminary to the ritual the priest put me two questions. In the first place, whether I ever had received any sacrament or initiation before. When I had answered in the negative, he enquired about my religion. I said I did not belong to any church or sect, but it was my belief that I had to fulfil my duty as given me by God. This the priest found in perfect agreement with what he called "the Buddhist religion (Bal. *āgama Buddha*)".[12]

Now, to perform the ritual, the priest seated himself, facing westward, on a square cushion (*luṅka-luṅka*) on a bench called *pēlaṅkan.* The ritual then proceeded as follows:

The suppliant is purified. Standing in front of the *padanda* he washes his hands (*mēwajik*) in water in which saffron (*kumkum*) is strewn; he washes his teeth (*mēkēkēmuh,* high-Bal. *mēkēkurah*) with water poured upon his hands by an assistant of the priest. Next, with

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the palms of the hands turned upwards, he stands before the *padanda*. The *padanda* now with a frangipani flower thrice sprinkles (*ṅĕtisin*) holy water on (the forehead of) the suppliant and recites a purification (*pĕnlukatan* or *pĕbĕrsihan*-formula beginning "*Oṅkṛti jaya-jaya*...." After this purification the suppliant may receive *paṅhiḍĕp hati*.

(1) The suppliant remains standing before the *padanda* with the palms of the hands turned upwards. The *padanda* thrice sprinkles him with holy water as before, while reciting a Sanskrit *mantra*. Then he thrice pours holy water upon the hands of the suppliant, who washes his face (*mĕrahup*) with it. When the priest gives him water a fourth time, the suppliant moistens his head with it.

(2) Same act as (1), but with a different Sanskrit *mantra*.

(3) The *padanda* thrice pours holy water upon the hands of the suppliant, who drinks it each time.

(4) The *padanda* folds a few grains of yellow rice in a petal of a frangipani flower and hands this packet to the suppliant, who eats it. With this act (4), which is considered *paṅhiḍĕp hati* proper, the ritual is finished.

Another form of the ritual I came to know from the Śaivite priest Ida Padanda Made Sidemen in Sanur. He kindly gave me a written summary of *paṅhiḍĕp hati*, as he performs it. It runs :

Paṅiḍĕp hati/

Masādhana sgā tigaṅ puluṅ/wus minantran raris huntal//

Ma/Oṃ Nini Bhaṭāri Durgga/hiṅsun hañjaluk papaḍaṅ hati/norāna papaḍaṅ hati/ hana damar kuruṅ/ gumlĕṅ riṅ hati/ tĕg byar hapaḍaṅ /3//

paṅhiḍĕp hati

Ingredients are three balls of steamed rice. First a *mantra* is said over them and then they must be swallowed. The *mantra* is : "Oṃ, Divine Lady Durgā, I ask for clearness of mind. If there is no clearness of mind, at least there is a guiding lamp. I concentrate in my mind, and, flash ! it's clear." Thus thrice.

Here too the swallowing of rice—steamed, to be sure—appears to be essential in the ritual. Ida Peranda Gede Singharsa, a Śaivite priest of Penarukan, told me that the eating of grains of rice in the petal of a flower symbolizes that what has been given to the suppliant has indeed entered his person. According to him the act also formed part of a more elaborate ritual called *pĕñarasvatyan* (a term derived from the name *Sarasvatī*).

There is one more interesting feature in this description of *paṅhiḍĕp hati*, namely the *mantra* being addressed to Durgā. Padanda Vellade Sidemen told me that there also existed a *mantra* with the name of Sarasvatī, but that he always used the one in which Durgā is invoked. This gives support to the view put forward by Hooykaas in his study on Sarasvatī, that Sarasvatī and Durgā are sometimes identified in Bali. We may once more refer to the Navarātri festival in southern India, in which Devī is worshipped as Durgā, Mahālakṣmī and Sarasvatī successively.

To sum up, we may say that *paṅhiḍĕp hati* in Balinese Hinduism is a small ritual in the

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private sphere. It shows many variations, which seem to be due not so much to topographical differences as to differences between the traditions adhered to by the priests individually. The constant elements, as in so many other Hindu-Balinese rituals, are an offering and one or more *mantras*, either Sanskrit or Balinese, and in several cases the ritual is confirmed by the suppliant's eating a small quantity of rice in some form.

Paṅhiḍep hati naturally falls within the sphere of Sarasvatī, as is sometimes brought out in the name (*nunas paṅhiḍep hati riṅ Hida Saṅ Hyaṅ Aji-Sarasvatī*). However, the goddess is not always explicitly invoked during the ritual.

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1. In his Āgama Tīrtha. Five studies in Hindu-Balinese religion. Amsterdam, 1964. *VKNAW Lett. NR* dl.LXX, $n^0{}_4$. I want to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Hooykaas for much help and information given to me while writing these notes.
2. This myth is similar to that told in Matsya-purāṇa adhy. 3. According to that version Brahmā even got a fifth face when Sarasvatī rose into the air, but he covered that face with his twisted hair. In the tale in the Ādiparvan of Sunda and Upasunda, Śiva is said to get four faces to look at Tilottamā circumambulating him (MBh. Crit. Ed. I. 203.20 sqq. Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara III.1.136 sq.) This tale was known in Java and Bali (*Old-Javanese Ādiparva*, ed. Juynboll, p. 194 sq.). In the Old-Javanese poem Arjunavivāha by Kaṇva it is Brahmā who becomes four-faced when Tilottamā circumambulates him. One more parallel is given by van der Tuuk in his Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek I 621.
3. Van der Tuuk KBW I 166 gives the forms *pekedep ati* and *peṅidep ati*. His paraphrase : a means to learn quickly. As will be seen the form *paīdep ati ṇot.*
4. *Aji-Sarasvatī* (Learning-Sarasvatī) may be taken as a synonym of *vidyātmikā Sarasvatī.*
5. Cf. Āgama Tērtha, p. 22 and 33 sqq. The MS comes from Denpasar.
6. "Memory-Remember" and "Real Memory." A similar formation of a god's name in Āgama Tērtha, p. 85 : *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tulak Taṅgul*, "Holy Keep-off Ward-off." "A different explanation by R. Goris, Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaanse en Balineesche Theologie (Thesis, Leiden, 1926), p. 116. Oldest occurrence of the name *Tutur Meṅet* in the tale of Kunjarakarna (H. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften X, pp. 67 and 35). *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tutur Meṅét Ki Tutur Meṅét* or *I Tutur Meṅét*) is frequently mentioned in Balinese religious treatises (*tutur*). He is identified with *mānusa-śakti* twice and often localized in some part of the human body. *Saṅ* (*Hyaṅ*) *Tutur Jati* is of a similar nature.
7. In Balinese Hinduism Śiva and Buddha are considered identical in highest reality. Accordingly the Śaivite and the Buddhist priests do not represent different religions, though each has some traditions of his own. In many cases either may officiate (as in *paṅhiḍép hati*), in some cases both. The Buddhist priest may invoke gods that are not originally Buddhist. Cf. Hooykaas, Āgama Tīrtha 9 sq. and 35 sq.

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8. During a study tour to Bali, which I was able to make in 1964 with the aid of the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z. W. O.).
9. I Gusti Made Sumung of Ubud, who by helping me in various ways has obliged me very much.
10. Tjokorda Gde Agung Sukawati of Ubud, to whom and whose family I owe a great debt of gratitude.
11. The paraphrases are mine. For further details, see, Jane Belo, Bali : Temple festival (Monographs of the Am. Ethnol. Soc. XXII, Locust Valley, 1953), pp. 14, 16, 35, 50, 58 and 67 and J. H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen-Boomkamp. Ritual purification of a Balinese temple (VKNAW Lett. NR LXVIII N° 4, Amsterdam, 1961), p. 29, n° 53.
12. No doubt meant in the sense of "the traditions of the Buddhist priest." Cf. note 8.

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ECONOMIC PURSUITS IN ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE

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The thoughts of a particular period have a double importance : as an index of the advancement made by that time and as an important factor influencing the future course of events. Of all countries India is famous for her predominantly religious and philosophical civilisation. It is, therefore, really strange that no attempt has been made to study the influence exercised by Indian ideas and ideals over the economic development of Indian society in ancient times.

In this study of the influence of general philosophical and moral ideas over economic life, our primary and basic task is to evaluate the place of economic pursuits in the total scheme of values. Here we have to answer as to whether economic motives were regarded at all worthy of being pursued.

In general the different views on the subject may be classed into three. In the first, to be termed a balanced view, economic considerations are allotted their proper importance. A second attitude exaggerates the value of economic pursuits and postulates a materialistic outlook. Just opposed to this is the third ideal of asceticism. It discards economic pursuits as futile and advocates a life-negating and other-worldly outlook.

All these three broad views were represented in ancient Indian thought. The balanced view had been propounded by the orthodox ideal of the *dharmaśāstras*. The materialistic outlook found its exponent in Cārvāka, Lokāyata and other allied philosophical schools. The other worldly ideal was advocated by a number of ascetic systems that arose from time to time.

Though the *Ṛgvedic* hymns give an occasional glimpse of the Aryan mind scanning some of the metaphysical questions that have eternally existed,[1] the Aryans do not seem to have subscribed to a pessimistic outlook on life. They found zest in life and wanted to enjoy the pleasures of the world to their full. Their religion, their prayers and their sacrifices betray a utilitarian attitude. They pray for the joys of life, for longivity, health, progeny, wealth, power, success, cattle and an abundance of food and drink.[2]

The pre-Buddhist or *Upaniṣadic* age is the most fertile period in the history of religious and philosophical thought of India. The Indian mind shakes off the light-hearted joyance of the earlier period and is absorbed in finding out the metaphysical implications of life. The theory of *saṃsāra* is clearly enunciated in the *Upaniṣads*, but the general outlook cannot be called pessimistic.[4] But a belief in the unreality of the world, once generated, leads as its logical corollary to a contempt for the world.[5] This paves the ground for the rise

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of ascetic movements. The early Jain and Buddhist works mention a large number of ascetic movements that cropped up in that period.[6] Asceticism seesm to have been in the air in those times.[7] Jainism and Buddhism themselves were two brilliant products of this ascetic trend.

To curb the growing ascetic tendency the ascetic ideal was brought under regulation by being assigned a place in the Aryan scheme of life as detailed in the theory of the four *āśramas* or stages of life.[8] In early literature the first three of these are mentioned, not as successive stages but simply as three branches or types, of life.[9] The period represented by the *dharmasūtras*,[10] the Epics[11] and the later *Upaniṣads*[12] indicates a double course of development. The third stage was differentiated from the fourth and a specific theory of successive stages was formulated. Thus, the people, now, had to pass out the earlier portions of their life in social or economic pursuits before assuming the garb of an ascetic.

Next, there was an attempt at synthesis and harmony. A balance was created between the two divergent views on the nature and values of life and of the pursuit of economic motives. Duty, interest and pleasure were assigned their relative importance in a scheme of life.[13]

India's orthodox or balanced view of life is enshrined in the concept of the four-fold ends of human existence (*puruṣārtha-catuṣṭaya*).[14] All the different philosophical systems of India agree in regarding *mokṣa* to be the ultimate aim of life.[15] It is the highest goal according to which all other activities are to be regulated. But India did not neglect other activities in its zest for transcendental experience. It was realised that the other three aims are not to be totally abandoned but rather are to be informed with the supreme purpose. The vision of the aims into two sets of *vyavahāra* and *paramārtha* or *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, with *mokṣa* placed as *paramārtha* or *nivṛtti* and *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* included in the other group of *vyavahāra* or *pravṛtti*,[16] shows that though the ultimate aim of life was liberation, it was realised that a man should do justice to the varied requirements of his religious and social functions.

Of the three values implied in the concept of *trivarga*,[17] *dharma* is undoubtedly uppermost.[18] It was due to this emphasis that the Indian culture derived its ultimately religious or spiritual orientation.[19] The orthodox view gave primacy to *Dharma* without neglecting *artha* and *kāma*. All these three are to be pursued alike but they have their relative importance.[20] *Dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* have been placed in a graded scheme of value, *kāma* being the lowest. So the pursuit of *artha* and *kāma* has to be in conformity with the ideal of *dharma*. This orthodox view finds detailed and repeated treatment in authoritative works like the *Mahābhārata*, *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas*.[21]

The end of *dharma* no doubt informed *artha* and *kāma* but only in such a way that their harmony was not disturbed. All the three were equally dependent upon one another.[22] As to *kāma*,[23] we find in Manu[24] the recognition of pleasure in its widest sense as the root of all efforts. In the *Gītā*[25] Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with *kāma* that is not opposed to *dharma*. The recognition of the importance of *artha* in the total value of life is found at its best in a passage from the *Mahābhārata*[26] where Arjuna says : 'What is here regarded as *dharma* depends

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entirely on wealth. One who robs another of wealth robs him of his *dharma* as well. Poverty is a state of sinfulness. All kinds of meritorious acts flow from the possession of great wealth, as from wealth spring all religious acts, all pleasures and Heaven itself. From wealth one's merit increases. He that has no wealth has neither this world nor the next. The man that has no wealth succeeds not in performing religious acts, for the latter spring from wealth like rivers from mountains.'

Hence even within the limits prescribed by the orthodox ideal works could be composed dealing with *artha* and *kāma* aspects of life.[27] Sometimes with a view to emphasise the secular aspects of Indian culture it is suggested that the works on *artha* and *kāma* have their separate traditions with radical views opposed to the pet ideals of the *dharmaśāstras*.[28] But this notion of an alleged rivalry is misleading and betrays an utter ignorance of the very fundamentals of Indian ideals and of the contents of *artha* and *kāma* works.[28] The ideal advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* do not clash with the spirit of the *dharmaśāstras*.[30] The *Arthaśāstra*[31] has not an extremist view with a lop-sided emphasis on the mateiralistic aspirations of man. In its scheme of values the different aspects of human existence have their respective importance. It recognizes the need for harmoniously blending the three aims. A man is not to be without pleasure; he should satisfy his aesthetic cravings in harmonious compromise with *dharma* and *artha*, An equal emphasis on the components of the *trivarga* in mutual correlation should be the ideal. Any one of the three followed to an undue extent disturbs the equilibrium of the three. Even the *Kāmasūtra*[32] connected with the satisfaction of sex-impulse recognises the supremacy of the *dharma* ideal and advocates that the balance between the three pursuits should not be disturbed. One should enjoy the three pursuits in correspondence with one another, without there being any conflict among them. Elsewhere the *Kāmasūtra*[33] clearly remarks that in the group of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* each previous one is nobler than the succeeding one.

It was however only natural that works dealing exclusively with a particular aim, even while subscribing to the general orthodox view of a harmonious and balanced pursuit of the three ideals, should emphasise the importance of their respective subjects in order to justify their separate existence.[34] The *Arthaśāstra*[35]contains a lively discussion on the relative importance of the three pursuits quoting the opinion of several earlier schools of thought and individual thinkers. Kauṭilya himself says that of these three *artha* is of supreme importance, since *dharma* and *kāma* depend on it for their fruition. But Kauṭilya's was not the lonely voice emphasising the dependence of other pursuits on *artha* and the importance of the latter in the scheme of life. The followers of Parāśaras,[36] whose opinion is quoted by the *Arthśāstra*, seem to have agreed with Kauṭilya.

The theory of *trivarga* was sought to be implemented in the scheme of the four *āśramas*.[37] The successive *āśramas* provide scope for the realisation of the different ideals.[38] The first *āśrama* is a period of preparation. In the second stage a householder (*gṛhastha*) satisfies his impulses without neglecting his religious and moral duties. Thus, a man enters into the third stage of a hermit with nothing to hold him from gradually advancing through the

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fourth stage to the ultimate ideal of liberation.[39] To discourage the anti-social tendency of early asceticism the *Smṛtis* required the four stages to be followed in their successive order.[40] When Janaka became an ascetic his queen uttered a spirited criticism of the escapist tendency towards asceticism and of people deserting their prescribed duties and responsibilities.[41] The ideal of premature asceticism was tried to be curbed being baneful to the economic and materialistic life of the community. Hence it came to be that the institution of life-long or prolonged celibacy, lauded earlier by Manu,[42] was barred for *Kaliyuga*.[43]

Several authorities remark that all four *āśramas* are open to the Brāhmaṇs, all except *Sannyāsa* to the kṣatriya, all but the last two to the vaiśya and only *gārhasthya* to the śūdra.[44] Laghu-Viṣṇu[45] observes that the ascetic order is meant only for brāhmaṇas and the other three *āśramas* are meant for all *dvijas*. Economic and military pursuits are basically necessary for the preservation of society. It was, therefore, tried that unbridled asceticism might not jeopardise the very existence of society by overflooding the ranks of economic parasites.[46] The prohibition of asceticism for women[47] also had the same purpose in view. The legend of Dīrghatamas indicates that a woman remaining a spinster incurs both sin and loss of caste.[48]

It was the duty of a king, implementing the *dharmaśāstra* injunctions, to see to it that extravagant ascetic leanings did not disturb the economic and material set up of society. The *Arthaśāstra*[49] prescribes punishment for a person who embraces asceticism without making provision for the maintenance of his wife and sons as also to him who converts a woman to asceticism. It further provides that ascetics and other such persons should not be allowed to enter a village and to disturb the villagers in their pursuits by influencing their ideals.[50]

Another ingenious device to check the ascetic trend was the concept of the three debts. The theory postulates that all men owe three debts or responsibilities. The debt due to gods is to be discharged by the performance of prescribed religious duties. A man repays his debts to sages by imparting education and thus promoting traditional culture. But the debt to ancestors can be repaid only by marrying and procreating sons to continue the family.[51] It thus becomes the bounden duty of every human being to enter the life of a householder.[52] The hoary antiquity of this concept is indicated by its formulation in as early a text as the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*.[53]

Moreover, the life of a householder,even though being a continuous chain of miseries, was not held in such contempts as to justify man's shunning it and running after asceticism. On the contrary the status of a householder had its own glory. The householder was regarded as the source of all other *āśramas*. From its fold are born men who take to different *āśramas*. This glorification of family life goes back to the period of Gautama[54] who extols it as the only *āśrama*. Manu[55] says that according to all religious texts and scriptures the life of the householder is above those of the other three because it is he who supports them; as all rivers and rivulets find their rest in the ocean, so all *āśramas* find their abode in that of the householder. The economic dependence of other *āśramas* on the householder and the consequent exaltation of his position is a theme favourite with the *dharmaśāstras*. The householder daily provides members of the other *āśramas* with food and hence his importance and glory[56]. Manu else-

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where indicates that not only were the *brahmacārins* and ascetics dependent upon the provisions supplied by the householder[57] but even a hermit could receive alms from him[58]. The *dharmaśāstras* make even the gods depend upon the householder as he alone can perform sacrifices on which they subsist.[59]

Besides this traditional scheme of life there was also a hedonistic or materialistic point of view which disregarded all considerations of the other world, focussed its attention on the life here and advocated the relentless pursuit of economic motives. This view of life championed by a group of philosophers variously named as the Lokāyata, the Cārvāka or the Bārhaspatya.[60] Beginning as *vitaṇḍā* or casuistry[61] the system gradually proceeded to question the authority even of the *Vedas*[62] and soon came to be affiliated with the theory of naturalism or *svabhāvavāda.*[63] Starting with the proposition of perception being the only source of knowledge[64] it challanged the validity of inference and testimony.[65] Matter thus becomes the only reality.[66] The soul is identified with the living body,[67] and the existence of God is demolished. The sanctions for ethical conduct break down as heaven is reduced to be a myth created by interested priests.[68] Liberation in the sense of freedom from all pains is nothing but death[69]. Thus the higher values of life postulated by the orthodox system have no basis for existence[70]. Out of the four ideals of life the Lokāyata advocated the pursuit of *artha* and *kāma* as the highest goal of life[71]. The attainment of pleasure being dependent upon wealth a man is to give to economic pursuits their due importance. He should aim at deriving the maximum amount of pleasure in his life. Even if pleasure in this world is accepted to be tainted with pain it is no part of wisdom to sacrifice present pleasures for a fear of coming pains.[72] The greatest surplus of pleasure should be the ideal for all. Likewise an immediate pleasure is better than the futile hope for more of it in future.[73]

The system is generally represented to advocate an utterly crude and reprehensible hedonism. The passage purporting to represent the system reveal it as opposed to all established social, moral and religious sanctions. Its shocking hedonism[74] and unbridled sex-indulgence[75] find prominent mention. But in forming an estimate of the system an allowance is to be made for the fact that not a single work by the followers of the system has reached us;[76] the opposite systems naturally emphasise only its weak points. It is again possible that the exaggerated emphasis on crude hedonism characterised the system when it entered upon a *phase* of decline and *degeneration.*

In some works the Cārvākas are said to regard the King as God.[77] It reveals their belief in an established society. Kamalaśīla in his *Nyāyamañjarī*[78] seems to divide the Cārvākas into two groups : *dhūrta* and *suśikṣita* suggesting thereby that some atleast of the adherents of the Cārvāka philosophy were cultured people who probably did not indulge in gross forms of enjoyment. Some works have preserved fragments of the thoughts of people who without being much hindered by considerations of the life hereafter aimed at making their life a success from materialistic or economic standpoint. Śrīdhara[79] takes the tenets and doctrines of the foolish *asura* people referred to in the *Gītā* (XVI. 7-18) to apply to the Lokāyatikas. These people, believing that existence ends finally at death, there being nothing beyond this

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world and its pleasures, gave themselves up to earthly enjoyments. Bound with innumerable desires, anger, attachement etc. they busied themselves in collecting materials of earthly enjoyments even through wrong means. They always thought of their riches, they earned daily, which they accumulated and with which they fulfilled their desires in the present or wished to fulfil in the future; of the enemies they have destroyed, or whom they wish to destroy; of their powers, their success, their joys, their strength, and so forth. Likewise the doctrine preached by Jābāli in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[80] has nothing shocking about it. Jābāli expresses pity that some people prefer virtue in the other world to earthly goods of this world. Criticising the *śrāddha* rites he adds that though intelligent men wrote books praising the merit of gifts, sacrifices, initiation and asceticism, in reality there is nothing more than what is directly perceived by the senses. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[81] refers to a sect of people of very ancient origin who approximate closely the group of cultured Cārvākas. These people are described as free to live wherever they liked, unworried by conventions, pure at heart and blameless in action. Virtue or vice they had none; they lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom in which men could move without the fear of conventional dogmas of religion and social usage.

The materialistic view seems to have has a grip over a considerable number of men.[82] It was its earlier importance which explains the zealous efforts of other schools of thought to criticise and demolish its view ever when it had declined as a philosophical system. The derivation of the term Lokāyata suggests that the system originally meaning 'the science of disputation, sophistry and casuistry' must have been quite popular to be explained also as 'prevalent in the world or among the common peoole.'[83]. . The high degree of economic and material advancement made in ancient times testify to the profound influence of the system in those times. Life even with all its pains was regarded as worthliving for its joys which, it must be the endeavour of all to multiply and augment. The importance attached to the cultivation of accomplishments included in the traditional list of sixty-four arts and crafts reveals that there was a conscious effort to increase the joys of life and to make the best use of one's economic and material resources. Kṛṣṇa Miśra[84] records that according to the Cārvākas law and State-craft (*daṇḍanīti*) is the only science, the science of *vārtā* falling within it. Kauṭilya[85] attributes a similar view to a Bṛhaspati who is of the opinion that agriculture, trade and commerce (*vārtā*) and law and State-craft (*daṇḍanīti*) are the only sciences. Most likely this Bṛhaspati was none else than the originator of the Cārvāka or Lokāyata system.[86] Thus the Cārvāka system seems to have emphasised the importance and encouraged the study of sciences that improve economic life.[87] The period in which the system flourished may be roughly placed between the sixth century *B.C.* and the fifth century *A.D.*[88] The aesthetic and economic advancements in ancient times indicate that even though the system was not actively and openly subscribed to by people it went a long way to introduce vital changes in the very attitude towards these aspects of life.

But in later times the system became disreputed and its influence declined. The gross immorality of some of its adherents might have been an important factor. The critical onslaughts by other schools of thought[89] was responsible for weakening its strength as a phi-

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losophical system. The stereo-typed accounts of the system in several medieval works[90] suggest that the system had ceased to be a living force. The scant regard paid to the philosophical system of the Cārvākas by Śaṅkara[91] and his followers shows that it was no longer a force to be reckoned with.

Before the beginning of the early medieval period of Indian history we find both the Cārvāka view and the *dharma* ideal to have declined in their influence. The equilibrium between the three ideals was disturbed. Buddhism affected the balanced ideal in the orthodox system by releasing ascetic tendency hitherto kept in check.[92] Asceticism previously denied to women-folk was now granted to them[93] with the result that family life in general lost much of its earlier stability and sanctity. Formerly it had been so arranged that the economic groups did not have much scope for asceticism. Buddhism tried to demolish caste barriers and threw open the ascetic path for all alike.[94]

The popularity of the absolutistic Vedānta, which had its best exponent in Śaṅkara, gave an impetus to the fashion for asceticism. Even though the modern exponents of Vedānta try to maintain that this philosophy is not detrimental to practical life,[95] it is to be admitted that the theory of the unreality of the world (*mithyā*)[96] had not a happy stabilizing influence over society. Life, if known to have an illusory character, loses much of its zest, and, as of logic, economic activity or worldly life as such comes to be taken at a discount.[97] Śaṅkara, moreover was in favour of an ascetic ideal[98] and was responsible for disturbing the traditional balanced ideal by his opinion that there was no need of passing through all the stages of life successively and that a man could enter the path of asceticism directly from the stage of a *brahmacārin.*[99] A support for the view was found in a passage from the *Jabālopaniṣad*[100] meaning that whether a man has fulfilled his *vrata* or not, whether he has performed *samāvartana* (the ceremonial bath after studying *Veda*) or not, whether his (Vedic) fires have ceased or not, he should resort to the wandering ascetic's life the very day on which he feels disgusted with mundane affairs some who suggested that this passage of the *Jābālopaniṣad* relates only to those having no right or eligibility for, performing Vedic rites were answered by Śaṅkara[101] with the remark that the passage contains the general prescription that the *parivrajyā* stage of life can be embraced by all who seek release from *saṃsāra*. Thus, family life came to lose much of its earlier sanctity. We can very well imagine the profound impact of this Vedāntic thought. The influence of the Vedāntic system on Indian thought is known to have been considerable.[102] Though Śaṅkara has to be assigned the date between *A.D.* 788 and 822,[103] the beginning of the Vedāntic system can be traced to an earlier period.[104]

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6. Cf. R. N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp. 337-47; J. C. Jain, *Op.cit.*, pp. 202-7.
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8. Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, II, 84.
9. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, 418ff; Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 368.
10. *Āpastamba*, II, 9, 21, 1; *Gautama*, III, 2; *Vasiṣṭha*, VII, 1-2; *Baudhāyana*, II, 6, 17.
11. *Mahābhārata* (cr. edn.), XII, 276, 12-13. See Vaidya, *Epic India*, pp. 316ff.
12. *Jābāla*, 4; *Chāndogya*, II, 23, I; V, 10; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, 10, 22.
13. *Mbh.*, V, 124, 34-38; XII, 167, 8-9; *Gautama*, IX, 46-47; *Viṣṇu* LXXI, 84.
14. *Mbh.*, XII, 59, 72, 76; XII, 165, 8; XVIII, 5, 50; II, 5, 6; *Manu*, VII, 100; *Raghuvaṁśa*, X, 84, 22; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 18, 21; *Amarakośa*, II, 7, 57. The *caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemadri deals with the ways and means to attain the *puruṣārtha-caturvarga*.
15. K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Hindu View of Life*, pp. 24ff; Chatterji and Dutt, *Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, p. 24. cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, pp. 5-9; *Śākuntala*, VII, p. 35. *Mamāpi ca kṣapayatu nīlalohitaḥ punarbhavaṁ parigataśaktirātmabhūḥ*. The Jainas and the Buddhists also aim at *Nirvāṇa*. But see *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (pp. 513-15) for earlier passages suggesting that a few thinkers did not accept *mokṣa* as the highest ideal.
16. *Mbh.* (Cr. edn.), XII, 59, 29-31. The *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, II, 1-2 distinguishes between *śreyas* and *preyas*. Cf. *Manu*, XII, 88f; *Aṣṭāvakragītā*, XVIII, 61.
17. Cf. the view of Tiruvalluvar—K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Hindu View of Life*, p. 6.
18. A passage in the *Daśakumāracarita* (Kale Tr., pp. 50f) illustrating this point of view deserves to be quoted in full : "Foolish, indeed, are the worldly beings that would place *artha* and *kāma* on an equal footing with *dharma*....To be sure, without *dharma* the other two cannot exist, but without regard to them *dharma* alone is the creative cause of final beatitude, and is attainable only by the practice of meditation. Unlike *artha* and *kāma* it does not depend on external means supported by the knowledge of the reality, it is not affected by *artha* and *kāma* however pursued; or even if affected, it is set right by little exertion and eradicating that fault also it secures not a little bliss.... All these, by virtue of knowledge, do not affect *dharma* : a mind that is purified by piety admits of no quality of *rajas*, any more than the atmosphere can be defiled by dust. I therefore hold that artha and kāma are not to be regarded as comparable even in the hundredth degree, with *dharma*."
19. This has sometimes led scholars to describe India as a land of life-negating ascetics.

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Cf. Albert Schweitzer, *Indian thought and its development*; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in evolution*, II, pp. 105f.

20. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 11, 6; Bhāgavata *Purāṇa*, VII, 14, 10; VIII, 16, 11; *Naiṣadhīya*, XIV, 81; Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II (*E.* ;. VI, no. 1) gṛhṇaṃ svaguṇaistrivargatuṅgā.

21. For passages requiring the regulation of *artha* and *Kāma* by *dharma* and the rejection of *artha* and *kāma* opposed to *dharma* see *Manu*, IV, 176; *Viṣṇu dharmasūtra*, LXXI, 84; *Mbh.*, XIII, 111, 18-19; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 11, 7. *Gautama*, IX, 46-47, enjoins that one should not allow the morning, midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* are concerned and that among these three one should attach most importance to *dharma*. Cf. *Yājña*, I, 115. *Manu*, II, 224, mentions the different views about the principal aim of life and advises that one should strive for all the three. In the *Mahābhārata* the question has been discussed at many places : A wise man tries to secure all three, but, if all three cannot be attained, he secures *dharma* and *artha* or only *dharma* if he has a choice of only one from among the three. A man of middling discipline prefers *artha* to the other two; *dharma* is the source of both *artha* and *kāma*" --*Udyoga*, 124, 34-38; *dharma* is the best, *artha* is middling and *kāma* is the lowest; a man should so act that *dharma* would be the principal god of his life—*Śānti*, 167, 8-9. See also *Mbh.*, XVIII, 5, 62-63; IX, 60, 22; VII, 151, 37; *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 21, 57-58; II, 1, 22; II, 100, 64. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXLI, 4, says that of a man devoid of *dharma* the *artha* and *kāma* activities are like the son of a barren woman, that *artha* and *kāma* are to be regulated by *dharma* and that with the help of *dharma* can be achieved the two worlds. Cf. *Mbh.*, XVIII, 5, 75.

22. Cf. *Padma Purāṇa*, VI, 248, 12.

23. See *Mbh.*, III, 33, 37-38 for the definition of *kāma*.

24. II, 2-4.

25. VII, 11. The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, II, 8, 20, 22-23 allows a man to enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to *dharma* and adds that in this way one secures both worlds.

26. XII, 8, 6-33. Cf. *ibid*; XII, 167, 12-14; XII, 15, 47. The *dharmaśāstras* also contain many regulations on topics concerned with *artha* K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Indian Cameralism*, p. 50.

27. The eighteen *vidyās* are classified into two groups, of which the one of *dṛṣṭaphala* includes *Āyurveda*, *Dhanurveda*, *Gandharvaveda* and *Arthaśāstra*—Lakṣmidhara, *Kṛtyakalpataru*, *Brahmacārikāṇḍa*, p. 22. works on *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* have alike been given a divine origin—*Mbh.*, XII, 336, 38-46; XII, 59, 80-85; *Kāmasūtra*, I, 1, 5-8. Cf. K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*, pp. 13f.

28. Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*.

29. K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Indian Cameralism*, pp. 32f, 38; *Social and Political System of Manusmṛti*, Lecture 1.

30. The opinion of *Nārada* (I, 37) and *Hārīta* (q. in *Smṛticandrikā*, *Vyavahāra*, p. 26) that in

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judicial proceedings there must be a harmonious application of the maxims of *arthaśāstra* and *dharmaśāstra* reveals the traditional standpoint on the subject. Vijñāneśvara (*Mitākṣarā* on Yājña, II, 21) includes *arthaśāstra* in the orbit of *dharmaśāstra*. The *Arthaśāstra*, III, 1 (p. 150), itself lays down that in case of a discord between the art of ordinary life and *dharmaśāstra*, the rule of *artha* should be construed in harmony with the rule of *dharma*.

31. I, 7-*Dharmārthāvirodhena kāmaṃ seveta. Na nissukhah syāt. Samaṃ vā trivargamanyonyānubandhanaṃ. Eko hi atyāsevito dharmārthākamānāmātmānamitarau ca pīḍayati.*
32. II, 1—*Anyonyānubaddhaṃ parasparasyānupaghātakaṃ trivargaṃ seveta.*
33. II, 14—*Teṣāṃ samavāye pūrvah pūrvo garīyān.* See also *ibid.*, VIII, 58-59—a mastery of the treatise will result only in a proper comprehension of sex-desire and its control as well as the proper uses of desire, and contribute to one's triumph in this world and in the hereafter.
34. Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, pp. 5-9.
35. I, 7—*Artha eva pradhāna iti Kauṭilyah. Arthamūlau hi dharmakāmau iti.*
36. VIII, 3—*Arthadūṣaṇadaṇḍapāruṣyayorarthadūṣaṇaṃ garīyāḥ iti Parāśarah. Arthamūlau dharmakāmau. Arthapratibandhaśca loko varttate. Tasyopaghāto garīyān.*
37. It has been lauded by western scholars as without any parallel in the entire history of mankind—Deussen, *Philosophy of Upaniṣads*, p. 367.
38. Cf. A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 98.
39. *Raghuvaṃśa*, I, 8; *Śākuntala*, IV, 19; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, X, 10-12; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Vii, 12, 1-31; VII, 13, 1-10; VII, 14.
40. *Manu*, IV, 1; VI, 1, 33-37, 87, 88; *Dakṣa*, I, 8-9; *Baudhāyana Dharamasūtra*, II, 17, 16. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, pp. 424 ff. Cf. *Vedāntasūtra* III, 440. One could embrace the garb of an ascetic only after having fulfilled his social and domestic responsibilities. Cf. the rule that a householder may betake himself to the forest when he sees his skin wrinkled and his hair growing white and sees the sons of his sons—*Manu* VI, 2.
41. XII, 18, 1-26.
42. II, 243, 249.
43. B. Bhattacharya, *Kalivarjyas*, pp. 46-48.
44. *Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra*, VIII, 1; *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra*, XIV, 117-8; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, XIV, 117-8; *Yogi Yājñavalkya* q. by K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Indian Cameralism*, p. 60, n. 1.
45. V, 13.
46. Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 63, 11-14; XII, 18, 32.
47. *Yama* q. in *Smṛticandrikā*, *Vyavahāra*, p. 596. *Atri*, 136-37, also includes *pravrajyā* in a list of six actions that lead to sinfulness in the case of women and śūdras. The *pravrajitā* of *Manu*, VIII, 63, refers to one of a heretical sect. *Manu*, IX, 89, has been explained by Varadarāja, *Vyavahāranirṇaya*, p. 389 as an *arthavāda*.
48. *Mbh.*, I, 113, 36-37. Cf. *Manu*, IX, 91, 96.

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49. II, 1.
50. *Ibid.*
51. See also the rules concerning *pañcamahāyajñas*—*Manu*, III, 69-80.
52. *Ibid.*, VI, 35-37.
53. VI, 3, 10, 15.
54. III, 1, 35-36.
55. VI, 89-90. cf. *Baudhāyana*, II, 6, 29, 42-43; *Raghuvaṃśa*, V, 10—*sarvopakārakṣamamāśramaṃ te; Naiṣadhīya*, XVII, 32; *Śākuntala*, p. 242.
56. *Manu*, III, 77-78. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 106, 22.
57. II, 49ff; VI, 50ff, III, 94.
58. VI, 27-28.
59. *Manu*, III, 84. For the vindication of the position of women see *Manu*, III, 55-60; *Mbh.*, XIII, 46, 15; K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Social and Political System of Manusmṛti*, pp. 163f.
60. S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, III, pp. 512-50; D. Sastri, *Short History of Hindu Materialism*; S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, ch. V; D. R. Sastri, Materialist, Scepties and Agnostics in *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III.
61. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, I, 163; *Dīghanikāya*, III, 1, 3; *Jātaka*, VI, 286; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 630, 633; *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, v. 112; *Artha*, I, 1; *Nyāyamanjarī* p. 270; Medhātithi on *Manu* VII, 43. The system, though derided by the Buddhists, was studied by the orthodox thinkers as being without any reproach. Cf. *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, VI, 8, 9.
62. *Manu*, II, 11; IV, 30; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, 6, 29-31; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XI, 18; 30.
63. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 1, 9-10 and Silaṅka's commentary; *Bṛhadārṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 12; IV, 5, 13. Cf. the *dehātmavādins* in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII, 7, 8. See also *Mbh.*, XII, 186.
64. *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, v. 83-*mānaṃ tvakṣajameva hi; Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.
65. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 7-13.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 7, v. 3; also pp. 2-3; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.
67. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 7, vv. 4-5; also pp. 3-6; *Sarvasiddhāntasārasañgraha*, II, 6-7; *Ṣaḍdar-śanasamuccaya*, vv. 84, 82; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.
68. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 4-5, 13-15; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, pp. 56-57. Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 18, 82, 83, 85.
69. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 6, 7, v. 2-*dehasya nāśo muktistu na jñānānmuktiriṣyate*; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.
70. *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, vv. 80-82, 85-86. Cf. *Naiṣadhīya*, XVII, 37-83.
71. *Sarvadarśanasaṇgraha*, p. 2; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.
72. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 3-4; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, pp. 58-59.
73. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, pp. 57-58. Cf. *Kāmasūtra*, I, 2, 29, 30—*varamadya kapotaḥ śvomayūrāt*.
74. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 14, v. 7—*Yāvajjivetsukham jīvedṛṇaṃ kṛtvā ghṛtaṃ pibet* etc.; *ibid.*, p. 2; *Ṣaḍdarśanasemuccaya*, v. 82; *Sūtrakṛtāngasūtra*, I, 3, 4, 9; Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 341-42.

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75. Guṇaratna's commentary on *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 300; *Naiṣadhīya*, XVII, 41ff. Cf. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 3-6—*aṅganādyāliṅganādijanyaṃ sukhameva puruṣārthaḥ*; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 58.

76. Cf. *Tattvopaplavasiṃha* of Jayarāsi of the eighth century.

77. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 6—*lokasiddho rājāparameśvaraḥ*; *ibid.*, p. 7, v. 2.

78. pp. 64, 467.

79. On *Gītā*, xvi, 9.

80. II, 108, 3-17.

81. III, 18, 5-32.

82. See *Prabodhacandrodaya*, pp. 60-61 for the boastful enumeration of regions where Cārvāka principles had its strongholds. See also *ibid.*, p. 56—*tena ca śisyopaśiṣyadvāreṇāsmin loke bahulīkṛtaṃ tantram.*

83. Guṇaratna's commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 300—*lokā nirvicārāḥ sāmānyā lokastadvad ācaranti sma iti lokāyatāḥ.* Cf. V. S. Abhankar, *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, Upodghāta, p. 98—*anāyāsenaiva loke prasṛtaṃ bhavati iti ato Lokāyatamiti ucyate.* The term *lokāyata* in *lokāyatayajñamantreṣu niṣṇātaḥ* in *Divyāvadāna* (p. 619) is to be explained as *lokeṣu āyatah.* See also S. N. Dasgupta, *Op. cit.*, pp. 514-15. Manu has many references to *nāstikas* and *pāṣaṇḍas*—II, 11; III, 150, 161, IV, 30, 61, 163; V 89; VIII, 22, 309; IX, 65, 66; XII, 33, 95, 96.

84. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56.

85. Artha I, 2. See *ibid.*, pp. 6, 29, 63, 177, 192.

86. Cf. *Padma Purāṇa*, *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa*, XII, 318-40; *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 2—*Bṛhaspatimatānusāriṇā nāstikaśiromaṇinā Cārvākena*; *ibid*; pp. 13ff verses introduced by the expression *tadetatsarvaṃ Bṛhaspatināpyuktam*; *ibid*; p. 5; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, II, 25; D. Sastri, *Cārvāka Ṣaṣti*, pp. 11-13. Another tradition ascribes it to Vācaspati. Cf. *Prabodhacandrodaya*, p. 56 Guṇaratna's commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 307.

87. Cf. the description of the *lokāyata* branch of learning in Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 171.

88. Materialism seems to go back to an early antiquity—Garbe, *The Philosophy of Ancient India*, p. 25; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 24; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 12. Cf. Uccedavādis in *Jātaka*, V, 239; Ajita Keśakambalin in *Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, II, 22-24; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 73ff; B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 287ff; A. L. Basham, *History of the Ājīvikas*, p. 15. For Pali references to Lokāyata see Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, 166. See the *nāstika* view in the *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra*, 7, fols. 26-28. Lokāyata teacher is referred to in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*—A. L. Basham, *loc, cit.*, p. 232. Lokāyatas are mentconed in Candrakīrti's commentary on the *Mādhyamika sūtra* (Bib Buddhiia, IV, p. 336). See also *Mbh.*, XII, 38-39 for the view of Cārvāka Rākṣasa. The original Lokāyata work in the form probably of *sūtras* had at least two commentaries, the earlier of which is to be placed in c. 300 or 400 B. C. See Kātyāyana and Patañjali on Pāṇini, VII, 3, 45; S. N. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, III, p. 532.

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89. Cf. Kamalaśīla, *Pañjika*, pp. 525-27, 532; Vidyānandi, *Tattvārthaślokavārttika*, pp. 26-52; Jayanta, *Nyāyamañjarī*, pp. 439-41, 467f, 470-73; Udayana, *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, III, 5, 6.
90. Cf. *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, I, *Sarvasiddhāntasārasaṅgraha*, II, *Prabodhacandrodaya*, II and *Ṣaḍdarsanasamuccaya* for identical passages and expressions.
91. *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra*, III, 3, 53.
92. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, p. 609.
93. *Aṅguttaranikāya*, IV, 274; *Cullavagga*, X, I, 3, 8; *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha*; R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 464-66.
94. No body was disqualified from becoming a member of the Buddhist church on the ground of caste—N. Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, I, pp. 280-82; *Mahāvagga*, I, 39-47, 50, 61, 71. In *Madhurasutta* (J. R. A. S., 1894, pp. 349ff) the Buddha speaks of a Kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra who becomes an ascetic receiving the same respect as a brāhmaṇa ascetic. See also *Vinaya*, II, 239—As the rivers lose, each its indivedual distinction, after falling into the ocean so the monks lose all their distinctions as regards social status after joining the monastic order. See also Fick, *Social Organisation*, pp. 60ff. For the Buddha's attitude to caste see E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 128; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 153f.
95. Cf. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, pp. 621-34.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 561-90.
97. Cf. F. Max Muller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 253; J. Mckenzie, *Hindu Ethics*, pp. 208f.
98. *Bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra*, III, 4, 20.
99. *Bhāṣya* on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 5, 1.
100. 4.
101. *Bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra, III, 4, 20.
102. Radhakrishnan, *Hindu View of Life*, pp. 61-70 describes Śaṅkara's view of the unreality of the phenomenal world as implied in *dharma*.
103. J. O. R., XI, p. 285; R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 364, n. 156.
104. As Śaṅkara himself says he was a pupil of Govinda whom tradition describes as a disciple of Gauḍapāda. Gauḍapādas *Kārikā* is the first to represent the Advaita thought systematically. Gauḍapada is to be placed somewhere about A. D. 550—Jacobi, *J. A. O. S.*, April 1913. Śaṅkara himself refers to earlier Advaita teachers—Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 467, n. 1.

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LOCATION OF DEVAGIRI DESCRIBED IN KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTA

By

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

It is universally admitted that Kālidāsa had accurate geographical knowledge. He has described in his works several hills, rivers and towns, but nowhere has there been found any inaccuracy in his description. On the other hand, he has been acclaimed as a master artist who draws the pen picture of a locality with a few touches. In the *Meghadūta* the poet has described several countries, mountains, rivers and towns, most of which have been accurately identified; but in a few cases the location is still uncertain. It is proposed to discuss one such case in the present article.

In the *Meghadūta* the exiled Yaksha describes the way of the Cloud-messenger from Rāmagiri to Alakā and mentions several hills, rivers and towns lying on it. As I have shown elsewhere,[1] Rāmagiri, where the Yaksha was sojourning, can now be satisfactorily identified with Rāmṭek, about 28 miles north of Nagpur.[2] On his northern way from Rāmagiri to Vidiśā, the Cloudmessenger was to meet, in order, the Māla country, the hill Āmrakūṭa, the river Narmadā and then Vidiśā, the capital of the Daśārṇa country, I have shown elsewhere that the Māla country corresponds to the Siwani-Chhapara table-land of the Sātpuḍā mountain.[3] The hill Āmrakūṭa, which the Cloud was to reach by turning a little to the west from Māla and then again proceeding to the north, is evidently the hill near the modern village Amarwāḍa[4](ancient Āmravāṭaka) in the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Pradesh. After pouring some showers on the hill and getting lighter, the Cloud was to reach the Narmadā, after flying some distance more speedily. The Cloud must have crossed the river somewhere in the Narsinghpur District, where its stream, shattered at the foot of the Vindhya, appeared like painted streaks on the body of an elephant. Thereafter the Cloud was to visit Vidiśā, which is undoubtedly identical with modern Besnagar (ancient Vaidiśanagara mentioned in some old inscriptions) near Bhilsā.

On its northward journey from Vidiśā to Alakā in the Himālayas the Cloud would not have visited Ujjayinī, but the poet wanted to take him there because it was his own place of residence and he wanted an opportunity to describe it. So the Yaksha is made to say to the Cloud-messenger, "Though the way would be circuitous for going to the north, do not, O Cloud, fail to take interest in the terraces of Ujjayinī." The Yaksha therefore describes the small rivers Vananadī, Sindhu, Śiprā, Gandhavatī and Gambhīrā, flowing on the way to or in the vicinity of Ujjayinī. After giving a graphic description of Ujjayinī,

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the river Śiprā, the flourishing markets of the City and the temple of Mahākāla, the Yaksha proceeds to describe, in the Cloud's further journey, the hill Devagiri and the temple of Kārttikeya on it in the following verses.[5]

त्वन्निष्यन्दोच्छ्वसितवसुधागन्धसम्पर्करम्यः
स्रोतोरन्ध्रध्वनितमधुरं दन्तिभिः पीयमानः।
नीचैर्वास्यत्युपजिगमिषोर्देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते
शीतो वातः परिणमयिता काननोडुम्बराणाम्॥
तत्र स्कन्दं नियतवसतिं पुण्यमेघीकृतात्मा
पुष्पासारैः स्नपयतु भवान्व्योमगङ्गाजलार्द्रैः।
रक्षाहेतोर्नवशशिभृता वासवीनां चमूना-
मत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे सम्भृतं तद्धि तेजः॥
ज्योतिर्लेखावलयि गलितं यस्य बर्हं भवानी
पुत्रप्रेम्णा कुवलयदलप्रापि कर्णे करोति।
धौतापाङ्गं हरशशिरुचा पावकेस्तं मयूरं
पश्चादद्रिग्रहणगुरुभिर्गर्जितैर्नर्तयेथाः॥
आराध्यैनं शरवणभवं देवमुल्लङ्घिताध्वा
सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद्वीणिभिर्मुक्तमार्गः।
व्यालम्बेथाः सुरभितनयालम्भजां मानयिष्य-
न्स्रोतोमूर्त्या भुवि परिणतां रन्तिदेवस्य कीर्तिम्॥ V. 44-47

Let us next see what information we gather from these verses about the location of Devagiri.

[The cool breeze, which ripens wild figs, which is agreeable owing to its contact with the smell of the earth swollen by thy showers, and which is inhaled by the elephants with a sweet sound in their trunks, will blow beneath thee, desirous of approaching Devagiri (V. 44).

Assuming the form of a flower, thou wilt sprinkle on Kārttikeya, who has taken up his abode permanently there, showers of blossoms wet with the water of the celestial Gaṅgā; for that lustre, surpassing the Sun, was placed by Śiva, who has a new moon on the forehead, in the mouth of fire with a view to the protection of Indra's armies (V. 45).

Afterwards, with thy thunderings made greater by being reechoed by the mountain, thou wilt cause that peacock of Kārttikeya to dance, the outer corners of whose eyes are brightened by the lustre of Śiva's moon, and whose fallen feather, covered with circles of streaks of lustre, Pārvatī palces on her ear, in stead of a lotus, through affection for her son—(V. 46).

After worshipping the god Kārttikeya born in the forest of Kuśā grass, thou, whose paths left by the couples of the Siddhas with lutes in their hands, through fear of water-drops, and who hast travelled some distance, wilt hang over, intending to honour it, the fame of Rantideva, which has assumed on the earth the form of a stream (viz. the river Charmaṇvatī) and which was sprung from the sacrifice of kine(V. 47).]

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The Cloud-messenger was to meet the river Gambhīrā first after leaving Ujjayinī (V. 42). This river flows at a distance of about 20 miles from Ujjayinī. After crossing it, the Cloud would meet a forest of Udumbara trees in the midst of which there was a famous temple of Kārttikeya. Usually Kālidāsa does not devote more than one verse to the description of a place in the *Meghadūta*, but we find that he has devoted as many as four verses to the description of the temple of Kārttikeya on the Devagiri hill, which indicates its importance in the age of the poet. Thereafter, the Cloud would come across the river Charmaṇvatī (modern Chambal) after crossing some distance (V. 47). It was then to go to Daśapura (Modern Mandasor) (V. 49). So the hill of Devagiri lay between Ujjayinī and Mandasor, or, within narrower limits, between the Gambhīrā and the Charmaṇvatī.

Various conjectures have been made by scholars about the location of this Devagiri. Several editors of the *Meghadūta* have contented themselves by remarking that it was situated in Malwa. They have not attempted to fix its exact location. Dr. V. G. Paranjape says, in the Notes to his edition of the *Meghadūta*,[6] that there is a Devagaḍh situated 60 miles to the south-west of Jhansi. But it cannot be the Devagiri described in the *Meghadūta*. That Devagaḍh is on the bank of the Vetravatī, modern Betwā, while the Devagiri described in the *Meghadūta* lay between the Gambhīrā and the Charmaṇvatī. Devagaḍh on the Betwā had indeed a temple of the Gupta age, now in a ruined condition, but it was dedicated to Vishnu, judging by the panels affixed to its basement. It was not sacred to Kārttikeya. Kārttikeya no doubt appears there in a panel, but he is there in a subordinate position, the panel being of Viṣṇu lying on the serpent Śesha. Cunningham[7] and Vats[8] have described the remains at Devagaḍh, but neither of them describes any temple of Kārttikeya there. So this Devagaḍh cannot represent ancient Devagiri described in the *Meghadūta*.

Prof. K. B. Pathak identifies Devagiri with 'Devagarh situated south of the Chambal in the centre of Malwa.' He has not given the exact location of this place. I scrutinised carefully the Degree Map 46 M of the Survey of India and found only one place of the name Deogarh (long. 75.27 and lat. 23.53), about 5 miles south of the confluence of the Chambal and the Śiprā. As the Gambhīrā is a tributary of the Śiprā, the description in the *Meghadūta* that the Cloud would visit the place after crossing the Gambhīrā may be said to suit this Devagadh. The place is situated in a hilly region, but it is not known if it has any ancient remains. It has not yet been surveyed archaeologically. Besides, the description in the *Meghadūta* that the Cloud would halt at the river Charmaṇvatī *after crossing some distance* (*ullaṅghit-ādhvā*) from Devagiri scarcely suits Devgaḍh, which lies only five miles east of the Chambal. So, though this Devagadh lies on the way from Ujjayinī to Mandasor, it cannot be definitely identified with Devagiri described by Kālidāsa.

The late Mr. M. B. Garde, who was Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, for several years, attempted to locate Devagiri by touring in the region Ujjayini-Mandasor. He identified it with the hill Dev Ḍungri near the Railway Station Unhel on the Ujjain-Nagda Branch of the Western Railway.[9] "Dev Ḍungri is", says he, "13 or 14 miles, half by a metalled road and half by a cart track, to the north-west of Unhel Station on the Ujjain-

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Nagda branch of the B. B. C. I. Railway." According to the description given by Mr. Garde, it is a small hill, about 1,000 ft. long, 400 ft. broad, and 100 ft. high. There is no other hill in its vicinity. There are at present two temples on the hill, one of Bhairava and the other of Devadharmarāja. The latter is shown as riding a horse, with a spear in hand. He represents Kārttikeya. Just as in Maharashtra Skanda-Kārttikeya is worshipped as Khaṇḍobā, in Central India he is named Devadharmarāja. The present temple of Devadharmarāja on the hill of Dev Ḍungri is indeed not very old, but it probably marks an old site of a temple of Kārttikeya and may have been erected after the ancient temple of the god fell in ruins.

I tried to locate this Dev Ḍungri in the Degree Map 46 M, but could not trace it at a distance of 13 or 14 miles *north-west* of the Railway Station of Unhel. The Chambal flows only at a distance of 3 or 4 miles west of the Unhel Station. If Dev Ḍungri is situated 13 or 14 miles north-west of the Unhel Station, it would be *west* of the Chambal, not *east* as described in the *Meghadūta*; for the Cloud was to meet the river after crossing some distance from Devagiri. There appeared thus some mistake in the account of the situation of Dev Ḍungri given by Mr. Garde.

I therefore consulted my friend Mr. Krishna Dev, who was then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, at Bhopal. He not only correctly located the place but sent me a detailed topographical map of the surrounding territory. It shows that Dev Ḍungri is situated near the village Antalia, about 10 miles *north* of the village Unhel (not 13 or 14 miles *north-west* from the Unhel station). It is on the way from Ujjayinī to Mandasor. The Cloud must have crossed the Gambhīrā after flying about 20 miles north-west from Ujjayinī. Dev Ḍungri is only about 5 miles to the north-west. After worshipping Kārttikeya at Devagiri (modern Dev Ḍungri), the Cloud must have been required to fly about 30 miles north-west to reach the Chambal and further about 25 miles to go to Daśapura (modern Mandasor). So the situation of Dev Ḍungri answers to the description of Devagiri in the *Meghadūta*.

The temple of Kārttikeya at Devagiri seems to have been very famous in the time of Kālidāsa. It was held as very sacred, for the poet refers in V. 47 to the popular belief that the couples of the Siddhas used to visit the place for propitiating the god with music. Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya is now believed to have made Ujjayinī his second capital after overthrowing the Kshatrapas of Malwa and Kathiawad. That Kālidāsa also was staying at Ujjayinī appears almost certain, since he makes the Cloud-messenger visit the place though it did not lie on his way from Vidiśā to Alakā. He evidently knew the Vidiśā-Ujjayinī-Daśapura territory thoroughly; for he has given a graphic description of even the small hills and rivers therein. It can be easily conjectured that the Gupta Emperors must have greatly venerated and supported the temple of Kārttikeya on the hill of Devagiri (modern Dev Ḍungri), which lay only about 25 miles north-west of Ujjayinī. Chandragupta II, though himself *a parama-bhāgavata*[10] (a devout worshipper of Vishṇu), named his son Kumāragupta after the god Kārttikeya, probably because he believed that he was born to him by the grace of that god. Kumāragupta I also was a devotee of Kārttikeya. He issued beautiful gold coins which have, on the reverse, the image of Kārttikeya riding a peacock.[11] He also named

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his son Skandagupta evidently because of his devotion to the same War-God. Kālidāsa composed his *Kumārasambhava* in honour of the same god. In all these matters we see the great influence of the sacred temple of Kārttikeya on Devagiri, which was situated not far from the Gupta capital of Ujjayinī.

REFERENCES

1. See *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 12 f.; Vol. II, pp. 291 f.
2. Mr. V. K. Paranjape identifies Rāmagiri with Rāmgaḍh in the former Sirguja state in Madhya Pradesh, but the description of the Cloud-messenger's way in the *Meghadūta* does not suit it. Loc. cit.
3. Mr. Paranjape identifies Māla with Māldā near Ratanpur in Chhattisgadh, but it lies not north but southwest of Rāmgaḍh,which he takes to be Rāmagiri.
4. Āmrakūṭa cannot be identified with Amarkaṇṭak as supposed by Mr. Pranjape, because it lies *west* of Rāmgaḍh, not *north* as described in the *Meghadūta*. Besides, the Cloud would have seen the Narmadā just at Amarkaṇṭak, and not after flying considerable distance from it with greater speed as described in the *Meghadūta*.
5. The verses are numbered as in Prof. K. B. Pathak's second edition of the *Meghadūta*. The translation given below is also adopted from the same edition with slight alterations.
6. *Meghadūta* with the com. of Sthiradeva, ed. by V. G. Paranjape, p. 160. In his critical edition of the *Meghadūta* Dr. S· K. De does not attempt any identification of the place.
7. *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 105 f.
8. M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M. A. S. I., No. 70).
9. *Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India* for 1925-26, p. 192.
10. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III (ed. by Fleet), p. 38.
11. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 203 f.

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THE HUNAS IN THE GANGETJC BASIN

By

KAILAS CHANDRA OJHA, ALLAHABAD

There has been much discussion about the Hūṇa dominions in India. So far as the Gangetic Basin is concerned, the Hūṇas are generally regarded as mere raiders. They are thought to come only up to Eran under Toramāṇa and afterwards excelled from this region for ever in the time of his son Mihirakula. Writing on them, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has taken a still more destructive view of their activities in India.[1] The learned Doctor has raised doubts about the very basic facts viz., whether the Hūṇas invaded India at all, or Mihirakula was the son of Toramāṇa and so on. Inspite of some new discoveriės Dr. Majumdar clings to the old theory for expansion of the Hūṇas at most upto Eran and their expulsion from there in the time of Mihirakula. A balanced consideration of all up-to-date material goes a long way to modify these views.

From the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula it is quite clear that he was son of Toramāṇa. In this regard, no doubt, the later half of his father's name has peeled off and only 'Tora' is preserved. But presence of a record of Toramāṇa at the same place and identity of his coin-types with those of Mihirakula leaves little doubt that Toramāṇa is the full name of Mihirakula's father. Occurrence of the name of Dhanyavishṇu in the Eran (Gwalior) inscription of Toramāṇa as also in the Eran (Gwalior) epigraph of Budhagupta as the local subordinate ruler shows clearly that Toramāṇa conquered Eran region from the Guptas and so he came before Mihirakula whose inscription also is found at the same place.

The Sassano-Ephthelite type coins of Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, Laukhāṇa, Jarīva and Khingila indicate clearly that they flourished in the same dynasty, and that of foreign rulers. Their coins are found also in the same area and on the same level. From their inscriptions and seals it is evident that they occupied not only the Indus valley but annexed almost the whole of Gangetic basin to their dominions. Now the invaders of India of this time, who are none other than these rulers, are unanimously named Hūṇa not only in Indian literature but also in the Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta, Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Aphsad inscription of the later Guptas. There does not remain any uncertainty about Toramāṇa, Mihirakula etc. being the Indian Hūṇa, whatever may be their precise racial origin—Hiung-nu, Ephthalite or Chionite.

From the Eran inscriptions of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula it is quite certain that these invaders conquered upto Gwalior near the river Jamuna. Generally this has been accepted as the eastern-most boundary of the Hūṇa penetration in the Gangetic basin. But discovery of a seal of Toramāṇa and another of a 'Hūṇarāja' in the excavations at Kauśāmbī extends this boundary upto Allahabad. The Nalanda seal of Luvkhāṇa, Jarīva etc.

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makes the Hūṇas advance upto Bihar. In the light of these discoveries the statement of Yuan Chwang that the Gupta emperor of Magadha was a feudatory of the Hūṇarāja Mihirakula and that of the AMMK that Toramāṇa (?) conquered upto Gauḍa and died at Banaras do not appear to be quite unfounded. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman gives the impression that the Hūṇas and their king Mihirakula were the greatest power of their time.

It is generally held that from the time of Mihirakula the Hūṇas were expelled from northern India and their king Mihirakula, defeated by the Gupta king Bālāditya, took refuge in Kashmir and Gandhāra. The main basis for this opinion is an account of the Buddhist pilgrim Yuan Chwang describing defeat of the anti-Buddhist Hūṇa ruler at the hands of the Buddhist Bālāditya. But this account of the Buddhist pilgrim, who has given some more inaccurate statements, seems to be wrong. Dr. Majumdar himself is hardly ready to rely upon the statements of this pilgrim. Then again, even the Chinese pilgrim does not say that after Mihirakula the Hūṇa kingdom in India came to an end. He, no doubt, refers to the refuge of Mihirakula in Kashmir, but he says clearly that after Mihirakula the Hūṇa dominions came to be restored under Mihirakula's brother. There is no reference at all to appropriation of Hūṇa territories by Bālāditya. Also the Mandasor praśasti of Yaśodharman has been cited in support of Mihirakula's expulsion from northern India. But in fact this boastful Eulogy mentions only 'bowing down of Mihirakula's head to Yaśodharman's feet', that is, at most Mihirakula's defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman and also perhaps former's acceptance of latter's supremacy. There is not even the slightest indication of Mihirakula's expulsion in this record.

From reference to the Hūṇas in the Aphsad inscription probably after Mihirakula as also from the Nalanda seal mentioning some post-Mihirakula Hūṇa rulers like Jarīva, Laukhāṇa etc., whose Hūṇa type coins are found in large number, it is clear that Hūṇa rule lasted in the Gangetic valley much after Mihirakula.

The Hūṇa rule in the Gangetic basin seems to have come to a close in the Gangetic basin in the time of Harshavardhana.

After Harshavardhana almost the whole of northern India came under a number of Rajput clans which exist even to-day. These people have Hindu names and perform Hindu religious rites. They also claim their descent from Hindu mythological personalities. But these very claims raise doubt about their being indigenous Hindus. They are quite unknown in early Indian literature. Many of them like Gurjaras have been shown clearly to have come to India with the Hūṇas from Central Asia. In their several racial qualities and customs these people are different from old Hindus. All this has made several scholars to think that the Rajputs were originally Hūṇas. Later on they got Hinduized. If this be true, and prima facie there is nothing wrong with it, then the Hūṇas must be accepted to have exerted a very great and enduring influence on the Indian society of the Gangetic Basin.

REFERENCES

1. See R. C. Majumdar's articles on the Hūṇa in NHIP, Vol. VI, 1946 and the Classical Age, 1955.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE[1]

By

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, DHARWAR

1. *Introduction*

I feel it a proud privilege to have had an opportunity to say a few words on a subject which is so dear to the scholars assembled here, viz., Archaeology and Sanskrit Literature. During the last two decades, Indian archaeological researches have made great strides in recording discoveries, exploring and excavating important cultural sites, deciphering and publishing ancient inscriptions, coins etc. which contribute to the unravelling of the character and spirit of ancient Indian culture (*Bhāratīya Sanskriti*). We have to note here that the proper and correct understanding and interpretation of this vast mass of material depends upon the knolwedge and study of Sanskrit language and literature. After Indian Independence in 1947, we have begun to realise the importance of the study of the Sanskrit language and literature which is fast waning in its homeland, and the Government of India are making best efforts to popularise it by endowing special grants for the preservation and propagation of traditional Sanskrit studies. Under the special circumstance, it would be quite opportune to emphasise the need of Sanskrit learning to understand the content and character of Indian culture. Without the knowledge of Sanskrit, any attempt to know the heritage of India's past will be futile and incomplete. The popular encomium bestowed upon the Mahābhārata यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्रचित्--"What is here is found elsewhere and what is not here exists no where" is literally true in the case of Sanskrit studies.

II. (i) *Knowledge of Sanskrit and* (ii) *Of Ancient script: essential qualifications of an archaeologist:*

Archaeology is the science to understand the achievements of man in the past ages. It envisages the study of cultural remains standing on the surface of the earth or buried underground, so as to present a connected account of man's activities through the ages to unravel the past events as they actually happened. A good archaeologist has to be equipped with the knowledge of not only all social sciences like geology, anthropology, sociology, geography and geochronology etc., but also of the ancient Indian history on the background of world history, and Sanskrit literature, folklore and traditions. He must be a thorough student of Vedic and Puranic literature, classical Sanskrit, Avesta and Prakrits of the Buddhist and Jain canons. If one is not familiar with the vast mass of anciliary source materials, the conclusions and surmises drawn by him on the cultural remains unearthed or discovered in his explorations and study are likely to go wide off the mark and lead him astray. Of this, the most important source material is comprised in the vast mass of Sanskrit literature from the Vedic to the classical and modern period. It is my object in this paper to show how the knolwledge

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and study of Sanskrit literature and Archaeology are inter-related and mutually help each other to know the truth. The study of Epigraphy supplements and elucidates many a problem in Sanskrit literature and similarly the Sanskrit literature helps the correct solution of the knotty problems in archaeology. For this, one should be familiar with the numerous varieties of ancient Indian scripts in which the ancient documents are couched. I need not detain you by explaining the several stages of evolution of the Indian scripts both North Indian and South Indian from the parent stock of Brāhhmī of the pre-Mauryan period. Suffice it to say that the knowledge of the different ancient Indian alphabets will facilitate the reading of old literary manuscript works as well as inscriptions which throw open the rich heritage of Indian culture and scholarship.

III. *Scope of Archaeology*

(i) Exploration and excavation.
(ii) Art and architecture
(iii) Numismatics
(iv) Epigraphy.

Indian Archaeology is generally understood in its narrow sense of exploration and excavation of ancient cultural sites. This is not so. The word archaeology in its widest application connotes the science of the study of antiquities whether they be unearthed from the excavated sites, or found scattered on the surface in the form of architectural, sculptural or artistic remains, inscriptions, coins and other belongings which narrate the story of man's activities in the contemporary period. These remains have to be critically examined and interpreted so as to yield a connected account of his doings. This is indeed a highly delicate and responsible task. Here we require the help of ancient Sanskrit literature to support and corroborate our inferences or surmises deduced from the finds unearthed or discovered.

Here, we should pause and take stock of the latest discoveries of the Archaeologists at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa which have taken the origin of Indian civilization to hoary antiquity. Not being satisfied with the traditional conviction that the Indian Culture was Vedic i.e. based on the Vedas which are not written words and so cannot be assigned to any specific age, these new investigators started their enquiry, independent of Vedic evidence and tried to interpret the peculiar finds unearthed at the Indus valley sites with the comparative method of equating the relics with the similar ones found in the Western and Eastern hemisphere, particularly on the Mediterranean belt. All attempts to get a satisfactory solution of the problems have failed. Scholars are divided in their opinion about the character of the civilization represented by the Indus finds: some affiliating it to Dravidian—not the Dravidians of South India—others to Āryans or Vedic. The investigators, I should observe, are thoroughly incompetent to conduct their enquiry in the highly technical line if they are not fully equipped with the knowledge of the Vedas and the inner spirit of the Vedic Culture which is the root of all off-shoots of traditions current in India from times immemorial. The scholars trained in the so-called "critical" methods of mechanical indexing of Vedic words and subjects cannot approach the fringe of the highly enigmatic representations

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found on the seals and sealings discovered in the Harappan sites which are, to my mind, expressive of spiritual ideas about God, soul and inner workings of the mind etc. A seal bearing the figure of a horned *yogi* with attendants and some beasts by the side was a puzzle for some time. One Indian scholar tried to interpret it as a representation of Śiva with the bull and lion, seated in a *yoga* pose. Similarly a dancing figure in the antiquities was identified with the prototypes of Puranic *Naṭarāja.* The tall standing figures with arms let down are considered to represent the prototypes of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras or Vedic ascetics. This has gained currency among the scholars. It is my firm opinion that Mohenjo Daro and Harappa seals and writings can be interpreted with great plausibility, with the help of the legends and stories given in the Vedas and the *Tantra* literature where the development of script is treated on a spiritual basis. This is sure to solve the riddle which has remained an enigma to scholars. Here, I should reiterate my plea that an Archaeologist, if he is not fully equipped, should not hazard his researches in a field where the knowledge and scholarship of the Vedas, Upanishads, auxiliary sciences viz., *Nirkuta* and *Chhandas* etc., (*Vedāṅgas*) is essential. It is possible to explain the plaques bearing the figures of animals and human beings, as representations of some Vedic legends on the authority of the Vedic hymns themselves.

We shall turn our attention to proto-historic antiquities found on the surface or recovered in the exploration and excavation of ancient sites.

(ii) *Art and Architecture*

Let us take for example the sculptures, temples and other works of art. India is a land of temples with a rich storage of sculptures of various descriptions. They are generally divided into three classes—Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu and the last constitutes mainly Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava. Though it is possible to appreciate and evaluate their artistic excellence from the external study of the specimens, their significance and purpose can be made out only by a correlated study of the description of the objects as given in the literary texts. Thus, the ancient Sanskrit manuals of *Mānasāra* of the 6th and 7th cent *A. D.* the Agni-Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇas, the encyclopaedic works like *Mānasōllāsa* of Chālukya Bhūlōkamalla Sōmeśvara, *Śiva-tatvaratnākara* of Keḷadi *Ś*ivappa Nāyaka, to quote only a few, are an indispensable guides to understand their significance. The Western Indian cave temples and later structural buildings of different styles and patterns can be grouped together under three heads *Vesara*, *Nāgora* and *Drāviḍa* from the distinguishing features of each style, as defined in the above-mentioned texts. A cursory perusal of the large number of Sanskrit works on art will convince a reader that these manuals must have helped the artisans of Mathura, Cave Architects and sculpturs, Chalukya and Hoysala artists, in executing their assignment with perfection and excellence of delineation and expressiveness. The different forms of Naṭarāja having arms from two to eighteen, of Viṣṇu in his ten and more *avatāras* with respective attendants, Brahmā, the celestial beings Gandharvas and Kinnaras and other figures found in temples in innumerable varieties of modulation and embellishments can be assigned a proper place in the art galleries of the ancient temples and their function under-

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stood, when we are informed of the distinctive featueres of each specimen. The study of technical literature on these subjects which is written in Sanskrit language is quite essential. It may further be observed that architectural monuments are the best exhibits to illustrate the description given in the treatises.

(iii) *Numismatics*

Let us take up the next topic in Archaeology, namely, *Coins.* Due to the efforts of coin collectors and from the excavated sites, big hoards of coins have been brought to light. They are made of various metals, lead, gold, silver, copper and alloy in different sizes with a variety of shapes, globular, rectangular, square, circular, or round and so on. Some of them bear legends on the obverse and emblems and marks on the reverse. The age of these fragments ranges from the pre-Christian date to the modren period. How to identify them and know their value ? We can at the best classify them under different groups according to size and name of the king, assign them to particular periods also, by proper analysis and examination. Their approximate value also can be determined in vague terms from the gradations in weight. But their name and currency value can be made out only by their mention in literature and Epigraphs. The weight, the metal and gradations as well as the general execution will help in their identification with the specimens occurring in literature. The Vedic texts, the *Nirukta*, *Smriti literature*, the epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa to wit, among the ancient Sanskrit works, contain very interesting allusions to different types of coins, mints and trade guilds with their patent symbols and trade marks. Recently the discovery of punch-marked coins has set scholars to speculate on their age and currency value. A passage in the Buddhist work *Visuddhmagga* by Buddhaghosha (5th Cent. *A.D.*) explains this type of coins in silver and alloy or copper bearing various symbols as representing the mints where they were minted or the trade marks of a Firm which issued them. A few punch-marked coins were found at Dharwar some years ago which are noticed in the Mysore Arch. Report for 1938. They show the symbols—hill, sun, bull, circle with pellet in the centre, arrow-head and taurine symbols. Among the animals, bulls, elephants, jackal, frog are seen. These will have to be interpreted accordingly as indicating the trade marks or the place of minting. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the Aṣṭādhyāi of Pāṇini support this interpretatilon. The *Sūtra* रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप् । (V.2. 120) shows that a symbol (रूप) was punched (आहत) on a metalic piece in the mode of manufacturing the currency in Pāṇini's time. The verse in the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* :

ताम्रलौहैः परिवृताः निधयो ये चतुःशताः ।
पञ्चद्रौणिक एकैकः सुवर्णस्याहतस्य वै ॥

mentions आहतसुवर्ण which means रूप्य or punch-marked coin; Pāṇini's Sūtra शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कम् (V. 2. 199) is explained in काशिका as शतान्तात् सहस्रान्तात् च प्रातिपदिकात् ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति मत्वर्थे तौ चेच्छतसहस्रशब्दौ निष्कात्परौ भवतः। निष्कशतमस्तीति नैष्कशतिकः। नैष्कसहस्रिकः। which shows that निष्क was a coin. The Rigvedic reference to Nishka in निष्कग्रीवो बृहदुक्थ

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एना च वाजयु: (V. 19.3) points to its being a coin though some scholars have taken it to mean 'gold' only *Bṛhaduktha* is said to have worn a chain of *Nishka* round his neck. शतं दासीसहस्राणि......निष्ककण्ठ्य: स्वलंकृता:।

Sabhā-parvan of the Mahābhārata (54-12) supports the view that the *Nishka* coins were formed into a garland and worn round the neck. We get numerous references to *Nishka* in inscriptions which should be interpreted with the aid of literary evidence...... *Nishka* means, according to *Amarakośa*,

साष्टे शते सुवर्णानां हेम्न्युरोभूषणे पले।
दीनारेऽपि च निष्कोऽस्त्री.....॥
(III, 3, 13-14),

a coin also,

Similarly, we have got many references to different types of coins in the *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Sūtras of Pāṇini*, Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtra, the Mahābhārata and the *Smritis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. They all relate to punch-marked coins which have baffled the attempts of scholars to understand their value in currency. Such coins are, to quote a few, *Nishka*, *Suvarṇa*, *Śatamāna*, *Śāṇa* and *Prati.* They are manufactured from gold, silver or copper in different denominations. I have referred to *Nishka* and *Suvarṇa* above; शतमान (*Śatamāna*) is mentioned in the शतपथब्राह्मण (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*) :

तस्मै त्रीणि शतमानानि हिरण्यानि दक्षिणा (5/5/5/14)
रजतं हिरण्मयं दक्षिणा नानारूपतया शतमानं भवति।
शतायुर्वै पुरुष:।
(13/4/2/10)

as a coin of silver and gold. The Vanaparvan (134, 14) states, अष्टौ शाणा: शतमानं भवति that eight Śāṇas go to make one *Śatamāna*. Here another coin शाण (*Śāṇa*) is introduced. Kārshāpaṇa is mentioned in Kātyāyana's Vārtika on the Sūtra कंसाद्टिठन् (V, 1,25) viz., कार्षापणाट्टिठन् वक्तव्य:। प्रतिरादेशश्च वा। The examples given by Bhattōji Dikshita, कार्षापण:, कार्षापणिकी प्रतिक:, प्रतिकी explain the terms as the names of coins. Similarly compare the Sūtra शतमान-विंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण्। (V, 1,27), where the example शतमानेन क्रीतं शातमानम् points to the term शतमान (Śatamāna) as a coin. In the *Nārada Rājanīti* of *Sabhā Parvan* (5, 68) the following verse occurs :

कच्चिद् बीजं च भक्तं च कर्षकायावसीदते।
प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददन्नृणमनुग्रहम्॥

"Do you give to the distressed agriculturists compassionate loans at the interest one *pratika* to hundred ? Here *Pratika* is the same as *Prati* of Kātyāyana which is a small coin. It is interesting to note that a verse in the third book of *Mahābhārata* mentions the punch-marked coins with the symbols of *padma* (lotus) and triśūla (trident) punched on them.

ततो द्वारावतीं गच्छेन्नियतो नियतासन:।
पिण्डारके नर: स्नात्वा लभेद्बहुसुवर्णकम्॥

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नास्मिस्तीर्थे महाभाग पद्मलक्षणलक्षिताः ।
अद्यापि मुद्रा दृश्यन्ते तदद्भुतमरिन्दम ॥
त्रिशूलाङ्कानि पद्मानि दृश्यन्ते कुरुनन्दन ॥

Here the reference is to the *Suvarṇa* coin bearing the punch marks of *Padma* (lotus) and *triśūla* (trident). This short discussion is enough to show how the study of Sanskrit literature helps to clarify the problems of *Numismatics* which is an important subject in Archaeology. Similarly the help of Epigraphs has to be sought to understand the significance of the references in literature. In the above mentioned verse प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या etc., प्रतिक could not be understood and a scholar suggested the emendation of the text प्रतिकं into प्रत्येकं. He did not know that Pratīka was a coin. The Nasik Cave Inscription (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, No. 12) records the gift of 1000 *kahāpaṇas* (kārshāpaṇas) at *Padika* (*Pratīka*) rate of interest and similarly the Kaṇheri Cave Inscription No. 15 (Burgess *Arch. Survey W. I.* Vol. V, pp. 79-80) registers an endowment of 200 *Karsappanas* at *pratīka* rate of interest. Thus, no emendation of the text is necessary.

(IV) *Epigraphy* :

I now turn to Epigraphy which is the most important branch of Archaeology. Most of the early inscriptions were written in ornate Sanskrit (and Prakrit) for which the knowledge of Sanskrit is essential. In later inscriptions, both Sanskrit and regional languages are employed, but Sanskrit continues to be a powerful vehicle of expression for all religious and secular purposes. It may be observed that Sanskrit was the spoken language of the learned people in India from the earliest times while the common masses used one or the other form of Prakrit in their homes, though Sanskrit was intelligible to them. The inscriptions of Aśoka belonging to the 3rd Cent. *B.C.* appear to be Prakrit versions of the Sanskrit originals and all the fourteen Rock Edicts and the Pillar and Minor Edicts of the Mauryan Emperor lend support to the conclusion that Sanskrit was the spoken and intelligible language from the earliest times of the Indian history. I will show by quoting relevant texts how Epigraphy and Sanskrit literature are mutually helpful in widening our knowledge of Indian Culture. That this divine speech (गीर्वाणवाणी) was not confined to the limits of the Bhāratavarṣa, but had spread far and wide into the eastern and western countries beyond, is gathered from the study of stone and copper plate records found in Burma, Malaya-Peninsula, Borneo, Java, Champa (South Annam), in the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The following verse in a stone record of Champa gives an idea of the polish of the Sanskrit language known to the people there :—

यत्किंचिद्रजतं सुवर्णमपि वा सस्थावरं जंगमम् ।
कोष्ठागारकतो धनं प्रियहिते सर्वं विसृष्टं मया ॥
. . . तदेवं मयाऽनुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यम् ।

A record from Kāmboja (Cambodia) has the following verse in *Gauḍī* style— :

नमोऽनङ्गाङ्गनिर्भङ्गसङ्गिनेऽपि विराजिणे ।
अङ्गनापघनालिङ्गलीनार्धाङ्गाय शम्भवे ॥

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पातु वः पुण्डरीकाक्षवक्षोनिक्षिप्तकौस्तुभम् ।
लक्ष्मीस्तनमुखाक्लिष्टं कपवक्षामचान्दनम् ॥

In the west, the region of the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions—Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Seistan, –Sanskrit and Prakrit inscriptions have been found. The foreign invaders from Khotan viz., Kaniṣka etc. and Śakas had adopted Sanskrit as their official language. The extent of Sanskrit influence had reached Ceylon and Central Asia, Chinese Turkistan, as the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions found there are written in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. Sir Aurel Stein has discovered Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in Brāhmī script of the Gupta period, in Central Asia and Eastern Iran in which some passages are found identical with the texts in *Vajra chhedika, Sukhavalivyūha, Prajñāpāramitā, Buddhacharita, Lalitavisttara and Divyāvadāna*—all Buddhist works. One of the passages reads as follows :

अथ खलु भगवान् शाक्यमुनिस्तथागतोऽर्हत्सम्यक्संबुद्धः समत्वमेव बहुजनहिताय प्रतिपन्न एवाचिन्त्य-युगधर्मे; etc.

It will not be out of place to mention that Hindu Gods and temples wrought in different styles of sculptural and architectural art, assignable to the 4th-5th Cent *A.D.*. are found in America, particularly in the states of Tabasco and Chiapas in Mexico etc. It may be observed here that, but for the archaeological explorations and excavations, this spread of Sanskrit and Prakrit in the far off countries is the East and West would not have been brought to the notice of scholars.

It may further be noted that most of the ancient sculptures like the sports of Krishna, the marriage of Śiva-Pārvatī, the play of chess by Śiva with Pārvatī, the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and their exploits etc. found in North and South Indian art centres like Mathura, Ayodhya, Elephanta, Ellora caves, Badami-Aiholi Pattadkal etc. can be better understood with the aid of Śaiva & Viṣṇava Purāṇas particularly Bhāgavata. This renders the study of Sanskrit as a compulsory requisite of good Archaeologist and Artist.

Indian Epigraphs provide rich materials for the embellishment of Sanskrit literature by their highly polished and elegant style exhibiting large varieties of figures of speech pertaining to word as well as sense (शब्दालङ्कार & अर्थालङ्कार) Their compositions deserve to be ranked with those of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Daṇḍin. In prose and Champū style, the performance of Epigraphical poets excels the well known prose writers like Bāṇa. The Junagad Rock Inscription of Rudradāman, Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, Mandsore Inscription of Kumaragupta, Talgund Pillar Inscription of Kākustha Varman and Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II, may be cited here as providing the best pieces of Sanskrit and Prakrits in prose and poetry. The following few verses and prose passages from each of the records mentioned above are worth a perusal, for the dignity of expression, elegance of style and the loftiness of ideas.

1. *Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 42ff.)

४. . .गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७० (+)२

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5 मार्ग्गशीर्षबहुलप्रति [पदि]...सृष्टवृष्टिना पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता।
6 पलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्धत्तैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम...र्यमाणानुरूपप्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृशपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलाविक्षिप्तजर्ज्जरीकृतावदीर्ण्णशिक्षिप्ताश्मवृक्षगुल्मलताप्रतानं आनदीतलादित्युद्धाटितमासीत्॥

2. *Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta* (Fleet : *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* III, p. 6ff.)

प्रदानभुजविक्रमप्रशमशास्त्रवाक्योदयै-
रुपर्युपरि सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः।
पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्जटान्तर्गुहा-
निरोधपरिमोक्षशीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं पयः।

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीपपरिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलितमतेः खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायकध्रुवभूतिपुत्रस्य सांधिविग्रहिककुमरामात्यमहादण्डनायकहरिषेणस्य सर्वभूतहितसुखायास्तु॥

3. *The Mandsor Stone Inscriptions of Kumargupta* (473 *A. D.*)

The description of Dasapura (Das'or) is given here :—

मत्तेभगण्डतटविच्युतदानविन्दु-
सिक्तोपलाचलसहस्रविभूषणायाः।
पुष्पावनम्रतरुमण्डवतंसकाया
भूमेः परं तिलकभूतमिदं क्रमेण॥
विलोलवीचीचलितारविन्द-
पतद्रजः पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः।
स्वकेसरोदारभरावभुग्नैः
क्वचित्सरांस्यंबुरुहैश्च भान्ति॥४॥
चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथा-
न्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि।
तडिल्लताचित्रसिताभकूट-
तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र॥
प्रासादमालाभिरलङ्कृतानि
धरां विदार्येव समुत्थितानि।
विमानमालासदृशानि यत्र
गृहाणि पूर्णेन्दुकरामलानि॥२॥

These verses are in imitation of the verses in Kālidasa's Meghadūta. The poet is *Vatsabhaṭṭi*.

4. *Talgund Pillar Inscription of Kākustha Varman* : (6th Cent. *A. D.*) (Ep Ind. Vol. VIII pp. 31ff.)

ज्यायोभिस्सह विग्रहोर्ऽथिषु दया सम्यक् प्रजापालनम्।
दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधानवसुभिर्मुख्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम्॥

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यस्यैतत्कुलभूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रज्ञोत्तरं भूषणम्।
तं भूपाः खलु मेनिरे सुरसखं काकुस्थमत्रागतम्।।
धर्म्माक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षराजिं प्रविश्य।
च्छाया सेवामृडितमनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति।।
तद्वज्ज्यायो विहतगतयो वान्धवास्सानुबंधाः।
प्रापुः शर्म्माव्यथितमनसो यस्य भूमिं प्रविश्य।।
नानाविधद्रविणसारसमुच्चयेषु। मत्तद्विपेन्द्रमदवासितगोपुरेषु।।
संगीतवल्गुनिनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य। लक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे।।

5. *AiholeDigvijaya praśasti of Pulikeśin* II : (*A.D.* 634) (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI.)

The description of the Varada river and the army of Pulikeśin.

वरदातुङ्गतरङ्गविलसद्धंसावलीमेखलां
बनवासीमवमृद्गतस्सुरपुरप्रस्पर्द्धिनीं सम्पदा।।
महता यस्य वलार्णवेन परितः सञ्छादितोर्वीतलम्।
स्थलदुर्गं जलदुर्गतामिव गतं तत्तत्क्षणे पश्यताम्।।
प्रशस्तिर्वासतेश्चास्याः जिनस्य त्रिजगद्गुरोः।
कर्ता कारयिता चापि रविकीर्तिकृती स्वयम्।
येनायोजि नवेश्मस्थिरमर्थविधौ विवेकिना जिनवेश्म।
स विजयतां रविकीर्तिः कविताश्रितकालिदासभारविकीर्तिः।।

Ravikirti expresses his indebtedness to Kālidāsa and Bhāravi for his poetical powers.

6. *Mandsore Inscription of Yaśodharman* : (*A.D.* 532)

गामेवोन्मातुमूर्ध्वं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालम्
निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः।
सेनाऽऽकल्पान्तकालावधिरवनिभुजा श्रीयशोवर्मणाऽयम्
स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिरामास्थिरभुजपरिघेणोच्छ्रितिं नायितोऽत्र।।

Mark the high pitch of the poetic imagination here.

The prose style of the inscriptions may be illustrated by the following typical examples (Penukoṇḍa *C.p.* ins. of Mādhava *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 334f.)

जितम्भगवता गतघनगगनाभेन पद्मनाभेन। श्रीमज्जाह्नवेयकुलामलव्योमभासनभास्करस्य स्वभुजजवजयजनितसुजनजनपदस्य दारुणारिगणविदारणरणोपलब्धव्रणभूषणस्य काण्वायनसगोत्रस्य श्रीमत्कोङ्कणिवर्म्म-महाधिराजस्य पुत्रस्य पितुरन्वागतगुणस्य नानाशास्त्रार्थसद्भावाधिगमप्रणीतमतिविशेषस्य नीतिशास्त्रस्य वक्तृ-प्रयोक्तृकुशलस्य सम्यक् प्रजापालनमात्राधिगतराज्ययोजनस्य श्रीमन्माधवमहाधिराजस्य...

(v) (a) Inscriptional and literary poets :

(b) Sanskrit literature in Inscriptions :

Hundreds of gems of poets can be recovered from oblivion from the great mass of inscriptions lying all over India, belonging to different periods and Royal families. Most of them were patronised by the king or his viceroys with munificient gifts of money and

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honours. The inscriptions further furnish invaluable synchronisms or clues to determine the dates of classical poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Daṇḍin etc. The Aihole *Praśasti* dated in *A.D.* 634 compares its author Ravikīrti with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. The Mandsore inscription of *A.D.* 457 contains verses in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta. This takes back the date of Kālidāsa to earlier than 5th Cent *A.D.* A clue to the date of Māgha is obtained from the inscription of Varmalatā dated *A.D.* 625, whose minister Suprabhadeva was the grandfather of Māgha. Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya had been commented upon by Durvinīta the Western Ganga king of the 5th-6th Cen. *A.D.* as evidenced by the Ganga inscriptions. Thus, the Sanskrit literature is enriched immensely by the epigraphical compositions which are in no way inferior to the best works of the classical authors. It may further be added that some whole Kāvyas, Purāṇas, and Vaṃsa-*charitas* are incised on slabs which are still preserved and brought to light by the efforts of the Epigraphists. Such are :—(1) The Sūryaśataka of Mayūra (10th Cent *A.D.*) engraved on a pillar in the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Kāñchī (2) The Dramas Pārijātamañjarī, Harakeli-nāṭaka, Lolitavigraharāja-nāṭaka, and the poems like Kūrma-śataka, Kodaṇḍa kāyya, and the Rājavamśa-chārita (Rājapraśasti)—a Mahākāvya consisting of 24 cantos engraved on 25 slabs are found on the stone slabs at Dhar, Mandu, Ajmer, Udaipur and Tajnore. The Halāyudha *stotra* in the Amarēśvaṛa temple at Māndhāta is also worth a mention. For these works, no manuscripts are available and the inscriptions are the only reliable sources from which the texts have been constituted and published. A careful examination of the Epigraphical materials is sure to yield very fruitful results more astounding than the ones mentioned above.

(vi) *Conclusion* :

Thus, I have given in brief in the foregoing narrative how archaeology is benefited by the Sanskrit studies and what gains it has in its turn conferred upon the stock of Sanskrit literature. The various technical terminology and usages of words and expressions contained in the inscriptions which are now ebsolete are an inestimable gift to Sanskrit lexicology which is otherwise lost to the student of linguistics and philology. As I have observed in the beginning of the paper यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्रचित् the study of Sanskrit is a panacia for all deficiencies to bring perfection in our equipment and we would be lifted to the higher regions of cultural layers where we can understand and enjoy the true spirit of our BHARATIYA-DARSANA (Indian Culture).

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कच्छपघात (कछवाहा) वंश

लेखक

(स्व०) महामहोपाध्याय पण्डित विश्वेश्वरनाथ रेउ

यह वंश सर्वसाधारण में 'कछवाहा' या 'कछावा' नाम से प्रसिद्ध है, और संस्कृत के लेखों में यह 'कच्छपघात' या 'कच्छपारि' के नाम से सूचित किया गया है। 'कच्छपघात' का अर्थ कछुओं का मारना या मारने वाला, और 'कच्छपारि' का अर्थ कछुओं का शत्रु होता है। इसका शब्दार्थ एक राजपूत जाति के लिए क्या महत्त्व प्रदर्शित करता है यह कहना कठिन है। सम्भव है इसका सम्बन्ध विष्णु के कच्छप अवतार से, अथवा इस नाम के मूलपुरुष से रहा हो, और उक्त नाम का संस्कृत रूप बनाने वालों ने 'सुलतान' का 'सुरत्राण' की तरह 'कछवाहा' का 'कच्छपघात' कर दिया हो। जिस प्रकार देवों की रक्षा के सूचक 'सुरत्राण' से 'सुलतान' का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, उसी प्रकार 'कच्छपघात' से 'कछवाहा' या 'कछावा' का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है।

कछवाहा राजपूत अपने को सूर्यवंशी और श्री रामचन्द्र के पुत्र कुश के वंशज मानते हैं, तथा 'कछवाहा' का शुद्ध रूप 'कुशवाहा' बतलाते हैं। परन्तु शिलालेखों और प्राचीन पुस्तकों में इस शब्द का प्रयोग न मिलने से प्रतीत होता है कि जिस प्रकार 'कच्छपघात' पण्डितों की एक प्राचीन मनगढन्त है, उसी प्रकार यह 'कुशवाह' उनके मन की एक नवीन उपज है।

जनरल कनिङ्हाम कछवाहों और नागवंशियों का एक होना अनुमान करते हैं। सम्भव है उनके इस मन्तव्य का आधार कछवाहों का नरवर के साथ का प्राचीन सम्बन्ध हो, जहां पर पहले नागवंशी राजाओं का राज्य था। परन्तु नागवंशियों के बाद नरवर पर पहले विष्णुवर्धन आदि वरीकों का, यौद्धेयों का और चौहानों का राज्य रहा था, और बाद में कछवाहों का अधिकार हुआ था। अतः इनका नागवंश से सम्बन्ध मानना निराधार ही है।

कछवाहा वंश का विक्रम-संवत् (या ईसवी सन्) १००० के पहले का कोई लेख अब तक नहीं मिला है, और न उस काल के पूर्व के अन्य नरेशों के लेखों या ताम्रपत्रों में ही इस वंश का प्रसङ्गोपात्त नाम देखने में आता है। इस वंश के राजा पहले कन्नौज नरेशों के सामन्त थे, और इनका राज्य ग्वालियर, नरवर और उनके आसपास के प्रदेशों पर रहा था। इनका प्राचीन इतिहास अधिक नहीं मिलता। राजमाण आदि भाटों की पुस्तकों और जयपुर की ख्यातों में जो वंशावली दी है, उसमें अधिकतर नाम बनावटी ही हैं। हां, कछवाहों के आम्बेर पर अधिकार होने के आसपास के नाम ठीक हो सकते हैं। परन्तु उद्धरण तक के राजाओं का उनमें दिया समय अविश्वसनीय ही है।

ग्वालियर के कछवाहे

ग्वालियर से मिले लक्ष्मण और वज्रदामा लेखों में इनकी वंशावली लक्ष्मण से मिलती है, जिसके पुत्र वज्रदामा ने, गाधिपुर (कन्नौज) के राजा के प्रताप को दूर कर, अपने बाहुबल से गोपाद्रि (ग्वालियर का किला) विजय किया था। सम्भव है उस समय कन्नौज का राजा प्रतिहार विजयपाल हो, जिसके समय कन्नौज का राज्य कमज़ोर हो गया था, और उसके सामन्त स्वतन्त्र होने लगे थे। इस विजयपाल के पुत्र राज्यपाल को महोबा के चन्देल और कछवाहों ने मिलकर मारा था। इससे उस समय की कन्नौज-राज्य की शक्ति का अनुमान किया जा सकता है।

वज्रदामा के समय का वि० सं० १०३४ (९७७ई०) का एक शिलालेख[1] ग्वालियर से मिला है। इसमें इसकी उपाधि 'महाराजाधिराज' लिखी है।

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मङ्गलराज और कीर्तिराज

वज्रदामा का पुत्र मङ्गलराज था। बयाना से मिले एक खण्डित लेख[३] में इसका नाम मिलता है।

इस मङ्गलराज का उत्तराधिकारी कीर्तिराज था। इसने मालवे के राजा को हराया और सिंह पानीय गांव में शिव का मन्दिर बनवाया था। उस समय मालवे का राजा भोज होगा। यद्यपि यह (भोज) ग्वालियर के कछवाहों से अधिक प्रबल था, तथापि उसके गुजरात के ओर दक्षिण के चौलुक्यादि राजाओं से लड़ते रहने के कारण, मौका देखकर, ग्वालियर के कछवाहों ने उसके कुछ प्रदेश को हथियाने का प्रयत्न किया होगा।

इसी कीर्तिराज के समय के आसपास सुलतान महमूद गज़नवी ने ग्वालियर पर चढ़ाई की थी। इस विषय में 'तवक़ात-ए-अकबरी'[३] में लिखा है कि हिजरी सन् ४१३ (१०२१ ई०, वि० सं० १०७८) में महमूद ने ग्वालियर के किले पर घेरा डाला। लेकिन चार दिन बाद वहां के राजा ने दूत भेजकर ३५ हाथी देने का वादा किया, जिसको स्वीकार कर सुलतान कालिञ्जर की तरफ़ रवाना हो गया।

मूलदेव और देवपाल

कीर्तिराज का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी मूलदेव था। इसे भुवनपाल[४] और त्रैलोक्यमल्ल भी कहते थे। इसकी रानी का नाम देवव्रता था।

मूलदेव का पुत्र देवपाल था। शायद इसके बड़े भाई का नाम अपराजित हो।

पद्मपाल

यह पद्मपाल देवपाल का पुत्र था और पिता के बाद गद्दी पर बैठा। यह वीर पुरुष था, और इसने दूर तक दक्षिण में जाकर युद्ध किया था। इसी ने ग्वालियर में विष्णु का एक मन्दिर बनवाना प्रारम्भ किया था। परन्तु इसका देहान्त युवावस्था में ही हो जाने से वह इसके सामने पूर्ण न हो सका।

महीपाल (पृथ्वीपाल)

यह महीपाल, पद्मपाल[५] का चचेरा भाई और उत्तराधिकारी था। वि० सं० ११५० (१०९३ ई०) का इसके समय का एक लेख[२] ग्वालियर से मिला है। इसमें इसे सूर्यपाल का पुत्र और पद्मपाल का भाई लिखा है। इसको भुवनैकमल्ल और पृथ्वीपाल भी कहते थे। इसने वि० सं० ११५० में पद्मपाल के प्रारम्भ किये मन्दिर को पूरा करवा कर उसी (पद्मपाल) के नाम पर उसका नाम पद्मनाथ का मन्दिर रक्खा था। इसका नाम भर्तृपुत्र भी था।

इस समय लोग उस मन्दिर को जैन-मन्दिर मानते हैं, और श्री राजेन्द्रलाल मित्र ने भी, उसके लेख को प्रकाश में लाते समय, ऐसा ही माना था। परन्तु उस मन्दिर में जो मूर्तियाँ खुदी हुई हैं, वे जैन न होकर हिन्दू मूर्तियाँ हैं, और उसके भीतर शिलालेख में स्पष्ट रूप से उसका विष्णु-मन्दिर ('भवनं हरेः' और 'हरिसदनं') होना लिखा है। आजकल वहाँ के लोग उसे 'सास-बहू' का मन्दिर कहते हैं।

यहाँ तक का इस शाखा का इतिहास उसी मन्दिर के लेख से दिया गया है। जयपुर के कछवाहों के राजमाण की पुस्तक में जो वंशावली दी है, उसमें लक्ष्मण से महीपाल तक के नाम इसी क्रम से दिये हुए हैं, और महीपाल के पहले सूर्यपाल का नाम भी है। अतः ये नाम इस लेख से ही नकल किये प्रतीत होते हैं, क्योंकि इन ८ नामों के बाद के मुक्तपाल तक के २१ नाम जो उसी पुस्तक में लिखे हैं, बनावटी हैं। उस पुस्तक की वंशावली में संख्या १३१ पर सूर्यपाल के पुत्र महीपाल का नाम है, और १६१ पर पजून सामन्त का नाम है। इसके राज्याभिषेक का संवत् ११२७

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लिखा है। परन्तु जब ऊपर उद्धृत लेख से वि० सं० ११५० (१०९३ ई०) में महीपाल का विद्यमान होना सिद्ध होता है, तब उसके बाद का ३०वां राजा प्रजून वि० सं० ११२७ में कैसे गद्दी पर बैठ सकता है। महामहोपाध्याय पण्डित गौरीशंकर जी ओझा भी इन नामों को कृत्रिम मानते थे।

त्रिभुवनपाल

महीपाल (पृथ्वीपाल) के पीछे उसका पुत्र त्रिभुवनपाल ग्वालियर का राजा हुआ। इसके समय का वि० सं० ११६१ का एक खण्डित लेख[६] ग्वालियर से मिला है। यद्यपि इसके टूट जाने से त्रिभुवनपाल का नाम पढ़ा नहीं जाता, तथापि यह ज्ञात हो जाता है कि यह लेख महीपाल के उत्तराधिकारी के समय का है। जनरल कनिङ्गहाम महीपाल के पीछे क्रमशः भुवनपाल और मधुसूदन का राजा होना लिखते हैं। परन्तु देवास राज्य के इगणोदा गांव से मिले, वि० सं० ११९० (११३३ ई०) के, पृथ्वीपाल (महीपाल) के पौत्र विजयपाल देव[७] के लेख में पृथ्वीपाल (महीपाल) के उत्तराधिकारी का नाम तिहुणपाल देव (त्रिभुवनपाल देव) मिलता है। इसी प्रकार डूंगरपुर राज्य के ठाकर्डा गांव से मिले वि० सं० १२१२ (११५५ ई०) के पृथ्वीपाल (महीपाल) के प्रपौत्र महाराजा सूरपाल के लेख[८] में भी पृथ्वीपाल के पुत्र का नाम त्रिभुवनपाल ही मिलता है। तिहुणपाल और त्रिभुवनपाल दोनों एक ही नाम हैं। अतः महीपाल (पृथ्वीपाल) के उत्तराधिकारी का नाम भुवनपाल न होकर त्रिभुवनपाल ही था।

यद्यपि उपर्युक्त वि० सं० ११६१ के लेख में मधुसूदन का नाम भी है, तथापि वह राजा न होकर, राजा भुवनपाल के कोषाध्यक्ष माथुर कायस्थ मनोरथ का पौत्र और मानिकचन्द्र का पुत्र था[९]।

विजयपाल

यह त्रिभुवनपाल का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी था। उपर्युक्त वि० सं० ११९० (११३३ ई०) का इगणोदा गांव से मिला लेख इसी के समय का है।

सूरपाल

यह सूरपाल विजयपाल का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी था। ऊपर कहा वि० सं० १२१२ (११५५ ई०) का ठाकर्डा गांव से मिला लेख इसी के समय का है। इसमें इसकी और इसके पिता की उपाधि महाराजाधिराज[१०] लिखी है। तथा महाराज-पुत्र अनङ्गपाल द्वारा सिद्धेश्वर के मन्दिर को एक हल की[११] भूमि दान में देने का उल्लेख है। यह अनङ्गपाल शायद सूरपाल का पुत्र हो।

सूरपाल और अनङ्गपाल के पीछे भी ग्वालियर पर कछवाहों का राज्य रहा था। हिजरी सन् ५९२ (वि० सं० १२५३=११९६ ई०) में, जिस समय शिहाबुद्दीन ग़ोरी ने ग्वालियर पर चढ़ाई की, उस समय वहां पर सोलङ्खपाल राजा था। यह सम्भवतः अनङ्गपाल का पुत्र होगा। 'ताजुलम आसिर' में इस चढ़ाई का हाल इस प्रकार दिया है—हिजरी सन् ५९२ (वि० सं० १२५३=११९६ ई०) में शाही सेना ने, (बयाना के पास के) तहनगढ़ के किले पर अधिकार कर ग्वालियर के किले को जा घेरा। वहां का राजा सोलङ्खपाल, जिसे अपनी असंख्य सेना और हाथियों का गर्व था, शाही फौज की शक्ति को देखकर डर गया, तथा उसने खिराज (कर) देना स्वीकार कर, और १० हाथी देकर, सन्धि कर ली। इससे वह ग्वालियर का राजा बना रहा।[१२] परन्तु 'तबक़ात-ए-नासिरी' और 'फ़रिश्ता' से ज्ञात होता है कि सुलतान, बाहउद्दीन तुग़रल को ग्वालियर फ़तेह करने के लिए नियुक्त कर, ग़ज़नी को लौट गया। बाहउद्दीन एक वर्ष तक लड़ता रहा। परन्तु किला फ़तेह न हुआ। अन्त में सामान के समाप्त हो जाने पर राजा ने किला कुतुबुद्दीन ऐबक को सौंप दिया। पहले शिहाबुद्दीन ने, फ़तेह हो जाने पर, इस किले को बाहउद्दीन तुग़रल को देने का

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वादा किया था। परन्तु बाद में, उस (तुग़रल) के और कुतुबुद्दीन के बीच मन मुटाव हो जाने से, उसने यह किला उसे नहीं सौंपा। इस पर वह कुतुबुद्दीन से लड़ने को रवाना हुआ। परन्तु मार्ग में ही उसकी मृत्यु हो गई[13]।

इससे प्रकट होता है कि वि० सं० १२५४ (११९७ ई०) में, सोलङ्खपाल के समय, ग्वालियर के किले पर मुसलमानों का अधिकार हो गया था।

जनरल कनिङ्गहाम ख्यातों के आधार पर वि० सं० ११८६ से १२८९ (११२९ से १२३२ ई०) तक ग्वालियर पर ७ तंवर राजाओं का राज्य रहना मानते हैं। परन्तु इसके लिए ख्यातों के अतिरिक्त और कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। वि० सं० १२१२ (११५५ ई०) तक वहां पर कछवाहों का राज्य रहना तो शिलालेखों से सिद्ध है, और नामों की परम्परागत शैली को देखने से सोलङ्खपाल का भी कछवाहा होना ही सम्भव प्रतीत होता है। ऐसी स्थिति में उक्त जनरल के लेख पर विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता।

जयपुर की ख्यात में लिखा है कि ग्वालियर के राजा ईशा (ईश्वरी) सिंह ने ग्वालियर का राज्य अपने नवासे तंवर नेसा को दे दिया था। उसके पुत्र सोढदेव ने वि० सं० १०२३ (९६६ ई०) में बड़गूजरों से द्यौसा छीन कर, वहां पर अपना नया राज्य स्थापित किया। यह भी भाटों की ही कल्पना है, क्योंकि वि० सं० १०२३ के निकट ग्वालियर पर तँवरों के राज्य होने का कोई प्रमाण नहीं है। इसके विरुद्ध वहां के लेखों से इसी समय ग्वालियर के किले का कछवाहों के हाथ आना सिद्ध होता है। ख्यातों में जो ग्वालियर के कछवाहों का जयपुर आना लिखा है, उसमें यदि कुछ सत्यता हो, तो यह सम्भव हो सकता है कि वहां की छोटी शाखा के[14] किसी पुरुष ने आम्बेर आकर उक्त राज्य की स्थापना की हो। मुख्य शाखा, क़ुतुबुद्दीन ऐबक के समय तक, ग्वालियर पर अधिकृत रही थी। क़ुतुबुद्दीन के पुत्र आरामशाह के समय परमारों ने मुसलमानों से ग्वालियर छीन लिया था। इससे हिजरी सन् ६२९ (वि० सं० १२८८ =१२३१ ई०) में शम्सुद्दीन ने फिर उस पर चढ़ाई की, और एक साल के बाद देवपाल किले को छोड़कर भाग गया। इससे ग्वालियर पर फिर मुसलमानों का अधिकार हो गया। परन्तु बाद में वि० सं० १४५५ (१३९८ ई०) में, तैमूर की चढ़ाई के समय, इस पर तंवरों का अधिकार हो गया। अतः जयपुर की ख्यात का लेख माननीय नहीं है।

ग्वालियर के कछवाहों की वंशावली

क्रम सं०	नाम	परस्पर का सम्बन्ध	ज्ञात समय
१	लक्ष्मण		
२	वज्रदामा	१ का पुत्र	वि० सं० १०३४
३	मङ्गलराज	—	—
४	कीर्तिराज	—	—
५	मूलदेव (भुवनपाल, त्रैलोक्यमल्ल)	४ का पुत्र	—
६	देवपाल (अपराजित)	५ का पुत्र	—
७	पद्मपाल	६ का पुत्र	—
८	महीपाल (पृथ्वीपाल, भुवनैकमल्ल)	सूर्यपाल का पुत्र ७ का चचेरा भाई	वि० सं० ११५०
९	त्रिभुवनपाल	८ का पुत्र	वि० सं० ११६१
१०	विजयपाल	९ का पुत्र	वि० सं० ११९०
११	सूरपाल	१० का पुत्र	वि० सं० १२१२
१२	अनङ्गपाल	११ का पुत्र	हिजरी सन् ५९२
	सोलङ्खपाल		(वि० सं० १२५३)

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दूबकुण्ड के कछवाहे

ग्वालियर से ७६ मील वायव्य कोण में दूबकुण्ड नामक स्थान है। वहां के जैन मन्दिर से कछवाहा वंश के राजा विक्रमसिंह के समय का वि० सं० ११४५ (१०८८ ई०) का एक शिलालेख मिला[१५] है। इसमें वहां के ५ कछवाहा नरेशों के नाम मिलते हैं। इन राजाओं का स्वतन्त्र राजा होना प्रकट नहीं होता। ये ग्वालियर के राजाओं से निकली एक छोटी शाखा के प्रतीत होते हैं। यह भी नहीं कह सकते कि इनकी यह शाखा ग्वालियर के किस राजा से निकली थी। हां, यह अनुमान कर सकते हैं कि सम्भवत: यह शाखा मङ्गलराज के समय या उसके पीछे अलग हुई हो।

युवराज

उपर्युक्त शिलालेख के अनुसार दूबकुण्ड का पहला राजा युवराज था।

अर्जुन

यह युवराज का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी था। यह धनुर्विद्या में निपुण था, और इसने विद्याधरदेव की सेवा में रहकर राज्यपाल को युद्ध में मारा था। यह विद्याधरदेव महोबा के चन्देल राजा गण्ड का पुत्र था, और इसने कन्नौज के राजा राज्यपाल को मारा था। यह अर्जुन राज्यपाल का सहायक या सामन्त होगा।

अभिमन्यु

अर्जुन के बाद उसका पुत्र अभिमन्यु उसका उत्तराधिकारी हुआ। यह घुड़-सवारी और शस्त्र-विद्या में पारङ्गत था, और इसके इन गुणों की प्रशंसा (मालवे के प्रसिद्ध) बुद्धिमान् राजा भोज ने की थी।

विजयपाल

यह अभिमन्यु का पुत्र था, और उसके बाद गद्दी पर बैठा।

डा० कीलहार्न का अनुमान है कि बयाना से जो अधिराज विजय (विजयाधिराज) का वि० सं० ११०० का लेख[१६] मिला है, वह इसी विजयपाल का हो, क्योंकि इसका उक्त संवत् में विद्यमान होना सम्भव है। बयाना से मिले वि० सं० १०१२ (९५५ ई०) के (प्रतिहार) महीपाल के समय के लेख में मङ्गलराज का नाम मिलता है। इसका उल्लेख उसके इतिहास में कर चुके हैं। म० म० पण्डित गौरीशंकर जी ओझा उसे कछवाहा मानकर वहां पर भी कछवाहों का राज्य रहना मानते हैं। वैसे बयाना दूबकुण्ड से केवल ८० मील उत्तर में है। अत: डा० कीलहार्न का अनुमान ठीक हो सकता है। परन्तु करौली-नरेशों के पूर्वज विजयपाल का भी यही समय था। अत: बिना पूरा प्रमाण मिले इस विषय में निश्चित रूप से कुछ नहीं कह सकते। यदि बयाने के विजय का कछवाहा होना सिद्ध हो जाय, तो दूबकुण्ड की शाखा का मङ्गलराज से या उसके बाद से अलग होना भी सिद्ध हो जायगा।

विक्रमसिंह

यह विजयपाल का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी था। इसके समय दूबकुण्ड (चडोभ) में वि० स० ११४५ (१०८८ ई०) में साधु (सेठ) दाहड, आदि महाजनों ने मिलकर जैन मन्दिर बनवाया था, और उसके पूजनादि के प्रबन्ध के लिए महाराजाधिराज विक्रमसिंह ने कुछ भूमि और एक बाड़ी भेंट की थी।

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उपर्युक्त दूबकुण्ड का लेख लाटवागट गण के साधु विजयकीर्ति की रचना है। इसके गुरु शान्तिसेन का राजा भोज की सभा में अम्बरसेन आदि अनेक विद्वानों को जीतना लिखा है।

दूबकुण्ड के कछवाहों की वंशावली

क्रम सं०	नाम	परस्पर का सम्बन्ध	ज्ञात समयादि
१	युवराज		
२	अर्जुन	१ का पुत्र	चन्देल विद्याधरदेव और कन्नौज नरेश राज्यपाल का समकालीन।
३	अभिमन्यु	२ का पुत्र	मालवे के परमार-नरेश भोज का समकालीन।
४	विजयपाल	३ का पुत्र	वि० सं० ११०० (?)
५	विक्रमसिंह	४ का पुत्र	वि० सं० ११४५

नरवर के कछवाहे

शिलालेखों में नरवर[१७] का नाम नलपुर और संस्कृत साहित्य में पद्मावती मिलता है। कुछ लोग इसे राजा नल का बसाया मानकर उसी के नाम पर इसका नामकरण होना मानते हैं। परन्तु प्राचीन समय में इसका नाम पद्मावती मिलने से इस नाम का सम्बन्ध राजा नल से न होकर पद्मों (कमलों) से रहा होगा। महाकवि भवभूति ने अपने 'मालती-माधव' नाटक में इसकी सुन्दरता का अच्छा वर्णन किया है।

कछवाहों की ख्यातों में लिखा है कि राजा नल ने नरवर का किला बनवाया था। उसक पुत्र ढोला और पौत्र लक्ष्मण था। लक्ष्मण के पुत्र वज्रदामा ने ग्वालियर का किला बनवाया। परन्तु वज्रदामा ने ग्वालियर के किले को जीता था, उसे बनवाया नहीं था। अतः वज्रदामा के पहले कछवाहों की राजधानी नरवर रही होगी, और ग्वालियर विजय के बाद ये दोनों नगर एक ही राजा के अधिकार में आ गये होंगे। नरवर-नरेश वीरसिंह का वि० सं० ११७७ (११२० ई०) का एक ताम्रपत्र[१८] मिला है। यह नलपुर (नरवर) के दुर्ग से दिया गया था। इसमें लिखा है कि कछवाहा वंश में गगनसिंह हुआ। उसका उत्तराधिकारी शरदसिंह था और शरदसिंह की रानी लखमा (लक्ष्मी) देवी से वीरसिंह ने जन्म लिया। उक्त शासन-पत्र में इन राजाओं की उपाधि 'परमभट्टारक,' 'महाराजाधिराज', और 'परमेश्वर' लिखी है। इससे इनका स्वतन्त्र राजा होना प्रकट होता है। इनके समय ग्वालियर में भी कछवाहों का दूसरा स्वत त्र राज्य था। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि सम्भवतः ग्वालियर की किसी छोटी शाखा वालों को नरवर जागीर में मिला हो, और बाद में वे स्वतन्त्र हो गये हों।

वीरसिंह के बाद का नरवर के राजाओं का शृङ्खला-बद्ध इतिहास नहीं मिलता। परन्तु नरवर के पिछले लेखों में चाहड़ से गणपति तक के ५ राजाओं के नाम मिलते हैं, जिनका वर्णन इस प्रकार है—

चाहड

वि० सं० १३५५ (१२९८ ई०) के गणपति के समय के लेख में[१९] इस चाहड का जन्म नरवर में होना लिखा है। इससे इसके पिता का भी नरवर में राज्य रहना प्रकट होता है।

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'तबक़ात-ए-नासिरी' से ज्ञात होता है कि सुलतान शम्सुद्दीन के समय हिजरी सन् ६३२ (वि० सं० १२९१=१२३४ ई०) में प्रसिद्ध और वीर सेनापति मलिक नासिरुद्दीन ताबसी की अधिनायकता में एक बड़ी सेना कालिञ्जर पर भेजी गई, और वहां से लौटते समय सिन्दी (सिन्ध) नदी के (जो नरवर के पास है) निकट इजारी[२०] के राणा जाहरदेव (चाहडदेव) ने उस पर हमला किया। उक्त ग्रन्थ का कर्त्ता आगे लिखता है कि मैंने नासिरुद्दीन को यह कहते सुना कि—'हिन्दुस्तान में किसी दुश्मन ने मेरी पीठ कभी नहीं देखी थी। परन्तु इस हिन्दू राना[२१] ने मुझ पर इस तरह हमला किया कि जैसे भेड़िया भेड़ों के झुण्ड पर टूट पड़ता है। लाचार उसके आगे मुझे पीठ दिखानी पड़ी, और मौके की जगह पहुंचने के बाद मैंने, उसका सामना कर, उसको लौटाया।'[२२]

आगे उसी पुस्तक में नासिरुद्दीन के वर्णन में फिर लिखा है कि "अपने राज्य के छठे वर्ष, अर्थात् हिजरी सन् ६४९ (वि० सं० १३०८=१२५१ ई०) में सुलतान ने ग्वालियर, चंदेरी, बजवाल (?) और मालवे की तरफ कूच किया, और करीब-करीब मालवे तक चला गया। उस मुल्क के और आस-पास के रानाओं (राजाओं) में सबसे बड़ा जाहरदेव (चाहडदेव) था, जिसके पास ५००० सवार और २,००,००० पैदल थे। उसको हराकर, नरवर के किले को, जिसे उस राजा ने बनवाया था, फ़तेह किया और लूटा"।[२३]

इससे सूचित होता है कि यह चाहडदेव एक पराक्रमी नरेश था। इसी से सुलतान नरवर को केवल लूटकर ही चला गया। वह न तो वहां पर अपना अधिकार ही कर सका, न चाहडदेव को ही अपने अधीन कर सका, क्योंकि इस लड़ाई के तीन वर्ष पीछे तक के, अर्थात् वि० सं० १३११ (१२५४ ई०) तक के, उसके सिक्के मिलते हैं, जिनसे उसका स्वतंत्र नरेश होना सिद्ध होता है।

इसके ये सिक्के तांबे के, भद्दे, गोल मिले हैं। इनकी एक ओर 'श्रीमच्चाहडदेव' तथा वि० सं० १२९४, १३०३, १३०५, १३०६ या १३११ लिखा रहता है और दूसरी तरफ़ सवार की भद्दी सी तसवीर बनी होती है[२४]।

नृवर्मा और आसल्ल

चाहडदेव के पीछे उसका पुत्र नृवर्मा गद्दी पर बैठा, और उसके बाद उसका पुत्र आसल्लदेव राजा हुआ।

राइ (ग्वालियर राज्य) से मिले, एक सती के चबूतरे के वि० सं० १३२७ (१२७० ई०) के लेख[२५] से आसल्लदेव का उस समय विद्यमान होना सिद्ध होता है।

इसके जो तांबे के भद्दे सिक्के मिलते हैं, वे चाहडदेव के सिक्कों की शैली के ही हैं। इन पर 'श्रीमदासलदेव' लिखा होता है, और एक पर (वि० सं०) १३३० पढ़ा जाता है। जनरल कनिगङ्हाम इसके एक दूसरे सिक्के पर (वि० सं०) १३१२ लिखा होना[२६] मानते हैं। परन्तु उनके दिये उस सिक्के के चित्र में एक भी अंक स्पष्ट नहीं है, केवल उनके ऊपर के भाग ही दीखते[२७] हैं। फिर जब वि० सं० १३११ में चाहडदेव का विद्यमान होना उसके सिक्के से पाया जाता है, और उसके पीछे पहले नृवर्मा, और बाद में आसल्लदेव गद्दी पर बैठा था—इससे भी वि० सं० १३१२ (१२५५ ई०) में आसल्लदेव का राजा होना सन्देह से खाली नहीं हो सकता।

गोपाल

यह आसल्लदेव का पुत्र और उत्तराधिकारी था। (महोबा-कालिञ्जर के राजा) चन्देल वीरवर्मा ने इस पर चढ़ाई की थी, ऐसा उसके दाही (बीजावर राज्य) से मिले वि० सं० १३३७ (१२८० ई०) के ताम्र पत्र[२८] से प्रकट होता है। इससे यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि गोपाल इसके पूर्व ही गद्दी पर बैठ चुका था।

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गणपति

यह गणपति गोपाल का पुत्र था, और उसके बाद राज्य का स्वामी हुआ। इसने कीर्तिगिरि को विजय किया[११] था। यह स्थान देवगढ़ ललितपुर की पहाड़ियों के पश्चिमी किनारे पर बेतवा नदी के पास था।

इसका तांबे का एक बहुत ही भद्दा सिक्का मिला है। इस पर 'श्री गणपतिदेव' लिखा है, और संवत् के अंक स्पष्ट नहीं हैं।

इसके समय के दो लेख मिले हैं। एक वि० सं० १३५० (१२९३ ई०) का[३०] है और दूसरा वि० सं० १३५५ (१२९८ ई०) का[३१]।

जिस प्रकार के सिक्के चाहडदेव, आसल्लदेव और गणपतिदेव के मिले हैं, उसी प्रकार के मलयवर्मदेव के सिक्के नरवर, झांसी और ग्वालियर, इत्यादि से मिलते हैं। इनके एक ओर 'श्रीमन्मलयवर्मदेव' और वि० सं० १२८०, ८२, ८३ या ९० लिखा रहता है, और दूसरी तरफ़ सवार का भद्दा सा चित्र होता है। इनमें के पिछले तीन संवतों के सिक्कों में शताब्दी के पहले के दो अंक छोड़ दिये गये हैं। नरवर के उपर्युक्त तीन राजाओं के और मलयवर्मदेव के सिक्कों को देखने से पाया जाता है कि ये सब सिक्के एक ही वंश के होने चाहिए। अतः उक्त मलयवर्मदेव, जिसका नाम इन राजाओं के लेखों में नहीं मिला है, चाहडदेव के पूर्व वहां का शासक रहा होगा।

इस प्रकार नरवर के पिछले ६ राजाओं के नामों का पता चलता है। परन्तु इनके समय के लेखों में इनके वंश का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। इससे यह निश्चित रूप से नहीं कह सकते कि ये कछवाहा वीरसिंह के वंशज थे, या किसी अन्य वंश के थे। परन्तु कछवाहा वीरसिंहदेव वि० सं० ११७७ (११२० ई०) में विद्यमान था, और सम्भव है इसके कुछ समय बाद तक भी जीवित रहा हो। इसी प्रकार मलयवर्मदेव वि० सं० १२८० (१२२३ ई०) में विद्यमान था, और वह इससे पूर्व किसी समय गद्दी पर बैठा होगा। अतः वीरसिंह और मलयवर्म के बीच करीब ९० या १०० वर्ष का अन्तर रहता है। यदि इस समय में भी नरवर पर कछवाहा नरेशों का राज्य बना रहा हो, तो ये पिछले ६ राजा भी उसी कछवाहा वंश के होने चाहिए। परन्तु जब तक किसी लेख आदि से इसकी पुष्टि न हो जाय, तब तक इनको नरवर के पिछले राजा कहना ही उचित प्रतीत होता है।

सम्भव है गणपति के समय, या उसके बाद, नरवर का किला मुसलमानों के अधिकार में चला गया हो। जनरल कनिङ्गहाम के लेखानुसार १३२० ई० (वि० सं० १३७७) में नरवर पर मुहम्मद तुग़लक का अधिकार था। ग्वालियर पर तंवर (तोमर) नरेशों का राज्य होने के बाद नरवर भी उनके अधिकार में चला गया था। बाद में मुगलों के राज्य के समय नरवर जयपुर के कछवाहों के पास आया, और मराठों के समय वह ग्वालियर वालों के पास गया।

नरवर के कछवाहे

क्रम सं०	नाम	परस्पर का सम्बन्ध	ज्ञात समय
१	गगनसिंह	—	—
२	शरदसिंह	१ का पुत्र	—
३	वीरसिंह	२ का पुत्र	वि० सं० ११७७

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नरवर के पिछले राजा

क्रम सं०	नाम	परस्पर का सम्बन्ध	ज्ञात समय
१	मलयवर्मदेव	——	वि० सं० १२८०, ८२, ८३, ९० (१२८२, १२८३, १२९०)
२	चाहडदेव	——	वि० सं० १२९४, १३०३, १३०५, १३०६, १३११
३	नृवर्मा	२ का पुत्र	
४	आसल्लदेव	३ का पुत्र	वि० सं० १३२७, १३३०
५	गोपाल	४ का पुत्र	चंदेल-नरेश वीरवर्मा का समकालीन
६	गणपति	५ का पुत्र	वि० सं० १३४७, १३५५

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, Page 393.

२ I. A., Vol. XIX Page 9. (अथवा यह वहीं से मिले वि० सं० १०१२ के महीपाल के समय के लेख से सम्बन्ध रखता है, जिसमें शौरसेन राजयिक की कन्या चित्रलेखा का विवाह मङ्गलराज से होना लिखा है।)

३ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II., Page 407.

४ वि० सं० ११६१ के ग्वालियर से मिले, महीपाल देव के उत्तराधिकारी के लेख में इसका नाम भुवनपाल और पुत्र का नाम अपराजित देवपाल लिखा है। यह अपराजित देवपाल का बड़ा भाई होगा।

५ I. A., Vol. XV, Page 36.

६ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, Page 418; I. A., Vol. XV, pp. 202 f.

७ I. A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

८ An. Rep. Rajputana Museam, Ajmer, 1915-16, p. 3.

९ I. A., Vol. XV, page 202.

१० परन्तु इगणोदा के उपर्युक्त लेख में उक्त राजाओं के नामों के साथ महाराजाधिराज, परमभट्टारक, परमेश्वर उपाधियाँ लगी हैं। इसका लेखक ठाकर्डा वाले लेख के लेखक से अधिक विद्वान् था।

११ एक हल की भूमि से एक हल से जोती जानेवाली भूमि का तात्पर्य है। राजस्थान में इस समय भी इतनी भूमि को 'हलवाह' कहते हैं। इसके नाप का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता। परन्तु इसमें एक बीघे से अधिक भूमि का रहना अन्दाज़ किया जा सकता है।

१२ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 227-228.

१३ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 304-305; Cunningham : A. S. R., Vol. II, p. 309, and Brigg's Farishta, p. 202.

१४ मुहता नैणसी की ख्यात में भाट राजपान की पुस्तक के अनुसार जयपुर के कछवाहों की वंशावली लिखने के बाद उनकी एक दूसरी वंशावली भी लिखी है। इसमें लछमण (लक्ष्मण) के पौत्र और वजरदीप (वज्रदामा) के पुत्र मङ्गल (मङ्गलराज) के पीछे क्रमशः ये नाम दिये हैं:——

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सुमित्र, मुधिब्रह्म, कहानी (कहान), देवानीक, इस, सोढ, दूलराय, कांकिल, हणु (हणुमान), जानड और प्रंजन (पज्जून)।

इस वंशावली से पाया जाता है कि जयपुर के कछवाहे (पज्जून के वंशज) ग्वालियर के राजा मंगलराज के दूसरे पुत्र सुमित्र के वंश में हैं। बड़े पुत्र कीर्तिराज के वंशज ग्वालियर में ही रहे। मंगलराय वि० सं० १०५० के निकट विद्यमान रहा होगा, क्योंकि उसके पिता वज्रदामा का वि० सं० १०३४ का लेख मिला है, और पज्जून के लिए यह प्रसिद्धि है कि वह चौहान पृथ्वीराज का सामन्त था, अर्थात् वि० सं० १२५० (११९३ ई०) के पूर्व विद्यमान था। अतः मंगलराज से पज्जून तक १२ राजाओं का राज्य-समय २०० वर्ष के करीब आता है, जो ठीक ही है। परन्तु राजपाण की पुस्तक में, मंगलराज और देवानीक के बीच जो २६ नाम दिये हैं, वे सब बनावटी प्रतीत होते हैं।

१५ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 237 ff.

१६ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 10

१७ नरवर-नलपुर (नव-पद्म) पद्मपुर।

१८ J. A. O. S., Vol. VI, p. 542.

१९ A. S. I. R., Vol. II, p. 315; I. A., Vol. XXII, page 81 and I. A,. Vol. XLVII, p. 241.

२० चाहडदेव को 'इजारी' या 'अचारी' का राणा (राजा) लिखा है। अतः किसी-किसी यूरोपीय ने तो 'अचारी' को 'आचार्य' मान कर राजा चाहडदेव का धर्मगुरु होना अनुमान किया है। जनरल कनिङ्गहाम "आचारी" को 'आसावरी' का अपभ्रंश मान कर नरवर के चाहडदेव और रणथम्भोर के चौहान बाहडदेव का एक होना मानते हैं, क्योंकि फ़ारसी की वर्णमाला की अपूर्णता के कारण वहां पर ये दोनों नाम पढ़े जा सकते हैं। परन्तु ये दोनों मत ठीक प्रतीत नहीं होते। उक्त पुस्तक में मिलने वाले इस 'इजारी' या 'अचारी' का शुद्ध रूप क्या था, यह कहना कठिन है।

२१ फारसी तवारीख़-लेखक बहुधा 'राजा' के लिए 'राना' शब्द का ही प्रयोग करते हैं।

२२ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, pp. 368-369.

२३ Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, p. 351.

२४ जनरल कनिङ्ग्हाम ने फ़ारसी तवारीखों में नरवर के कछवाहा चाहडदेव और रणथम्भोर के चौहान बाहडदेव इन दोनों के नाम (भूल से) जाहरदेव लिखे देख कर इन दोनों का एक होना अनुमान कर लिया, और नरवर के चाहडदेव के सिक्कों को भी बाहडदेव के सिक्के मान लिये। परन्तु यह ठीक नहीं है, क्योंकि बाहडदेव के सिक्के इनसे भिन्न चौहान सोमेश्वर और पृथ्वीराज की शैली के हैं। इनके एक ओर अश्व और दूसरी तरफ़ नन्दी बना होता है, तथा एक ओर बाहडदेव का नाम और दूसरी तरफ़ सुलतान शम्सुद्दीन का नाम लिखा रहता है, क्योंकि बाहडदेव शम्सुद्दीन के अधीन था। नरवर का चाहडदेव शम्सुद्दीन के अधीन नहीं था। उसने तो सुलतान के सेनापति को हराया था।

२५ G. A. S. R., Vol. II, p. 315; Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, p. 241; Gun, Coins of Mid India, p. 90.

२६ Coins of Mid-India, page 93.

२७ म० म० पण्डित गौरीशङ्कर जी ओझा भी उन अङ्कों का १३१२ होना नहीं मानते हैं।

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२८ A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff; A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff and E. I., Vol. V, App; pp. 34 f. इसमें गोपाल का नाम यज्वपाल दिया है।

२९ I. A., Vol. XX, p. 81.

३० A. S. I., An. Rep. 1903-04, Vol. II pp. 286 f.

३१ A. S. I. R., Vol. II, p. 315; I. A. Vol. XXII, pp. 81-82, and Vol. XLVII, p. 241. यह नरवर से मिला है, और इसमें इसका नाम यज्वपाल लिखा है।

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प्राचीन भारतीय नगर तथा नगर-सन्निवेश

लेखक

डा० उदयनारायण राय, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय

प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति की त्रिवेणी आरण्य, ग्रामीण तथा नागरिक जीवनधाराओं से सम्पन्न होती है। निवृत्ति-मार्ग के प्रचार के कारण भारतीय सभ्यता की सुविकसित अवस्था में भी अरण्य-जीवन का महत्त्व बना रहा है और इस दृष्टि से नगर-जीवन की निन्दा प्राचीन साहित्य में अनेकत्र उपलब्ध होती है, और फिर कृषिप्रधान भारतवर्ष में ग्राम-जीवन का महत्त्व तो सर्वदा ही विशिष्ट रहा है। तथापि यह निर्विवाद है कि प्रगतिशील लौकिक जीवन के मुख्य समाश्रय प्रत्येक युग में नगर ही रहे हैं। कला एवं विज्ञान के अधिक विकास के लिए आर्थिक समृद्धि तथा राजकीय ऐश्वर्य का जितना समुच्चय अपेक्षित है, उतना वाणिज्य एवं व्यवसाय पर आश्रित नगर-जीवन में ही सम्भव है। इस प्रकार प्रवृत्ति एवं निवृत्ति के समन्वय द्वारा निर्मित भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रासाद में नागरिक जीवन का अत्यन्त विशिष्ट स्थान है और इस कारण इसके विविध अंगों का अनुशीलन जिज्ञासुओं के लिये रोचक एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

प्रादुर्भाव

प्रादुर्भाव के कारणों की दृष्टि से प्राचीन भारतीय नगर दो प्रकार के थे। प्रथम कोटि के नगर स्वाभाविक विकास के फल थे तथा द्वितीय कोटि के नगरों का उद्गम सोद्देश्य तथा संकल्पपूर्वक था। प्रथम वर्ग के नगर प्रारम्भिक दशा में वस्तुतः ग्राम थे। जिन अनेक कारणों से उनमें नगर-तत्त्व का क्रमिक आगमन सम्भव हुआ, उनमें वाणिज्य का स्थान सर्वश्रेष्ठ था। नदियों एवं समुद्रों के तट तथा सुप्रसिद्ध मार्गों पर बसी हुई साधारण बस्तियों का नगर-रूपान्तर व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध के कारण नितान्त स्वाभाविक सिद्ध हुआ। व्यापारिक केन्द्रों के अतिरिक्त प्रधान धार्मिक तथा शिक्षण केन्द्रों में भी कालान्तर में नगर-तत्त्व के क्रमिक आगमन की क्रिया का प्रारम्भ हुआ। द्वितीय वर्ग के नगरों की उत्पत्ति का कारण प्रायः राजकीय आवश्यकताएं थीं। सुरक्षा के साधन, शासन की सुदृढ़ता एवं व्यवस्था, सैनिक प्रबन्ध तथा प्रसिद्ध राजभवनों एवं राजप्रासादों की सुस्थिति के प्रश्न ने नाना भारतीय नगरों के शीघ्र आविर्भाव में सहायता पहुँचाई।

ग्राम-नगर-भेद

ग्राम एवं नगर में भेद माना जाता था। भारतीय नगर एक ऐसा विशाल जनसमूह था जिसकी जीविका के प्रधान साधन उद्योग तथा व्यापार थे। वह व्यावसायिक उत्पादन के विनिमय द्वारा ग्राम से खाद्यान्न प्राप्त करता था। पाणिनि ने ग्राम एवं नगर को विभिन्न जनसन्निवेश माना है (प्रचां ग्रामनगराणाम्)[1]। 'मृच्छकटिक' में ग्राम एवं नगर का पृथक् उल्लेख करते हुए दोनों की विभिन्नता को स्वीकार किया गया है।[2] शिल्पशास्त्र पुर तथा ग्राम की अलग परिभाषा देते हुए दोनों की विभिन्नता को प्रमाणित करते हैं। 'मानसार' में नगर को वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रय करने वालों से परिपूर्ण (जनैः परिवृतं क्रयविक्रयकादिभिः), विभिन्न जातियों का निवास स्थान (अनेकजातिसंयुक्तम्) तथा

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कारीगरों का केन्द्र (कर्म्मकारैः समन्वितम्) बताया गया है।[३] 'मयमत' में इसे क्रय-विक्रय करने वाले वणिकों का निवासस्थान (क्रयविक्रयकैर्युक्तम्) कहा गया है।[४] इन ग्रन्थों के अनुसार नगर की चारों दिशाओं में चार द्वार होते हैं (दिक्षु चतुर्द्वारयुक्तम्) तथा उसमें सुन्दर शालायें बनी रहती हैं (शालाढ्यम्)।[५] पर नगर की अपेक्षा ग्राम का सन्निवेश बहुत ही साधारण ढंग पर होता था। 'समराङ्गणसूत्राधार' के अनुसार ग्राम में व्यापारी तथा व्यावसायिक कम हुआ करते हैं। इसमें प्रायः साधारण वित्त वाले लोग ही रहते हैं। ग्राम में निर्मित घरों की बनावट बहुत ही साधारण होती है।[६]

नगर में रहनेवाले स्वभावचतुर माने जाते थे। उनके वार्तालाप का ढंग तथा व्यवहार ग्रामवासियों से अधिक शिष्ट तथा अवसर के अनुकूल होता था। 'शाकुन्तलम्' में 'नागरिकवृत्ति' का उल्लेख किया गया है। राजा नाटक के पञ्चमांक में विदूषक से कहता है कि हे सखे! तुम हंसपदिका को, जो मुझसे रुष्ट है नागरिकवृत्ति के द्वारा प्रसन्न करो (सखे! गच्छ, नागरिकवृत्त्या सान्त्वयैनाम्)[७]। यहाँ पर नागरिकवृत्ति का अर्थ नगर में रहने वालों के विदग्ध-व्यवहार तथा बातचीत के निपुण ढंग से है। चीनी यात्री य्वान् च्वांग लिखता है कि कान्यकुब्ज के नागरिक शिष्ट तथा वार्तालाप में दक्ष थे।[८]

'मालविकाग्निमित्रम्' में ग्राम-नगर-भेद के विषय में एक बड़ा ही महत्त्वपूर्ण उल्लेख मिलता है। इस ग्रन्थ के प्रथम अंक में अभिनय के दोनों आचार्य हरदत्त, और गणदास आपस में एक-दूसरे को हराने की ठान कर राज-दरबार में आते हैं। वे सम्राट् से कहते हैं कि हम दोनों के कला-ज्ञान कीपरीक्षा आप स्वयमेव करने का कष्ट करें। आप ही बता सकेंगे कि हम दोनों में कौन बढ़ कर है। इसी बीच महारानी धारिणी, परिव्राजिका कौशिकी के साथ राजदरबार में आ पहुँचती हैं। सम्राट् परिव्राजिका का अभिवादन करते हुए उन्हें बैठाते हैं और उनसे निवेदन करते हैं कि इन दोनों आचार्यों में कौन अधिक योग्य है, इसका निपटारा आप ही कर दें। इस पर परिव्राजिका कहती है:—"ठिठोली मत कीजिए महाराज। भला नगर के रहते हुए भी रत्न की परख कहीं गांव में की जाती है?"[९] इस सन्दर्भ से स्पष्ट है कि कला एवं संस्कृति की दृष्टि से ग्राम की अपेक्षा नगर का महत्त्व निश्चयात्मक रूप से अधिक हुआ करता था।

नगर राग एवं लिप्सा का केन्द्र माना जाता था। निवृत्ति के प्रेमियों का कहना था कि प्रवृत्तिमूलक नगर-जीवन में परमार्थ की प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकती। इसके लिए उपयुक्त स्थान अरण्य समझा जाता था, जिसमें लोकोत्तरपरायणता में विश्वास करने वाले रहते थे। पारमार्थिक बौधायन ने कहा है कि पुर में रहने वाले मनुष्य का नेत्र, वदन एवं शरीर कुण्ठित हो जाता है तथा फलस्वरूप वह सिद्धि-प्राप्ति के लिए अयोग्य हो जाता है।[१०] शान्तिमय वातावरण में रहने वाला अरण्यवासी जब नगर में पहुँचता था, उस समय उसे वहाँ की चहल-पहल पर घृणा होने लगती थी। 'शाकुन्तलम्' में शार्ङ्गरव जब हस्तिनापुर में पहुँचता है, उस समय वह जनरव से घबड़ा कर अपने साथी से कहता है कि मित्र शारद्वत! मैंने माना कि यह महाभाग्यवान् राजा दुष्यन्त किसी तरह की मर्यादा को नहीं छोड़ता तथा इसके नगर में रहने वाला कोई भी जन पथभ्रष्ट नहीं है, तथापि बहुत दिनों से निर्जन स्थान में रहने की आदत पड़ जाने के कारण यह जनाकीर्ण नगर मुझे वैसा ही लगता है जैसे मनुष्य को अग्नि की ज्वाला से आवेष्ठित घर की दृष्टि असह्य हो जाती है।[११] शारद्वत भी शार्ङ्गरव की बात का समर्थन करता हुआ हस्तिनापुर के निवासियों की सांसारिकता पर घृणा प्रकट करता है तथा कहता है कि लौकिक सुख में लिप्त यहाँ के निवासियों को मैं उसी प्रकार देखता हूँ, जिस प्रकार स्नान किया हुआ मनुष्य तेल लगाये हुए मनुष्य को, पवित्र-अपवित्र को, जागता हुआ सोते को तथा स्वतन्त्र-परतन्त्र को घृणित दृष्टि से देखता है'[१२]। भासकृत 'स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्' में भी नागरिक जीवन को प्रवृत्तिप्रधान तथा अरण्यजीवन को निवृत्तिप्रधान बता कर दोनों का भेद स्पष्ट किया गया है। इस नाटक में कञ्चुकी राजपुरुषों को फटकारता हुआ कहता है—"हे! यहाँ तपोवन में भगदड़ मचाने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। आप लोग राजा की बदनामी को बचा लें। आश्रमवासियों

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के प्रति कठोर वचन का व्यवहार कभी भी नहीं करना चाहिए। ये मनस्वी नगर के परिभवों से बचने के लिये ही तो आकर वन में बसते हैं।"[१३]

नगर-मापन

प्राचीन भारतीय नगरों की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता इनके निर्माण की शैली थी। 'महापरिनिब्बान-सुत्त'[१४] में इसके लिये 'नगर-मापन' शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है। इसका उल्लेख 'महा-उम्मग-जातक'[१५] 'महाभारत'[१६] तथा 'मिलिन्दपञ्हो'[१७] में भी हुआ है। कतिपय अन्य साक्ष्यों में 'नगर-मापन' के स्थान पर 'नगर-निवेशन', 'नगर-स्थापन', 'नगर-विन्यास', 'नगर-विनिवेश', 'पुर-निवेशन', 'पुर-स्थापन' तथा 'नगर-करण' आदि शब्दों का उल्लेख मिलता है; उदाहरणार्थ रामायण,'[१८] खारबेल का हाथीगुम्फ[२]-लेख,[१९] युग पुराण,[२०] समराङ्गणसूत्रधार,[२१] युक्तिकल्पतरु,[२२] मयमत[२३], अपराजितपृच्छा[२४] इत्यादि।

शिल्पिसंघ

प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में नगर-मापन-सम्बन्धी शिल्पियों के नाम आते हैं। इनमें सबसे प्रधान शिल्पी विश्वकर्मा हुआ करता था। महाभारत'[२५] के अनुसार द्वारका का निर्माण विश्वकर्मा के पर्यवेक्षण में सम्पन्न हुआ था। हरिवंश'[२६] में भी द्वारका-निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में विश्वकर्मा का उल्लेख हुआ है। पालिसाहित्य[२७] में उसे 'वत्थुविज्जाजरिय' (वास्तुविद्याचार्य) कहा गया है। विश्वकर्मा को कार्य में सहायता प्रदान करने के लिए कई सहायक शिल्पकार हुआ करते थे। 'शुक्रनीतिसार' में इनका वर्गीकरण तीन भागों में किया गया है:—(१) आराम-कृत्रिम-वनकारिण:—इस वर्ग के शिल्पकार तटाक तथा उद्यान के निर्माण में दक्ष थे, (२) दुर्गकारिण:—ये नगर की किलेबन्दी में निपुण हुआ करते थे तथा (३) मार्ग-कारा:—ये राजमार्गों के निर्माण में कुशल थे।[२८] 'रघुवंश' में नगर-मापन-सम्बन्धी प्रधान एवं गौण शिल्पकारों के समुदाय के लिए 'शिल्पिसङ्घ' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। इस ग्रन्थ के अनुसार नाना शिल्पियों के समूह (शिल्पिसङ्घ) ने अयोध्या का पुनर्निर्माण किया था।[२९]

पुरचिह्न

जिस भूमि में नगर का निर्माण करना होता था, उसको शिल्पी अच्छी तरह नाप लेते थे। 'अपराजितपृच्छा' में विश्वकर्मा को सूत्रधार कहा गया है। इसका कारण यह है कि वह सूत के द्वारा पुरभूमि की नापजोख करता था (मानोन्मानप्रमाणं च ज्ञायते सूत्रकर्मणा)[३०]। निश्चित योजना के अनुसार वह कीलों को विभिन्न भागों में यथास्थान गाड़ देता था (आनीय कीलकं सूत्रं रोपयेच्चतुर्दिशम्)।[३१] इनमें मोटे धागों को बाँध कर वह एक-दूसरे से मिला देता था। इन सूतों के सहारे वह चिह्न लगाता था। इस प्रकार पूरे धरातल में, जहाँ नगर-मापन करना होता था, यह स्पष्ट कर दिया जाता था कि किस भाग में परिखा तथा किनमें प्राकार, राजप्रासाद एवं राजमार्गों इत्यादि का निर्माण होगा। पाणिनि ने 'पारिखेयी[३२] भूमि' (अर्थात् वह भाग जहाँ खाई का निर्माण करना था), 'प्राकारीय देश'[३३] (अर्थात् वह भाग जहाँ नगर की दीवाल बनानी थी), तथा 'प्रासादीया भूमि'[३४] (अर्थात् वह पुर-भाग जहाँ राजमहल का निर्माण करना था) का उल्लेख किया है। ये शब्द नगर-मापन के पूर्व किये गये पुर-चिह्नों की ओर संकेत करते हैं।

सन्निवेश की विभिन्नता

प्राचीन भारतीय ग्रन्थों में नगरों का विभाजन उनके सन्निवेश की दृष्टि से निम्न भागों में किया गया है—(१) राजधानी, (२) पत्तन (३) द्रोणमुख, (४) पुटभेदन (५) निगम (६) स्थानीय, (७) खर्वट तथा (८) खेट।

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राजधानी

इस वर्ग का नगर सबसे बड़ा जनसन्निवेश था। इसका प्रधान कारण यहाँ पर राजप्रासाद का वर्तमान होना था। प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में राजधानी शब्द का प्रयोग बहुधा राजा की प्रधान नगरी के अर्थ में हुआ है, उदाहरणार्थ 'रघुवंश' में इक्ष्वाकु राजाओं की नगरी अयोध्या को राजधानी कहा गया है।[३५] 'समराङ्गणसूत्रधार' में राजधानी से तात्पर्य उस नगर से बताया गया है, जहाँ पर राजा रहता है।[३६] 'मयमतम्' के अनुसार राजधानी वह नगर है, जहाँ राजप्रासाद वर्तमान होता है।[३७] 'शब्दकल्पद्रुम' में राजधानी को राजाओं की नगरी (राज्ञां धानी नगरी) कहा गया है।[३८]

'शुक्रनीति' के अनुसार इस प्रकार के नगर के चतुर्दिक् परिखा, प्राकार एवं नगर-द्वारों का होना अनिवार्य है तथा इसके भीतरी भाग में चौड़े राजमार्गों, सुन्दर उपवनों, भवनों एवं सरोवरों का निर्माण वाञ्छनीय है।[३९] 'मानसार' के अनुसार भी राजधानी की चारों दिशाओं में चार नगर-द्वारों का वर्तमान होना (चतुर्दिक्षु चतुर्द्वारम्) तथा इसके भीतर यथास्थान धार्मिक भवनों की स्थिति (पूर्णं नानादेवालयैरपि) आवश्यक है।[४०] 'मयमतम्' में राजधानी के सम्बन्ध में इससे मिलते-जुलते लक्षण गिनाये गये हैं; उदाहरणार्थ (१) इस प्रकार का नगर परिखा के द्वारा परिवेष्टित होता है (परितः परिखा बाह्ये), (२) इसकी रक्षा के लिए नगर-द्वारों के सामने सैनिकों के शिविर बने रहते हैं (शिविर-युतानेकमुखरक्षा), (३) नगर के भीतर तथा बाहर शत्रु के आक्रमण को रोकने के लिए राजा की सेना नियुक्त रहती है (राजबलयुक्ता), (४) इसमें स्थान-स्थान पर ऊँचे द्वारों का निर्माण किया जाता है (उन्नतगोपुरयुक्ता), (५) इसके आन्तरिक भाग में विभिन्न प्रकार की शालाएं बनी रहती हैं (नानाविधशालिकोपेता), (६) इसमें सब प्रकार के धार्मिक भवन (सर्वसुरालयसहिता), गणिकाएं (नानागणिकान्विता), उद्यान (बहूद्याना) तथा सब प्रकार के लोग (सर्वजनयुक्ता) वर्तमान होते हैं।[४१] इस स्थान पर उल्लेखनीय हो जाता है कि उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थों में राजधानी के जो लक्षण गिनाये गये हैं, उनमें से अनेक प्राचीन भारत की राजधानियों में विद्यमान थे। पाटलिपुत्र, कान्यकुब्ज, हस्तिनापुर द्वारका, मथुरा इत्यादि इस कोटि के सभी नगर प्राकार, परिखा, गोपुर, शिबिर तथा विशाल महलों से युक्त थे तथा उनके भीतर उद्यान, मन्दिर, सरोवर राजमार्ग इत्यादि विद्यमान थे, जिनके कारण इनकी शोभा अन्वीक्षणीय थी।

पत्तन

प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में पत्तन शब्द समुद्री ब दरगाह के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। जैन साहित्य में इसे जलपट्टन कहा गया है (अर्थात् वह नगर जहाँ विदेशी माल उतारा जाता था तथा देशी माल का निर्यात होता था[४२])। 'अमरकोष' में भी पत्तन शब्द आता है। क्षीरस्वामी की 'अमरकोष-टीका' के अनुसार पत्तन वह केन्द्र है, जहाँ पर चारों दिशाओं से सामान आता हो (पतन्त्यस्मिन्पत्तनम्)[४३]। पत्तन शब्द की इस व्याख्या से समुद्री बन्दरगाह का बोध होता है। शिल्पशास्त्रों में भी समुद्री बंदरगाह को ही पत्तन कहा गया है। 'मानसार' के अनुसार उस नगर को पत्तन कहते हैं जो कि समुद्र-तट पर स्थित होता है (अब्धितीरप्रदेशे), जिसमें विशेषतः बनिये रहते हैं (वणिग्जातिभिराकीर्णम्), जहाँ वस्तुएं सर्वदा खरीदी तथा बेंची जाती हैं (क्रयविक्रयपूरितम्) तथा जो बाहरी देशों से (द्वीपान्तरैः) विक्रय के निमित्त लाई गई सामग्री से परिपूर्ण होता है[४४]।

पत्तन की यही परिभाषा कालान्तर के शिल्पशास्त्रों में दी गई है। उदाहरणार्थ 'मयमतम्' में इसे सागर के किनारे बसा हुआ (सागरवेलाभ्याशे), क्रय-विक्रय के वातावरण से परिपूर्ण (क्रयविक्रयकैर्युक्तम्) तथा विदेशों की वस्तुओं से युक्त (द्वीपान्तरागतवस्तुभिर्युक्तं) कहा गया है।[४५] 'शिल्परत्न' में भी पत्तन को समुद्रतट पर वर्तमान (साग-रानूपसंश्रितम्) तथा व्यापारियों एवं जहाज चलाने वालों से परिपूर्ण (सांयात्रिकवणिग्जुष्टम्) कहा गया है।[४६] इस

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प्रकार के नगरों में कावेरीपत्तन तथा मसुलीपत्तन आदि उन नगरों का दृष्टान्त प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है जो कि समुद्र-तट पर स्थित थे तथा जिनके नाम के अन्त में पत्तन शब्द मिलता है। इन नगरों में सचमुच ही विदेशों के जहाज आकर लगते थे तथा इनसे सामान बाहरी देशों को प्रचुर मात्रा में भेजा जाता था। प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में इन नगरों का व्यापारिक वातावरण वैसा ही मिलता है जैसा कि पत्तन की परिभाषा के सम्बन्ध में शिल्पशास्त्रों में कहा गया है।

द्रोणमुख अथवा द्रोणीमुख

इस सन्निवेश से तात्पर्य उस नगर से प्रतीत होता है, जो कि घाटी (द्रोणी) के मुख अर्थात् नदी के मुहाने पर स्थित होता था। जैन साहित्य में द्रोणमुख शब्द का उल्लेख मिलता है। इससे विदित होता है कि यहाँ पर जलमार्ग तथा स्थलमार्ग दोनों से ही माल उतरते थे[४७]। इसका कारण जलमार्ग तथा स्थलमार्ग से द्रोणमुख का सम्बन्ध माना जा सकता है। मानसार' में इस सन्निवेश के लिए द्रोणान्तर शब्द का प्रयोग किया गया है (द्रोणान्तरमुदाहृतम्)। इस ग्रन्थ के अनुसार यह नगर समुद्र-तट के पास नदी के मुहाने पर स्थित होता है (समुद्रतटिनीयुक्तम्), इसमें वणिक् तथा नाना जातियों के लोग रहते हैं (वणिग्भिः सह नानाभिर्जनैर्युक्तं जनास्पदम्) तथा वस्तुओं का क्रय-विक्रय खूब होता है (क्रयविक्रयसंयुक्तम्)।[४८]

कालान्तर के शिल्पशास्त्रों में द्रोणान्तर के स्थान पर द्रोणमुख अथवा द्रोणीमुख शब्द आते हैं। उनमें भी इसका समान वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है। 'मयमतम्' के अनुसार द्रोणमुख नदी तथा समुद्र के सन्धिस्थल अर्थात् नदी के मुहाने पर स्थित होता है (नद्याब्धिदक्षिणाभागम्) तथा उसमें वणिक् इत्यादि विशेष रूप से रहते हैं (वणिगादिसंयुक्तम्)[४९]। द्रोणमुख से इस प्रकार के जनसन्निवेश का भाव बहुत बाद तक माना जाता रहा। मध्यकालीन ग्रन्थ शिल्परत्न' में इसकी स्थिति नदी तथा समुद्र के सङ्गम पर मानी गई है (अब्धेश्च नद्याश्च सङ्गमागतपोतकम्) तथा विदेशों से आये हुए वणिकों से इसे परिपूर्ण बताया गया है (द्वीपान्तर्वणिग्जुष्टम्)।[५०] इस वर्ग के नगरों में उस ताम्रलिप्ति का उदाहरण दिया जा सकता है, जो समुद्र तथा नदी के सङ्गम पर बसा हुआ था तथा जो आयात एवं निर्यात का प्रतिष्ठित केन्द्र था।

पुटभेदन

बड़े व्यापारिक केन्द्रों को पुटभेदन कहा जाता था। उदाहरणार्थ 'मिलिन्दपञ्हो' (मिलिन्दप्रश्न) में शाकल को पुटभेदन कहा गया।[५१] इसी प्रकार 'महापरिनिब्बानसुत्त' में पाटलिपुत्र को पुटभेदन कहा गया है।[५२] 'अमरकोष' में भी बड़े नगर के लिये पुटभेदन शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है।[५३] 'शिशुपालवध' में इन्द्रप्रस्थ को पुटभेदन कहा गया है।[५४] बड़े नगरों में थोक माल की गाठें आती थीं जो कि मुहरबन्द हुआ करती थीं। पुरातत्व-विभाग के द्वारा की गई खुदाइयों में इस प्रकार की मुहरें प्राप्त हुई हैं। मुहर को तोड़कर गाँठ खोल दी जाती थीं और उसके उपरान्त उसमें भरा हुआ माल फुटकरियों के हाथ में बेंच दिया जाता था[५५]। मुहरों के इस प्रकार तोड़ी जाने के कारण ही विशिष्ट व्यापारिक केन्द्र पुटभेदन कहलाने लगे।[५६] क्षीरस्वामी ने भी 'अमरकोष-टीका' में पुटभेदन शब्द की व्याख्या लगभग इसी प्रकार की है। उनके अनुसार पुटभेदन में भरे हुए बर्तनों के बन्द ढक्कन खोले जाते थे।[५७] 'समराङ्गणसूत्रधार' में कहा गया है कि इस प्रकार के नगर में वणिक् बहुसंख्या में रहते थे।[५८]

निगम

प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में निगम का प्रयोग व्यापारियों की समितियों के अर्थ में हुआ है, पर कहीं कहीं यह शब्द नगर

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के रूप में भी प्रयुक्त मिलता है। 'अमरकोष' में निगम को एक प्रकार का नगर माना गया है।[५९] जैन साहित्य से विदित होता है कि यह व्यापारियों का नगर था और यहाँ पर प्रधानतः लेन-देन तथा व्याज बट्टे का काम होता था।[६०] बसाढ़ (बैशाली) से मिली हुई एक मुहर पर 'कुलिक-निगम' शब्द उत्कीर्ण मिलता है। डाक्टर भण्डारकर[६१] तथा मजुमदार[६२] महोदयों का कथन है कि यहाँ पर निगम शब्द का अर्थ नगर है। 'कुलिक-निगम' से तात्पर्य उस नगर से लगता है जिसमें प्रधान रूप से कुलिक (कारीगर) रहते थे।

शिल्पशास्त्रों में निगम शब्द कारीगरों तथा व्यावसायिकों का नगर माना गया है। 'मानसार' में निगम को कर्म्मकारों (कारीगरों) से परिपूर्ण बताया गया है।[६३] 'मयमतम्' में निगम को कर्म्मकारों (कारीगरों) की बस्ती कहा गया है[६४]। 'शिल्परत्न' के अनुसार निगम में कर्म्मकार तथा कर्मोपजीवी रहते हैं (कर्म्मकारैर्नानाकर्मोपजीविभिः)[६५]। प्राचीन ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन से इतना तो स्पष्ट है कि व्यावसायिकों की कभी-कभी अलग वस्तियाँ भी हुआ करती थीं। उदाहरणार्थ एक जातक में वाराणसी के पास ही स्थित एक ऐसी विशाल बस्ती का नाम लिया गया है, जहाँ पर एक हजार बढ़ई रहते थे[६६]। इसी प्रकार एक दूसरे जातक में कारीगरों के एक बहुत बड़े पुरवे का उल्लेख मिलता है, जिसमें उनकी संख्या एक हजार के लगभग थी[६७]। इस प्रकार की बस्तियों का आविर्भाव व्यवसाय के केन्द्रीकरण के कारण हुआ होगा। शिल्पशास्त्रों का निगम से तात्पर्य कारीगरों की उन बस्तियों से है, जिन्होंने नगर का रूप धारण कर लिया था।

स्थानीय

इस शब्द का उल्लेख सर्वप्रथम 'अर्थशास्त्र' में मिलता है। इस ग्रन्थ के अनुसार स्थानीय ८०० ग्रामों के मध्य में स्थित जनसन्निवेश था।[६८] क्षीरस्वामी की 'अमरकोष-टीका' में भी स्थानीय को ८०० ग्रामों के मध्य में स्थित नगर माना गया है।[६९] कौटिल्य के ८०० ग्रामों वाले भाग से किसी बड़े राजनीतिक भाग का बोध होता है, क्योंकि उन्होंने जिन ग्रामों का उल्लेख किया है उनकी सीमा 'अर्थशास्त्र' में एक कोस से लेकर दो कोस तक बताई गई है[७०] तथा उनमें परिवारों की संख्या एक सौ से लेकर पाँच सौ तक बताई गई है।[७१] सम्भव है कि यहाँ पर उनका संकेत जनपद अर्थात् जिले की ओर हो, जिनमें कई-सौ ग्राम सम्मिलित रहते होंगे। इससे यह तात्पर्य निकाला जा सकता है कि 'अर्थशास्त्र' में स्थानीय शब्द का उल्लेख जनपद के प्रधान अधिष्ठान के रूप में हुआ है।

शिल्पशास्त्रों से भी स्पष्ट होता है कि यह एक महत्त्वपूर्ण जनसन्निवेश था। 'मानसार' के अनुसार वहाँ पर रक्षकों की एक सेना रहती थी (बहुरक्षसमायुक्तम्), जिसके कारण वहाँ के निवासी बहुत अधिक सुरक्षा एवं सुख का अनुभव करते थे (बहुसुखावहम्)।[७२] 'मयमत' में कहा गया है कि यहाँ पर बहुत से रक्षक (सबहुरक्षम्) तथा राजकीय गृह विद्यमान हुआ करते थे (नृपभवनयुतम्)।[७३] ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि कालान्तर में स्थानीय शब्द का प्रयोग नगर के स्थान पर पुलिस की चौकी के अर्थ में होने लगा। 'शिल्परत्न' में कहा गया है कि राष्ट्र के सीमाप्रान्तों पर स्थानीय विद्यमान होते थे, जहाँ पर राजकीय सेना रहती थी (राजबलान्वितम्) तथा सीमा का रक्षा-सम्बन्धी प्रमुख अधिकारी रहता था (राष्ट्रस्यान्तकपालाश्च)।[७४] इससे विदित होता है कि यहाँ पर इस शब्द का अर्थ रक्षकों का स्थान है न कि नगर। लगता है कि आधुनिक थाना (जहाँ पुलिस की चौकी रहती है) शब्द इसी स्थानीय (जहाँ रक्षकों का स्थान हुआ करता था) शब्द का अपभ्रंश है।

खर्वट अथवा कर्वट

यह स्थानीय से छोटा जनसन्निवेश था, क्योंकि 'अर्थशास्त्र' में स्थानीय को यदि ८०० ग्रामों वाले भाग का

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प्रधान अधिष्ठान कहा गया है तो खर्वट को केवल २०० ग्रामों वाले भाग का प्रधान अधिष्ठान बताया गया है[७५]। सम्भव है कि यह जनपद (जिले) के किसी आधुनिक तहसील जैसे भाग का प्रधान नगर रहा हो। 'अर्थशास्त्र' में इस सन्निवेश के लिए पाठान्तर के साथ खार्वटिक तथा कार्वटिक दोनों शब्दों का प्रयोग किया गया है[७६]। 'विष्णुपुराण' में खार्वटिक के लिये खर्वट शब्द आता है।[७७] वात्स्यायन ने खर्वट को 'सज्जनाश्रय' अर्थात् सभ्य नागरिकों के निवास के अनुकूल कहा है।[७८] 'समराङ्गणसूत्रधार' में इसे कर्वट कहा गया है। इसके अनुसार कर्वट में नगर-तत्त्व अधिक होता है।[७९]

शिल्पशास्त्रों में इसे प्रायः खर्वट ही कहा गया है। वे इसके सन्निवेश पर प्रकाश डालते हैं। 'मानसार' के अनुसार खर्वट बहुधा पर्वत के सन्निकट स्थित होता है (परितः पर्वतैर्युक्तम्) तथा इसमें प्रायः सभी जाति के लोग रहते हैं (नानाजातिगृहैर्वृतम्)।[८०] 'मयमतम्' में खर्वट की ठीक यही परिभाषा दी गई है। इसमें भी खर्वट को पर्वत के समीप स्थित (पर्वतयुक्तं खर्वटम्) तथा सब प्रकार के लोगों से परिपूर्ण (सर्वजनसहितम्) कहा गया है।[८१] इसमें प्रायः सभी वर्गों के निवास का कारण यही बताया जा सकता है कि पर्वत के समीप स्थित होने के कारण खर्वट को सुरक्षा का एक प्राकृतिक साधन मिल जाता था।

खेट अथवा खेटक

पाणिनि ने खेट को गर्हित नगर कहा है।[८२] इसी प्रकार 'अमरकोष' में इसे 'कुत्सित' नगर कहा गया है।[८३] इससे विदित होता है कि खेट बहुत साधारण प्रकार का सन्निवेश था तथा इसमें सभ्य लोग नहीं रहते थे। 'मानसार' के अनुसार इसमें बहुधा शूद्र ही रहते थे (शूद्रालयसमन्वितं खेटमुक्तम् पुरातनैः)।[८४] इसी प्रकार 'मयमतम्' में भी इसमें शूद्रों की बहुसंख्या बताई गई है (शूद्रैरधिष्ठितं तु तत्खेटम्)[८५]। 'शिल्परत्न' से भी विदित होता है कि खेट बहुधा ग्रामों के बीच वर्तमान होता था (ग्रामयोः खेटकम् मध्ये)।[८६] इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि ग्रामों के मध्य में स्थित होने के कारण खेट में ग्राम-तत्त्व का भी सम्मिश्रण रहता होगा। लगता है कि आधुनिक खेड़ा शब्द खेट शब्द से निकला है।[८७] इस स्थान पर उल्लेखनीय है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के पश्चिमी जिलों में खेड़ा नामक कई गांव मिलते हैं। इससे भी यही प्रतिपादित होता है कि प्राचीन खेट (जिसका अपभ्रंश खेड़ा है) कोई महत्त्वपूर्ण सन्निवेश नहीं था।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१ अष्टाध्यायी, ७, ३, १४।

२ 'अहं न ग्रामान्तरं न नगरान्तरं वा गतः' मृच्छकटिक, अङ्क १।

३ मानसार, अध्याय ९।

४ मयमत, अध्याय १०।

५ वही, अध्याय १०।

६ समराङ्गणसूत्रधार, पृष्ठ ८६।

७ अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, अङ्क ५।

८ वाटर्स, १, ३४१।

९ "अलमुपालम्भेन ! पत्तने सति ग्रामे रत्नपरीक्षा", मालविकाग्निमित्रम्, अङ्क १।

१० "पुररेणुकुण्ठितशरीरस्तत्परिपूर्णनेत्रवदनश्च नगरे वसन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यतीति न तदस्ति", बौधायन, धर्मसूत्र, २, ३, ५३।

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११ "महाभागः कामं नरपतिरभिन्नस्थितिरसौ
न कश्चिद् वर्णानामपथमपकृष्टोऽपि भजते।
तथापीदं शश्वत्परिचितविविक्तेन मनसा
जनाकीर्णं मन्ये हुतवहपरीतं गृहमिव॥" अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, ५।११।

१२ "अभ्यक्तमिव स्नातः शुचिरशुचिमिव प्रबुद्ध इव सुप्तम्।
बद्धमिव स्वैरगतिर्जनमिव सुखसङ्गिनमवैमि॥" वही, ५। १२।

१३ "परिहरतु भवान् नृपापवादं न परुषमाश्रमवासिषु प्रयोज्यम्।
नगरपरिभवान् विमोक्तुमेते वनमभिगम्य मनस्विनो वसन्ति॥" स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्, अंक १।

१४ "सुनीधवस्सकारा मगधमहामत्ता पाटलिग्रामे नगरं मापेन्ति", दिग्घनिकाय, २। १६। २६।
"मिथिला च विदेहानम् चम्पा अंगेसु मापिता।
वाराणसी च कासीनम् एते गोविन्द-मापितेति॥" वही, १९। ३६।

१५ "नगरं वैदेहेन सुमापितम्", जातक, ६, ४४८।

१६ "नगरं मापयामासुः", महाभारत, आदिपर्व, अध्याय १९९।

१७ "नगरं मापेतुकामो", मिलिन्दपञ्हो, पृष्ठ ३२।

१८ "निवेश्य पञ्चभिर्वर्षैर्भरतो राघवानुजः", रामायण, उत्तरकाण्ड, सर्ग १०१। पङ्क्ति ३१।

१९ "वातविहित-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति", सरकार, सेलेक्ट इन्सक्रिप्शन्स, पृष्ठ २०७।

२० "स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुण्यारामजनाकुलम्", युग-पुराण, पृष्ट ३१।

२१ "पुरस्य विनिवेशस्तु", समराङ्गणसूत्रधार, पृष्ठ २३७।

२२ "नगरं कारयेन्नृपः", युक्तिकल्पतरु, पृष्ठ २२।

२३ "नगरादीनां विन्यासम्", मयमत, पृष्ठ ३८।

२४ अपराजितपृच्छा, पृष्ठ १८९।

२५ "द्वारकामावृतां रम्यां सुकृतां विश्वकर्मणा", महाभारत, सभापर्व, अध्याय ५७। पङ्क्ति ६।

२६ "विश्वकर्मा च तां कृत्वा पुरीं शक्रपुरीमिव", हरिवंश, विष्णुपर्व, अध्याय ५८। पङ्क्ति १११।

२७ जातक, १। २९७।

२८ शुक्रनीतिसार, अध्याय २, पङ्क्ति ३९०।

२९ "तां शिल्पिसङ्घाः प्रभुणा नियुक्तास्तथागतां सम्भृतसाधनत्वात्।
पुरीं नवीचक्रुरपां विसर्गात् मेघाः निदाघग्लपितामिवोर्वीम्।"
रघुवंश, १६। ३८।

३० अपराजितपृच्छा, पृष्ठ ११९।

३१ वही, पृष्ठ १२३।

३२ अष्टाध्यायी, ५। १। १७।

३३ पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष, पृष्ठ १४३।

३४ वही, पृष्ठ १४३।

३५ "अयोध्यामनुराजधानीम्", रघुवंश, १३। ६१।

३६ "यत्रास्ते नगरे राजा राजधानीं तु तां विदुः" समराङ्गणसूत्रधार, पृष्ठ ८६। पङ्क्ति ३।

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३७ "या नृपवेश्मसमेता सा कथिता राजधानीति", मयमतम्, अध्याय १०। पङ्क्ति ४९।
३८ शब्दकल्पद्रुम, भाग ४। पृष्ठ ११७।
३९ शुक्रनीति, अध्याय १।
४० मानसार, अध्याय १०। पृष्ठ ५३।
४१ मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
४२ सार्थवाह, पृष्ठ १६३।
४३ अमरकोष, (हरदत्त शर्मा–सम्पादित), पृष्ठ ७४।
४४ मानसार, अध्याय १०।
४५ मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
४६ शिल्परत्न, अध्याय ५।
४७ सार्थवाह, पृष्ठ १६३।
४८ मानसार, अध्याय १०।
४९ मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
५० शिल्परत्न, अध्याय ५।
५१ "नानापुटभेदनं सागलं नाम नगरम्", मिलिन्दपञ्हो, पृष्ठ २।
५२ "पाटलिपुत्तं पुटभेदनम्", दीघनिकाय (द्वितीय भाग), पृष्ठ ७२।
५३ अमरकोष, द्वितीय काण्ड, पृष्ठ ११६ (हरदत्त शर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित)।
५४ शिशुपालवध, १३, २६।
५५ सार्थवाह, पृष्ठ १६।
५६ भारत की मौलिक एकता, पृष्ठ १२१।
५७ "पुटा भाण्डवासनानि भिद्यन्तेऽस्मिन् पुटभेदनम्", अमरकोष (हरदत्त शर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित). पृष्ठ ७४।
५८ "बहुस्फीतवणिग्युक्तं तदुक्तं पुटभेदनम्", समराङ्गणसूत्रधार, पृष्ठ ८७। पङ्क्ति १०।
५९ अमरकोष (हरदत्त शर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित), पृष्ठ ७४।
६० सार्थवाह, पृष्ठ १६३।
६१ कारमाइकेल लेक्चर्स, पृष्ठ १७०।
६२ कारपोरेट लाइफ, पृष्ठ ४४–४५।
६३ "बहुकर्मकारैर्युक्तं निगमं तदुदाहृतम्", मानसार, अध्याय १०। पङ्क्ति ८४।
६४ "बहुकर्मकारैर्युक्तं यन्निगमं तत्समुद्दिष्टम्", मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
६५ शिल्परत्न, अध्याय ५।
६६ "महावड्ढकिगामो", जातक ४। १५९।
६७ "कम्मारगामो", वही, ३। २८१।

यही 'कम्मारगाम' जब नगर का रूप धारण कर लेता होगा, उस समय उसे लोग 'कम्मारनगर' अर्थात् 'कर्मकारनगर' (निगम) कहने लगे होंगे।

६८ "अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयम्", अर्थशास्त्र, (शामाशास्त्री), पृष्ठ ४६।
६९ "तिष्ठन्त्यस्मिन्नित्यष्टशतग्रामीमध्ये स्थानीयम्", अमरकोष, (शर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित), पृष्ठ ७४।

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७० "क्रोशद्विक्रोशसीमानम्", अर्थशास्त्र, पृष्ठ ४५।
७१ "कुलशतावरं पञ्चशतकुलपरं ग्रामम्", अर्थशास्त्र, (शामशास्त्री), पृष्ठ ४५।
७२ मानसार, अध्याय १०।
७३ मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
७४ शिल्परत्न, अध्याय ५।
७५ "द्विशतग्राम्या खार्वटिकम्", अर्थशास्त्र, (शास्त्री), पृष्ठ ४६।
इस स्थान पर उल्लेखनीय है कि क्षीरस्वामी ने खर्वट को ४०० ग्रामों का प्रधान केन्द्र माना है—
"खर्वटश्चतुःशतग्रामाणां सङ्ग्रहस्थानम्", अमरकोष, (शर्मा द्वारा सम्पादित), पृष्ठ ३५४।
७६ अर्थशास्त्र (शास्त्री), पृष्ठ ४६।
७७ विष्णुपुराण, अंक १। अध्याय ६। पङ्क्ति ३६।
७८ कामसूत्र, पृष्ठ ४२। सूत्र २।
७९ "कर्वटं नगरोपमम्", समराङ्गणसूत्रधार, पृष्ठ ८६।
८० मानसार, अध्याय १०।
८१ मयमतम्, अध्याय १०।
८२ "चेल-खेट-कटुक-काण्डं गर्हायाम्", अष्टाध्यायी, ६। २। १२६।
८३ अमरकोष (शर्मा-संपादित), पृष्ठ २४७।
८४ मानसार, अध्याय १०।
८५ मयमतम्, अ० १०।

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THE INDO-ARYAN OR INDO-CASPIAN HEAD FORM

By

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Introduction

The Indo-Aryans or the Indo-Caspians are known to possess a long head (dolichocephalic) with high vault and a cranial capacity of about 1300-1400 c.c. According to Kappers (1934) the Indo-Aryan or the Indo-Caspian peak of the cephalic index curve, as seen in some of the true representatives of this race, like the Balti of the Hindu Kush mountains is 72 for the head and 71 for the skull. Kappers has used the terms Indo-Aryan and Indo-Caspian almost synonymously in his famous study and this has been discussed in detail in a recent publication by the present writer (1964). In view of the ambiguity of the term Aryan it is probably desirable to use the term Caspian, which conveys a geographical sense. This view has its basis in the prehistoric crania excavated from Tepe Hissar in Damghan on the southern coast of the Caspian Sea. The crania found from periods I and II of Tepe Hissar not only show the highest frequency of the 71 cranial index but also appear to be of the same racial type as the inhabitants of Panjab (Kappers, 1934). This is also apparent in the majority of crania found from various sites of the Indus Valley (Sarkar, 1964).

In the present paper an attempt has been made to show the distribution of the 72 index-peak among the Brahmins of Northern India, and the cranial remains from the Ganga Valley.

The Data

The data used in the present paper are of two kinds :

I. *Anthropometric*—The cephalic indices of the Brahmins of Northern India have been taken into account. There are many samples of which the mean values are available but they could not be utilized because of the method of study employed here. Only those data for which original measurements are available have been used so that a complete picture of the distribution of the head form can be graphically made (Figs. 1, 2 & 3). As such the following data could be used :

(a) 100 Bengali Brahmins
(b) 67 Bihari Brahmins

(c) 100 Brahmins of N. W. Provinces & Oudh (Risley, 1900)
(d) 160 Kanaujia Brahmins

(Chatterjee, 1932)

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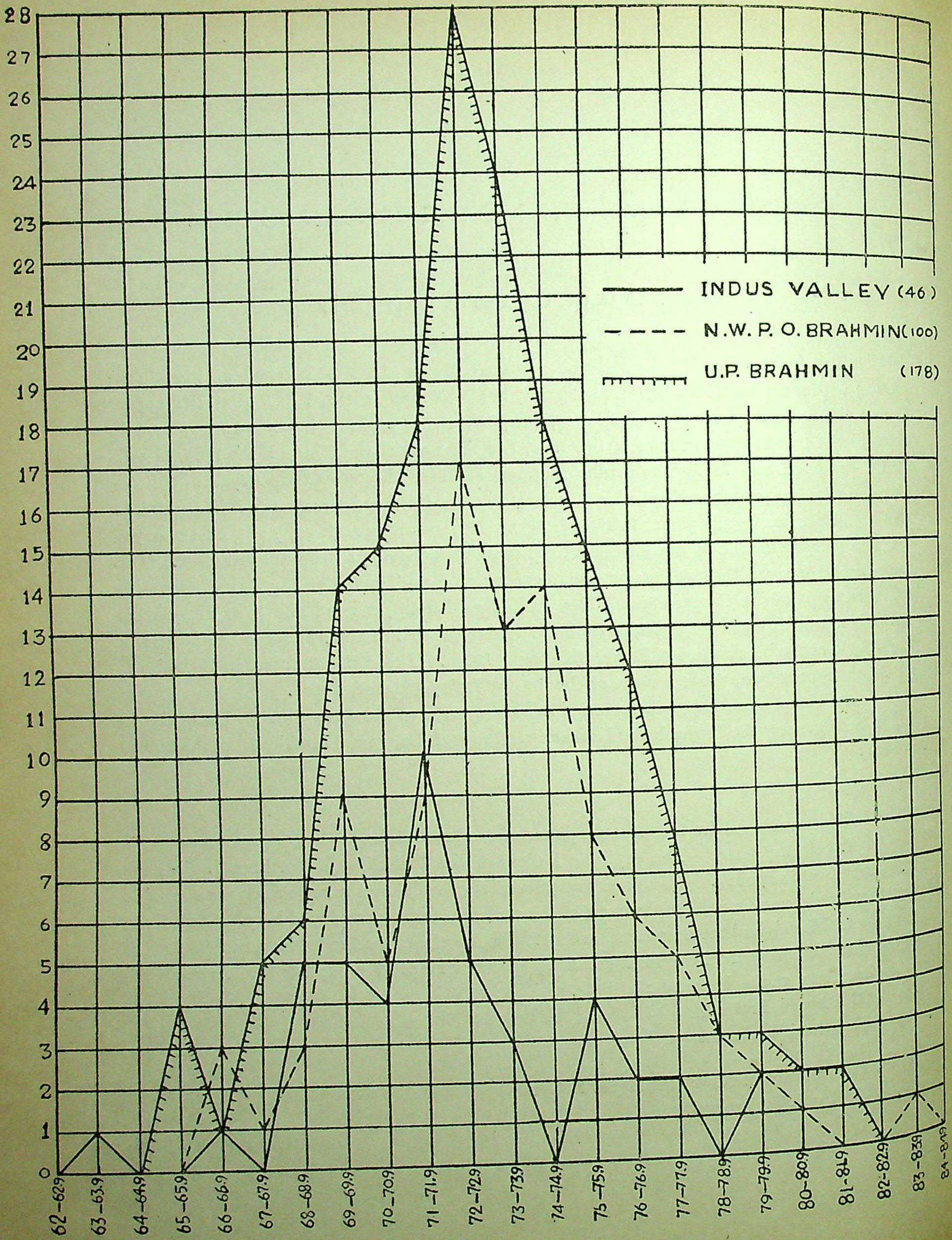

FIG-1.

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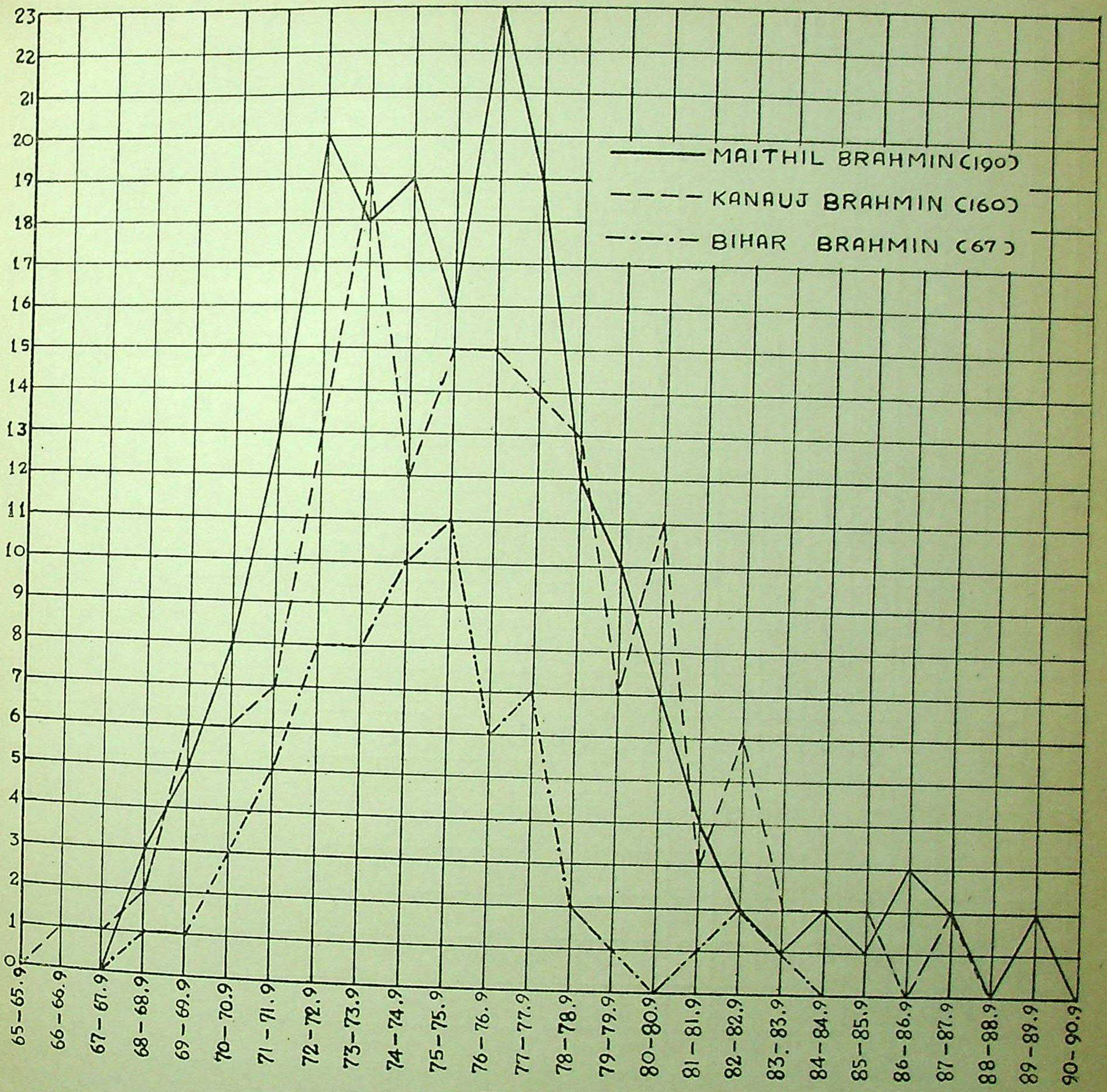

FIG. 2.

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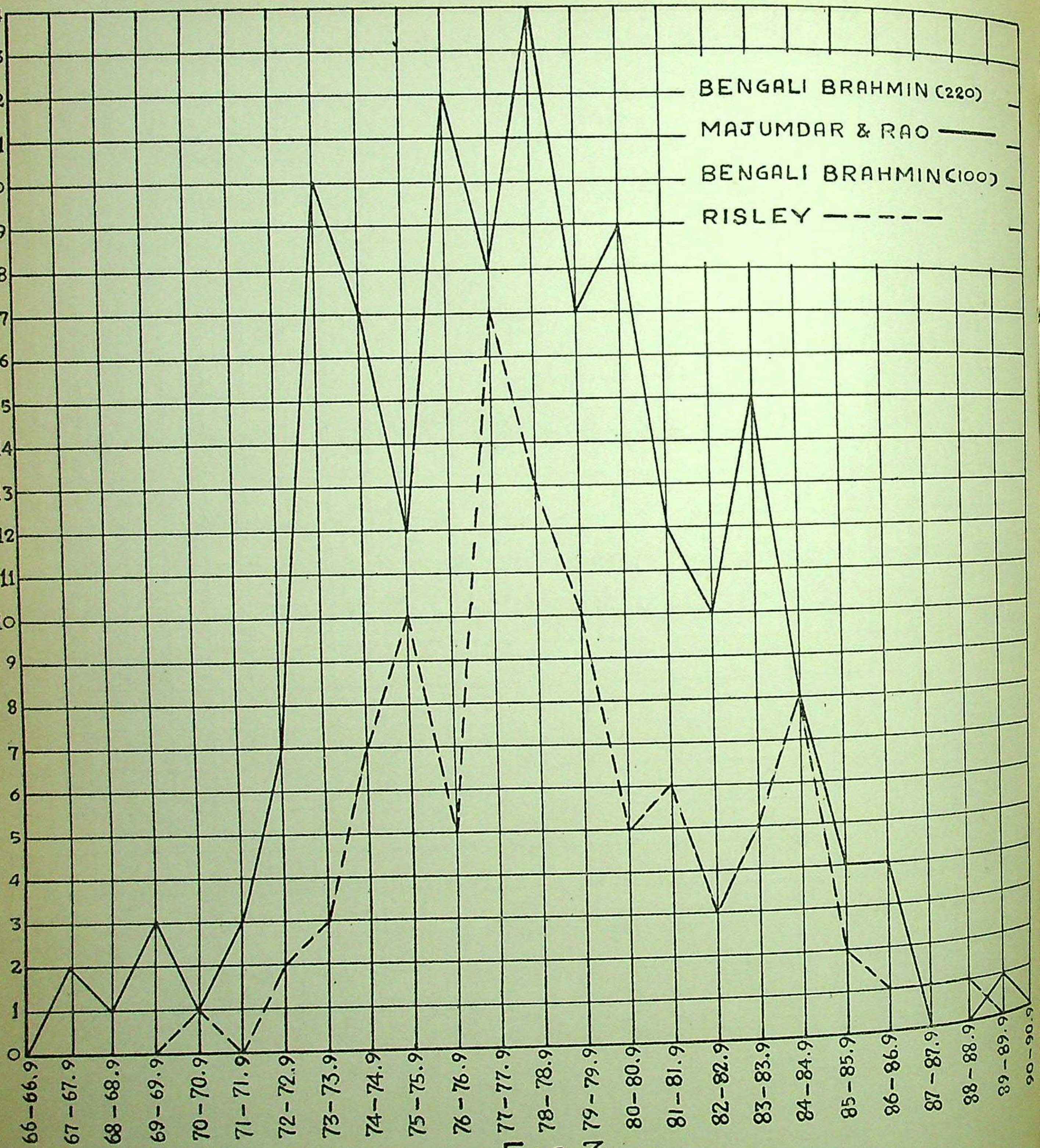

FIG. 3.

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(e) 190 Maithili Brahmins
(f) 178 U.P Brahmins (Mahalanobis, Majumdar & Rao, 1941)
(g) 220 Bengali Brahmins (Majumdar & Rao, 1960).

II. *Cranial*—The largest cranial remains are those from the Indus valley sites. There are 34 crania from Harappa, 10 from Mohenjodaro and one each from Chanhudaro, Nal, and Sialkot. There are very few skeletal remains from the Ganga valley. The only skull which has gained some popularity is one from Bayana discovered in 1910. Two skulls were found from Pataliputra excavations but no report on them has so far been published. The Allahabad University's excavations at Kausambi during 1957-59 also yielded a few crania but nothing is known of the cranial remains although a report on the excavations has been published (Sharma, 1960). The skulls are lying with the Anthropological Survey of India, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Discussion

It will be apparent from Fig. 1 that both N. W. Provinces and Oudh Brahmins (Risley, 1900) and those of U. P. (Mahalanobis et al 1941) show the highest cephalic index-peak at 72. Risley's sample shows an additional smaller peak at 74. Forty-six crania from the various Indus valley sites also show the highest peak at 71, which corresponds to 72 on the living head. The 71 index-peak is also present in the crania from Tepe Hissar (Kappers, 1939). The Sialkot skull (Keith, 1919) also shows an index of 71.11. It may be pointed out in this connection that Sewell and Guha (1928) have determined the Sialkot skull as a female while according to Sir Arthur Keith, who first described the skulll, a male. It appears to the present author that the latter identification is probably correct since when the above skull is compared with the Bayana, the former not only shows larger dimensions in absolute measurements but also in cranial capacity according to the formulae used by Sewell and Guha.

Among Bihari Brahmins (Fig. 2) it will be seen that Maithili Brahmins alone show a peak at 72. It is prominent, but appears to be subsidiary to the main peak at 76. In case of Kanaujia Brahmins the main peak is at 73, which may be a variant of the 72 indexpeak. The small sample of Bihari Brahmins (Risley, 1900) shows the highest peak at 75 similar to the subsidary one at the same index among Bengali Brahmin sample of the same author (Fig. 3). The latter shows the main peak at 77, which may have some affinity with the 76 index-peaks of Maithili and Kanaujia Brahmins. It is very distinct in the former while in the latter it forms a flat peak between 75 and 76 index. At any rate the 72 index-peak retains its distinctive nature quite clearly among Maithili Brahmins. It can thus be traced from Tepe Hissar to the regions on the north of the Ganga.

The Bengali Brahmin sample (Fig. 3) of Majumdar and Rao (1960) is peculiar because of its five prominent peaks—the highest being at 78. The crania from Contai, Midnapur (West Bengal) show the highest peak at 77 (Bhattacharjee, 1957) which should be 78 in the case of the living. The 73 index-peak in Majumdar and Rao's sample may be similar to the same index-peak among Kanaujia Brahmins but it may be a variant of the

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true Indo-Aryan or Indo-Caspian index-peak of 72. Its prominent and independent nature in both the samples from Bengal and Bihar is rather striking. Among Maithili Brahmins the 73 index appears as a trough which is only one unit below Kanaujia peak. The two index-peaks may be related to one another. Kappers has also drawn attention to the variations in the index in course of evolution. It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to explain the variations in the cephalic index-peaks but that such changes occur due to ecological and other cultural factors will be apparent from the cephalic index-peaks of the Hill Mālé, the Plains-Mālé and the Malpaharias of the Rajmahal Hills (Sarkar, 1935-36). The latter two groups are off-shoots of the Hills Mālé, having branched off the parent stock duting historic times (Sarkar 1933, 1938). The Hill Mālè, like the Vedda, the Kadar and the Paniyan (Kappers, 1939) show the highest peak at 73, which is typical for the Australian aborigines (Kappers, 1939) as well. But the Plains Mālé show it at 72 index while the Malpaharias at 74. These shifts in the highest frequency of cephalic indices appear to be due to ecological and other cultural factors. A recent study of the Kadar (Sarkar et al, 1959) also indicates such a change in the cephalic index curve published by Kappers (1939) on the basis of late Dr. B. S. Guha's measurements.

The changes already referred to regarding the variations of the Indo-Caspian cephalic index-peak of 72 may be due to either evolutionary changes or to the presence of the autochthonous Australoid element in the population of northern India. The Australoid peoples are characterized by a bimodal curve having one peak at 71 index and the other at 73. Bihar and Bengal show more heterogeneity of the index curves than that of U. P. This is probably due to proximity of the Australoids in the hill areas of the former two states and to the presence of a separate mesobrachycephalic element in Bengal. More studies in this direction are needed to assess the relationship between the various index curves.

The cranial evidences are rather meagre. The Bayana skull, which was found from the river Gambhir in U.P. shows an index of 71.11, which is typical for the Indo-Aryan or Indo-Caspian. The two crania from Pataliputra excavations were studied by Mr. Gautam Sankar Ray of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University and I am indebted to him for his kindly allowing me to use some of his unpublished data. The cranial measurements are compared with those of Sialkot and Bayana in the table below.

TABLE 1

Comparative Cranial Measurements (in mm.)

	Pataliputra			
Measurements	Kumrahar	Bulandibagh	Sialkot	Bayana
Age	Adult	Young adult	Adult	Adult
Sex	female	female (?)	male	male
Cranial length	174	189	180	178
Cranial breadth	128	139	128	127
Auricular height	111	114	119	108
Basion-bregma height	126	138	140	130
Cranial index	73.56	73.54	71.11	71.35

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Among the four crania compared above the Bulandibagh specimen shows the largest absolute length and breadth while the Sialkot the largest height. But both the skulls agree more closely in respect of the latter character than the other two crania. The Kumrahar skull shows close affinity in metric characters with the Bayana and some of the shorter dimensions of the former are in conformity with its female sex. Its higher cranial index may also be attributed to the same sexual variation. Thus taking into account both the sexual and racial variations it appears that the four crania mentioned above belong to the same race—namely that of the Indo-Caspian type. In head-indices the Pataliputra crania should nearly correspond to 74 index while the other two to 72.

Summing up we find from the figures that the Indo-Caspian 72 cephalic index-peak persists in its original from in the Indus Valley skulls, among the Brahmins of U. P. and in Panjab as seen among the Chuhras (Kappers, 1939). In Bihar it can be traced among Maithili Brahmins while in Bengal this index-peak is absent. Variations of the 72 index-peak into a 73 one are possible among the Hill Mālé and those who have branched out of them during historic times. The Australoid autochthones of India dominate in having a 73 index-peak in their cephalic index curve and the presence of the same peak in Bengal and Bihar might partly be due to it. More studies are necessary to assess correctly the inter-relation of the cephalic index curves.

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THE HISTORICAL ASPECT OF THE HARSACARITA

By

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The Harṣacarita is one of the few valuable historical Kāvyas in Sanskrit literature. As its name suggests, it gives an account of the deeds of King Harṣavardhana of Sthāṇvīśvara (Modern Thānesar). But it is, by no means, a pure history. It is a prose Kāvya, composed by a great poet, who flourished in the court of King Harṣa. The idea of hero-worship, which may have deterred Bāṇa from giving facts as they were, and the poetic exaggerations, which are so characteristic of this Romance have reduced its historical value to a great extent. Nonetheless, the importance of this work as one of the sources, supplying information about Harṣa's times, is appreciable. Specially, from the point of view of social history, this work is of unusual interest. It offers quite good material for drawing a picture of the Indian society in the 7th. century *A.D.*

The Harṣacarita, though a prose romance, is yet historically pretty authentic. Fortunately, we possess ample historical matter, which sheds light on Harṣa's times; the principal source of our information in this report being the contemporary record left by the Buddhist Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang. This pious pilgrim came to India in 629 *A.D.*, visited almost the whole of India, and returned to his native land in 644 *A.D.* Hiuen Tsang gives a pretty detailed acccount of Harṣa's reign. He describes in detail the social, political and religious conditions of the country in the seventh century *A.D.* His work[1] confirms the authenticity of the Harṣacarita. Besides, Hiuen Tsang's record, there are some inscriptions of Harṣa and his contemporaries, which afford information about Harṣa's reign. Three important inscriptions of Harṣa are the Sonpat Copper seal inscription,[2] the Banskhera Copper plate inscription[3] and the Madhuban Copper plate inscription.[4] It may be tedious to examine the whole of the historical matter supplied by the above mentioned sources and the Harṣacarita[5]; we might touch here only a few important points.....which will establish the authenticity of the Harṣacarita.

Hiuen Tsang says that during his travels in India (629-645 *A.D.*), he found King Harṣavardhana (Ho-li-sha-fa-tān-na) as the supreme ruler of Northern India. Harṣa had succeeded his elder brother Rājyavardhana (Ho-lo-she-fa-tān-na).[1] Their father was Prabhākaravardhana (Po-lo-kie-lo-fa-tān-na). This is in agreement with Bāṇa's Harṣacarita. Bāṇa's statement that King Prabhākaravardhana was a great devotee of the sun is confirmed by the Madhuban copper plate inscription of Harṣa, which describes King Prabhākarvardhana as 'Paramādityabhaktaḥ.'

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Bhaṇḍi of the Harṣacarita is mentioned as Po-ni by Hiuen Tsang,[3] and Bāṇa's mention of the Gauḍa King, who treacherously murdered Rājyavardhana,[4] is also corroborated by the record of the Chinese pilgrim.[5] Bāṇa, however, does not give the name of Rājyavardhana's murderer, but refers to him as the Gauḍa King. According to P. V. Kane, Bāṇa perhaps purposely omitted the express mention of the murderer of the reigning emperor's elder brother.[1] Śaṁkara, the commentator on Harṣacarita, gives the name of this Gauḍa King as Śaśāṅka.[2] His statement is confirmed by Hiuen Tsang, who mentions the name of the murderer of Rājyavardhana as She-Shang-Kila (Śaśāṅka), the wile King of Karṇasuvarṇa (Bengal).[3] Harṣa and Siṁhanāda also refer to the wile nature of the Gauḍa king in the Harṣacarita.[4]

Another evidence for the authenticity of the Harṣacarita is that it mentions Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), King of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam), who sent a messenger, named Haṁsavega with gifts for Harṣa as a token of friendship.[1] Hiuen Tsang also refers to the friendship between Kumāra-rāja and Harṣā.[2] Bāṇa's reference to the Hūṇas also confirms the authenticity of the Harṣacarita. Prabhākaravardhana is described as 'a lion to the deer in the form of Hūṇas'.[3] Again, Rājyavardhana is sent to fight against the Hūṇas by his father.[4]

Hiuen Tsang, however, does not agree with Bāṇa on one important point. According to Huen Tsang, Harṣa ruled at Kanauj[5] and the throne was accepted by him with great diffidence.[6] Harṣacarita, on the contrary says that after Rājya's death Harṣa started ruling over Sthānvīśvara without any compunction.[7] According to Huen Tsang Bhaṇḍi pressed Harṣa to assume his way over Kanauj, but Harṣa expressed unwillingness; and it was only after receiving instructions from Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that Harṣa started to rule Kanauj with the title Rājyaputra and with the style Śīlāditya.[8]

We, however, learn from the romance that Bhaṇḍi was not present at Sthāṇviśvara at the time of Harṣa's accession to the throne. He had accompanied Rājyavardhana to Mālavā[1] and met Harṣa only, when the latter was on his way to punish the Gauḍa King.[2] These are matters of detail; but to remove this discrepancy, it is suggested that the unwillingness of Harṣa to accept the throne was with regard to the throne of Kanauj, which was offered to him by the statesmen of Kanauj after the death of Grahavarman.[3] Later, Harṣa started ruling over Kanauj with the help of his sister.[4]

The above evidence typifies Harṣacarita's authenticity; and R. K. Mukerji maintains that, on the whole, Bāṇa, as a historian, is sometimes more reliable than the Chinese pilgrim.[5] But as Bāṇa was primarily interested in writing a Kāvya he omitted several facts, which would have been of considerable value for historians. For example, he has not cared to mention the names of some of the personalities, of whom he speaks. He does not mention the name of Queen Yaśomatī's brother, who presented his son Bhaṇḍi to serve Rājya and Harṣa.[1] As seen above, he does not mention the name of the Gauḍa king, who murdered Rājyavardhana. Again, Bāṇa has omitted the name of the king of Mālavā, whom he has referred to more than once. He writes that two brothers, named Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta, sons of the king of Mālavā, were given as companions to Rājya and Harṣa by King

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Prabhākarvardhana.[2] The killer of Grahavarman was also a Mālavā king, who was later defeated by Rājyavardhana.[3] This king may be identified as Devagupta, who is said to have been defeated by Rājyavardhana in the Madhuban copper plate inscription.[4] Rājya had fought only two battles, according to the Harṣacarita : one against the Hūṇas and the other against the Mālavā king, who had murdered Grahavarman. The name of this Mālavā king, therefore, was most probably Devagupta.[5] The Harṣacarita, as it ends in the middle, does not give the extent of Harṣa's empire, but there is a passage in the third ucchwāsa, which may allude to certain conquests of Harṣa.

From the point of view of social history, the importance of the Harṣacarita is obvious. A pretty good picture of the contemporary society is offered by this work. Bāṇa, being an acute observer, gives telling information about the life of people in the 7th. century *A.D.* Their occupations, their castes and religions, their habits and customs, their dresses and ornaments, etc., are vividly described. It may not be feasible here, to give a detailed survey of the social conditions as reflected in this romance; we may therefore, deal with the main points[1] only.

The people in the main were Aryan, though Dravidians had also got mixed with them. Bāṇa refers to the long nose of Dadhīca[1] and Skandagupta and in contrast to that describes the snub nose of the Śabara youth Nirghāta, who directs Harṣa to the hermitage of Divākaramitra[3]. People were divided into four varṇas and the king was the protector of the Varṇa Vyavasthā[4]. As usual the Brahmins were regarded as superior to the other three varṇas. The Brahmins of the Vātsyāyana gotra kept themselves aloof from other Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas[5]. The majority of Brahmins engaged themselves in learning and teaching and followed the Śrauta religion[6]. They performmed sacrifices and lived a religious life. In the Harṣacarita, we have a description of the highly learned Brahmins of the Vātsyāyana gotra, in which Bāṇa himself was born[3]. There was no caste hatred and inter-caste (Anuloma) marriages were common. Bāṇa refers to his two Pāraśava (son of a Brahmin by a Śūdra wife) brothers. Kṣatriya kings had no objection to marry a girl of Vaiśya origin. The sister of Harṣa, who was a Vaiśya, according to Hiuen Tsang, was married to Grahavarman of the Kṣatriya Maukharī family. Generally, the Vaiśyas were connected with trade and the Śūdras, with low services. An account of Bāṇa's companions gives a good idea of the various professions practised by different people. Among Bāṇa's friends were a poet, an author, two flute players, two musicians, a painter, a gambler, a śaiva,a juggler etc.

This account of Bāṇa's companions shows how people, belonging to different classes and following different occupations used to mix with one another. During his stay at Harṣa's court Bāṇa had become conversant with the courtly life. He gives a graphic description of the camp,[1] of the royal stables,[2] and of the march of the army[3] etc. Bāṇa also describes city-life,[4] villagelife[5] as well as life in a hermitage.[6]

From the Harṣacarita, we gather that both Buddhism and Brahmanism were flourishing side by side. Jainism was also found here and there. King Harṣa used to give equal support to all the religions.[7] There was tolerance for different religions among the people;

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and men following different religions lived together peacefully. In the hermitage of Divākaramitra people belonging to different sects were present. There were 'Arhatas' (Jainas) Maskaris (Saṁnyāsins), Śvetapaṭas (Śvetāmbara Jainas), Whiteclothed Bhikṣus, Bhāgavatas, Varṇis (Brahmacāris), Keśaluñcakas (those who root out their hair), Kāpilas (Sānkhyas), Lokāyatikas (atheists), Jainas; Kāṇādas (followers of Kaṇād's Vaiśeṣika philosophy) Aupaniṣads (Vedāntins), Aiśvara-kāraṇikas (Naiyāyikas), Kārandhamas (the philosophers of Dhātuvāda or elements), Dharmaśāstris, Paurāṇikas, Sāptatantavas, Śaivas, Śābdikas (grammarians), Pāñcharātrikas (followers of the Pañcarātra sect of Vaiṣṇavas) and others.[1]

Women enjoyed a respectable status although they were regarded inferior to men. The birth of a girl was not as welcome as that of a son.[2] Girls caused some anxiety to their parents, when they came of age.[3]

Their education was, however, not neglected. Rājyaśrī was taught music, dancing and other arts. Women regarded themselves inferior to men. The remark of Yaśovatī, that mothers are only to nurse their daughters, while fathers have the authority to give them in marriage, is evidence of the superiority of men in the family. But women were respected by their husbands and sons[4] and they had a voice in family matters. King Prabhākarvardhana consults Yaśovatī before taking decision about Rājyaśrī's marriage.[5]

Bāṇa has also given appreciable information about the ceremonials prevailing in his time. The festivals connected with child-birth are graphically described. The care taken of the pregnant woman and of the baby and the great festivals, celebrated at child-birth are described.

The Upanayana and the Samāvartana ceremonies are referred to by the poet in his own case.[1] Marriage ceremony is vividly described in the fourth ucchvāsa, which gives a clear view of this ceremony as performed in the 7th. century *A.D.* The Brāhma form of marriage was commonly followed. Often the bridegroom himself used to ask for the hand of the bride.[2] Child marriages were not common. Usually, the girls were married, when they came of age. Polygamy appears to have been common.[3] Widows were not allowed to re-marry. The custom of immolation prevailed; and widows used to burn themselves with the dead body of their husbands. Queen Yaśovatī immolates herself even before the actual death of her husband from fear of becoming a widow. Not only women, men also burnt themselves under grievous circumstances. After Prabhākaravardhana's death many of his servants and ministers plunged themselves into fire.[5] Satī system was, however, not a law.

Some widows lived a religious life or turned nuns.[1] That the Buddhists protested against the Satī system is evident from Divākaramitra's advice to Rājyaśrī.[2] The Pardā system was not unknown. Only women, old men, dumb men, and men like dwarfs etc. had an access to the harem.[3] Ladies of noble birth put a veil on their face.[4] From the Harṣacarita we learn about the religious ceremonies, performed at the time of satarting on a journey[5] and also about the funeral customs.[6]

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Education in various arts and Kalās flourished. The high education given to the Brahmins at Prītikūṭa is described. When Bāṇa returns from the royal court, he asks his friends and relatives about their studies[1]. The great achievements of Bāṇa's cousin brothers as described by the poet, also give an idea of the high Brahmanical education at that time. Gurukulas are mentioned.[3] King Harṣa was a great patron of literature and was himself a poet. Besides Bāṇa, Mayūra and Divākara (also called Mataṅga Divākara) adorned the court of Harṣa.[3] Music and dancing were popular entertainments. On certain festivals, all sorts of people, high and low, used to dance.

Form the Harṣacarita, we learn about the dresses and ornaments used at that time. Generally, both men and women, used to wear two pieces of cloth. One was the upper garment (Uttarīya) and the other the lower, which was tied with a knot on the waist.[1] Harṣa wore two garments, when Bāṇa first met him. Again, when Harṣa started on his expedition for conquest, he wore two garments, marked with pairs of swans. Turbans were also in use.[4] Fine clothes were common and the white colour was preferred. Women liked to wear clothes of diverse colours. The art of weaving had considerably progressed. Bāṇa describes many types of cloth collected at the time of Rājyaśri's marriage. From Bāṇa's description of a large variety of ornaments, it appears that people were unusually fond of ornaments.[2] Ornaments like tilaka,[3] which was worn upon the forehead, the earrings, ekāvalī[1] and hāra (necklace), kaṭaka (bracelet), mekhalā[4] (girdle), aṅgulīyaka[5] (ring), nūpuras[6] (anklets) etc., are described in detail. Flowers were also used by men and women for decorating themselves.[1] Usually men wore garlands of flowers on their head. Among other means of decoration were sandal paste,[3] ālaktaka,[4] kuṅkuma[5] etc.

REFERENCES

1. Si-Yu-Ki, translated into English by Samuel Beal in two Volumes—"Budhist Record of the Western World", London, 1884.
2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, No. 52, pp. 231-32.
3. Epigraphica Indica. Vol. IV, p. 208.
4. Epigraphica Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 105.
5. Reference may be made here to some of the valuable works dealing with the subject in detail : K. M. Panikkar, *Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj*, Bombay, 1922; Radhakumuda Mukerji, *Harṣa*, Oxford, 1926, Gaurisankara Chatterjee, *Harṣavardhana*, Allahabad, Hindustani Academy, 1950 (2nd. ed.); V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, Oxford, 1934 (4th ed.); C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Poona, 1921; R. C. Majumdar, Harṣavardhana—a Critical Study, *JBORS*. Vol. IX, pp. 311-25; Nihararanjana Roy, Harṣa Śīlāditya; (a revised study) *IHQ*. 1927, p. 772ff.
6. *Budhist Record of the Western World. Vol.* I, *p.* 210.
7. श्रीपरमादित्यभक्तो परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीप्रभाकरवर्धनः।
   Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 232 (op. cit.).

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8. *Budhist Record of the Western World*. Vol. I, p. 210; vide a discussion in Hall's Introd. to *Vāsavadattā*, p. 54.
9. तस्माच्च हेलानिर्जितमालवानीकमपि गौडाधिपेन मिथ्योपचारोपचितविश्वासं मुक्तशस्त्रमेकाकिनं विश्रब्धं स्वभवन एव भ्रातरं व्यापादितमश्रौषीत्।

HC. VI, p. 186.
10. *Budhist Record of the Western World* Vol. I, p. 210.
11. P. V. Kane's introd. to *Kād*. (Third Edition, 1921) pp. XXXV-XXXVI. It is, however, said that in the words 'प्रकटकलङ्कमुदयमानं....आकाशे शशाङ्कमण्डलम्'
12. "तथा हि कृतोऽन्तो विनाशो येन स शशाङ्कनामा गौडाधिपतिः"। (HC. VI, 178) Bāṇa alludes to the rise of the Gauḍa King Śaśāṅka.
13. *Buddhist Record of the Western World*—Vol. I, p. 210 : Vide also Watters, *On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India*, p. 343 :
14. HC. VI, pp. 187-94.
15. HC. VII, pp. 214-25.
16. *Budhist Record of the Western World*—Vol. I, pp. 217-18.
17. हूणहरिणकेसरी HC, IV. P. I20
18. अथ कदाचिद् राजा राज्यवर्धनं कवचहरमाहूय हूणान् हन्तुं....उत्तरापथं प्राहिणोत्।

HC. V, P. I50
19. *Budhist Record of the Western World*, Vo.l I, P. 209.
20. *ibid.* Vol. I. p. 210.
21. HC. VII, pp. 202-203.
22. *Budhist Record of the Western World*—Vol. I, p. 210.
23. HC. VI, p. 184.
24. HC. VII, pp. 225-26.
25. That Grahavarman belonged to Kanauj is evident from the Harṣacarita. Grahavarman was killed at Kanauj and Rājyaśrī was imprisoned there (HC. VI, p. 183).
26. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th. Ed., pp. 350-51.
27. R. K. Mukerji, Harṣa, p. 20.
28. HC. IV, p. 135.
29. HC. IV, p. 138.
30. HC. VI, VI, pp. 183; 186; 227.
31. राजानौ युधि दुष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्तादयः।
कृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारविमुखाः सर्वे समं संयताः।

Epigraphica Indica, Vol. I., p. 67.
32. For a detailed discussion of the subject vide Hoernle, Some Problems of Ancient Indian History, *JRAS*, 1903 p. 562; C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, pp. 34-39.

HC. III. pp. 90-91.

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33. The subject has been dealt with in detail by a number of scholars. Reference to some of them is made here : CV Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol., I, p. 58 f. : K. R. Potdar, Centemporary life as revealed in the works of Bāṇa, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XI, for 1942 pt. 2.00. III-43; B. N. Sharma, Women in Bāṇa's works, *P.O.* XVI, 1951, p. 103f.
34. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 60.
35. द्राघीयसा घोणावंशेन शोभमानम् HC, I, p, 22
36. निजनृपवंशदीर्घं नासावंशं दधानः HC, VI, p. I97
37. अवनतनासिकं चिपिटाधरम् HC, VIII, p, 23I
38. तत्र च साक्षात् सहस्राक्षा इव
    सर्ववर्णधरं धनुर्दधानः HC, III p, 99
39. वीर्णत्रयव्यावृत्ति विशुद्धान्धसः HC, I, p, 39
40. आश्रितश्रौताः ibid,
41. अलुप्तक्रतुक्रियादक्षाः HC, I, p, 40; Vide also HC, II pp, 44-45, It appears that animal sacrifices we:e also in vogue: क्रीडत्कृष्णसारच्छागशावकप्रकटितपशुबन्धप्रबन्धानिशा, HC, II, p, 45,
42. HC, I, pp, 38-40,
43. भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ HC. I, p. 41
44. *Buddhist Record of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 209.
45. अभवंश्चास्य सवयसः समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च। तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ, भाषाकविरीशानः परं मित्रं, प्रणयिनौ रुद्रनारायणौ विद्वांसौ वारबाणवासबाणौ, वर्णकविर्वेणीभारतः, प्राकृतकृत् कुलपुत्रो वायुविकारः, बन्दिनावनङ्गबाणसूचीबाणौ, कात्यायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जांगलिको मयूरकः, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डकः, भिषक्पुत्रो मन्दरकः, पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः, कलादयश्चामीकरः, हैरिकः सिन्धुषेणः, लेखको गोविन्दकः, चित्रकृद्वीरवर्मा, पुस्तककृत्कुमारदत्तः, मार्दङ्गिको जीमूतः, गायनौ सौमिलग्रहादित्यौ, सैरन्ध्री कुरंगिका, वांशिकौ मधुकरपारावतौ, गांधर्वोपाध्यायो दर्दुरकः, संवाहिकाः केरलिका, लासंकयुवा ताण्डविकः, आक्षिक आखण्डलः, कितवो भीमकः, शैलालियुवा शिखण्डकः, नर्तकी हरिणिका, पाराशरी सुमतिः, क्षपणको वीरदेवः, कथको जयसेनः, शैवो वक्रघोणः, मन्त्रसाधवः करालः, असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्षः, धातु-वादविद् विहंगमः, दार्दुरिको दामोदरः ऐन्द्रजालिकश्चकोराक्षः, मस्करी ताम्रचूडः। H-C. I, pp. 4I-42
46. HC. II, pp. 58-61.
47. HC. II, pp. 62-63.
48. HC. VII, pp. 204-13.
49. HC. III, pp. 97-98.
50. HC. VII, pp. 227-30.
51. HC. VIII, pp. 234-38.
52. When Bāṇa goes to meet Harṣa he finds Buddhists and Jainas etc. also among the visitors : एकान्तोपविष्टैश्च जनै रहितैः पाशुपतैः पाराशरिभिर्वर्णिभिश्च HC II, p. 60

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53. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. III.
54. The birth of Rājya and Harṣa was highly celebrated, while no festival is described on Rājyaśrī's birth. Cf. Prabhākaravardhana's statement : एतदर्थं जन्मकाल एव कन्यकाभ्यः प्रयच्छन्ति सलिलमश्रुभिः साधवः। HC. IV, p. 141.
55. Cf. उद्वेगमहावर्ते पातयति पयोधरोन्नमनकाले सरिदिव तटमनुवर्षं विवर्धमाना सुता पितरम्॥ HC. IV., p. 140.
56. आर्यपुत्र, संवर्धनमात्रो पयोगिन्यो धात्री निर्विशेषा भवन्ति खलु मातरः कन्यकानाम्। दाने तु प्रमाणमासां पितरः।
57. कृतोपनयनादिक्रियाकलापस्य समावृत्तस्य चतुर्दशवर्षदेशीयस्य। HC. I, p. 41.
58. तत्रापि तिलकभूतस्यावन्तिवर्मणः सूनुरग्रजो ग्रहवर्मा नाम ग्रहपतिरिव गां गतः पितुरन्यूनो गुणैरेनां प्रार्थयते। HC. IV.p. 140
59. Queen Yaśovati refers to her cowives : HC. V, p. 167
सपत्नीनां शिरःसु निहितम्....
Cf also सतपत्नीनामपि पादयोः पतन्तीम् HC. V, p. 165
60. मर्तुमविधवैव वाञ्छामि HC. V, p. 167
61. Vide H.C. V. p. 160; p. 171.
62. Rājyaśrī was ready to burn herself in the Vindhya forest but after having been saved by Harṣa she expressed her wish to put on the red garments.
63. HC. VIII, pp. 254-55.
64. Cf. अन्यत्र वेत्रिवेत्रवित्रासितजनदत्तान्तरालाः...राजमहिष्यः। HC. IV,p.133.
65. अरुणांशुकावगुण्ठितमुखीम् HC. IV, p. 146.
66. Vide HC. I, pp. 56-57; VII pp. 202-203.
67. HC. V, pp. 169-72; VI, p. 175.
68. HC. III. p. 84.
69. बाणस्य चत्वारः पितामहमुखपद्मा इव वेदाभ्यासपवित्रितमूर्तयः उपाया इव सामप्रयोगललितमुखाः गणपतिः, अधिपतिः, तारापतिः, श्यामल इति पितृव्यपुत्रा भ्रातरः प्रसन्नवृत्तयः, गृहीतवाक्याः कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः न्यायवादिनः सुकृतसंग्रहाभ्यासगुरवः लब्धसाधुशब्दाः लोक इव व्याकरणेऽपि सकलपुराणराजर्षिचरिताभिज्ञाः महाभारतभावितात्मानः विदितसकलेतिहासाः महाविद्वांसः महाकवयः....परस्परस्य मुखानि व्यलोकयत्। HC. III, pp. 86-87.
70. निरवद्यविद्याविद्योतितानि च गुरुकुलानि सेवमानः HC. I, p. 42.
71. Vide Supra p. 61.
72. Vide HC. IV, p. 131 for a description of the various instruments of music.
73. HC. IV, pp. 130-34.
74. पुरस्तादीषदधोनाभिनिहितैककोणकमनीयेन पृष्टतः कक्ष्याधिकक्षिप्तपल्लवेनोभयतः संवलनप्रकटितोरुत्रिभागेन हारीतहरिता निबिडनिपीडितेनाधरवाससा विभज्यमानतनुतरमध्यभागम्। H.C. I

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75. अमृतफेनपिण्डपाण्डुना मेखलामणिमयूखचितेन नितम्बबिम्बव्यासङ्गिना विमलपयोधौतेन नेत्रसूत्रनिवेशशोभिनाधरवाससा वासुकिनिर्मोकेणेव मन्दरं द्योतमानं अघनेन सतारागणेनोपरिकृतेन द्वितीयाम्बरेण युवनाभोगमिव भासमानम्। HC. II pp. 72·73
76. परिधाय राजहंसमिथुनलक्ष्मणी सदृशे दुकूले HC. VII p. 202
77. (a) मौलिना पाण्डुरमुष्णीषमुद्वहता HC. VII p. 202
(b) उत्तरीयकृतशिरोवेष्टनेन HC. p. 62
78. (a) सूक्ष्मविमलेन प्रज्ञाप्रतानेनेवांशुकेन आच्छादितशरीरा HC. I p, 21
(b) धौतधवलनेत्रनिर्मितेन निर्मोकलघुतरेण प्रपदीनेन कञ्चुकेन तिरोहिततनुलता। HC. p. I 21
79. (a) कुसुम्भरागपाटलं....चण्डालकम् HC. I p. 32
(b) नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निरुद्धार्धवदना। HC. I p. 32
80. क्षौमैश्च बादरैश्च दुकूलैश्च लालातन्तुजैश्चांशुकैश्च नेत्रैश्च निर्मोकनिभैरकठोररम्भागर्भकोमलैर्निःश्वासहार्यैः स्पर्शानुमेयैर्वासोभिः सर्वतः स्फुरद्भिरिन्द्रायुधसहस्रैरिव संछादितम्। HC. IV, p. 143
81. vide Watters, on Yuan Chwangs Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 51
82. ललाटलासकस्यसीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुलातिलकमणेरुदञ्चता चटुलेनांशुकेन रक्तांशुकेनेव कृतशिरोऽवगण्ठना। HC. I, p. 32
83. (a) कदम्बमुकुलस्थूलमुक्ताफलयुगलमध्याध्यासितमरकतस्य त्रिकण्टककर्णाभरणस्य... HC. I, p. 22
Trikaṇtaka is also mentioned HC. IV, p. 133; p. 135
(b) नीलीरागनिहितनीलिम्ना शितिगलशितिना वामश्रवणाश्रयिणा दन्तपत्रेण....बकुलफलानुकारिणीभिस्तिसृभिः कल्पितेन बालिकायुगलेनाधोमुखेन। HC. I, p. 32
84. For the description of the Ekāvali named Mandāikinī Cp. HC. VIII, pp. 250–51
85. (a) भास्वन्मध्यनायकमनेकमुक्तानुयातमपवर्गमार्गमिव हारमुद्वहन्ती। HC. I, pp. 8–9
(b) हारेणामलकीफलनिस्तुलमुक्ताफलेन HC, I, p. 32
86. (a) वामप्रकोष्ठनिविष्टस्पष्टहाटककटकेन। HC. I, p. 21
(b) प्रकोष्ठनिविष्टस्यैकस्य हाटककटकस्य मरकतमकरवेदिकासनाथस्य। HC. I, p. 32
87. (a) सलीलमुत्कलकलहंसकुलकलकलापप्रलापिनि मेखलादाम्नि विन्यस्तवामहस्तकिसलया। HC. I, p. 8
(b) मेखला मणिमयूखखचितेन नितम्बबिम्बव्यासंगिना। HC. II, p. 72
88. (a) उद्गच्छदच्छांगुलीयमरकतमयूखलताकलापेन। HC. 1, p. 12
(b) कम्बुनिर्मितोर्मिकादन्तुरितं....करम्। HC. I, pp. 9–10
89. (a) नूपुरयुगलेन वाचालितचरणा। HC. I, p. 8
(b) तिर्यगुत्कर्णतुरगाकर्ण्यमाननूपुरपटुरणितस्यातिबहलेन पिण्डालक्तकेन पल्लवितस्य कुसुमपिञ्जरितपृष्ठस्य चरणयुगलस्य। HC. I, p. 38
90. (a) इतरश्रवणेन च विकसितसितसिन्धुवारमञ्जरीजुषा। HC. I, p. 9
(b) समुण्डमालिकाः सकर्णपल्लवाः। HC. IV, p. 132
91. (a) बकुलकुड्मलमण्डलीमुण्डमालामण्डनमनोहरेण...मौलिना। HC. I, p. 21
(b) सितकुसुममुण्डमालिकां शिरसि नीत्वा। HC. VII, p. 202

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92. (a) चन्दनधवलतनुलता। HC. IV, p. 147
(b) निजयशोधवलेनाचरणतश्चन्दनेन शरीरम्.... HC. VII, p. 202
93. (a) तस्यातिबहलेन पिण्डालक्तकेन पल्लवितस्य चरणयुगलस्य। HC. I, p. 31
(b) काश्चिच्चलचरणच्युतालक्तकारुणस्वेदशीकरसिच्यमानभवनहंसाः। HC. IV, p. 133
94. (a) कुसुमपिञ्जरितपृष्ठस्य चरणयुगलस्य। HC. I, p. 31

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PHILOSOPHY OF VASTU-BRAHMA AND ITS IMPACT ON HINDU TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

By

D. N. SHUKLA, CHANDIGARH - 3

Like Sphoṭa-Brahma or Śabda-Brahma of Vaiyākaraṇas, Eka-Brahma of Advaita-Vedāntins and Nāda-Brahma of the Musicians, the Vāstu-Paṇḍits have not lagged behind in evolving out a philosophy of Vāstu-Brahma. Practically every treatise on Vāstu or Śilpa treats Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala and a host of deities presiding over this Maṇḍala. Though from the standpoint of architecture it is just a site-plan of a building or a town or a temple, its correct import and implication, however, have transformed this Science of Architecture into a Metaphysics.

The philosophical or religious background commonly attributed to these treatises, represents their truely Indian Character. In India we cannot draw a line of demarcation between Science and Philosophy. The truth is that a science without a philosophy or religious background is not a complete science, according to the Hindu view of life. It is in keeping with this fundamental background of the Indian Science that even such a practical or matter-of-fact science as the science of architecture, has such a lofty philosophical theory as Vāstu-Brahma-Vāda or Vāstu-Puruṣa-Vāda as its background. The growth and evolution of the temple, the chief feature of Indian architecture, both in the ancient and medieval periods of Indian History, represents this ideal of the architectural science from the bottom to the top. The temple as a divine image according to our Śāstric injuctions, has divineness all round, below and above, within and without, all aglow with divine presence. The architectural motif of the temple super-structure from the bottom to the finial, represents the divinity in both its aspects—the one with form and the other formless (Sākāra and Nirākāra).

The word 'Vāstu' has been derived from 'Vastu'. Any 'Vastu' or 'thing' when planned out becomes 'Vāstu', hence the essence of 'Vāstu' is planning. Creation and Planning must go together; they are twin-sisters. The author of the Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtra-dhāra (S. S.) must be having this fundamental truth in his mind when he says. "वास्तुब्रह्म ससर्जादौ विश्वमप्यखिलं तथा" i.e. Brahma, before creating this world, created 'Vāstu'. This is the cosmological aspect the bed-rock of philosophy.

According to the S. S. 45.2, the Vāstu-Puruṣa-Vikalpana, i.e. the knowledge of the formation of the body of the Vāstu-Puruṣa, along with its meaning and execution, is the first limb of the body of Sthāpatya—the Aṣṭāṅga Sthāpatya. This is the first discipline which the architect, the Sthapati must master. This physical drawing is symbolic of the metaphysical

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doctrine of an all-pervading cosmic principle, according to Harivaṁśa (Chapter 1-7) : 'The Puruṣa is the Universal Essence, the Principle of all things, the Prime Person whence all originates'. Again 'Vāstu' here is the extent of existence in its ordered state and is beheld in the likeness of the Puruṣa. The image of the Supernal or Cosmic Man, the Puruṣa is congruous and identical to the planned site.

This is the general introduction. Let me now elucidate this all-pervading philosophy of Vāstu-Brahma from the several standpoints of all-pervasure phenomenon and the Hidden Noumenon.

The monistic ideas, especially the Upaniṣadic Vedānta philosophy and its later consummation in the Advaita of Śaṅkara has, in a way, influenced all our thoughts and activities in India. It is why we call Vedānta as our national philosophy. I have written somewhere that the Vedānta Philosophy, Upaniṣadic or Śānkara, is as ideal as real. The Doctrine of Māyā is a fascinating contribution to knit together the Nirākāra and the Sākāra, the Ātman and the Paramātman, the Brahma and the Jagat, the Phenomenon and the Noumenon.

Accordingly the Vāstu-Puruṣa-Maṇḍala, the first pre-requisite of an architectural undertaking has simply created and enacted a meeting ground of the All pervasive Principle, the Nirākāra and its conditional aspect, the Sākāra, the Body-Corporate. The Vāstu-Puruṣa-Maṇḍala, consisting of three parts, Vāstu, Puruṣa and Maṇḍala, brings home to us the cosmological, the metaphysical and the architectural implications, respectively. The word Vāstu, derived from Vastu (which means Bhū) is a cosmological aspect of Planning including the Planetry system. We have already seen it. Puruṣa is identical with Vāstu in His all-pervasive aspect. Maṇḍala gives the content to the Vāstu, as planned site. Thus the image of the Supernal or Cosmic Man, the Puruṣa is congruous and identical with the planned site. Prof. Kramrisch in her monumental treatise *Hindu Temple* also supports this philosophy of Vāstu-Brahma : "Puruṣa, Cosmic Man, the origin and source of Existence (*aparā-prakṛti*) is its instrumental or efficient cause (*nimitta-kāraṇa*) and causes it to be of His substance as its material cause (*Upādāna*). This is how He is known in the world, the manifested aspect of Himself, the Parā-prakṛti, the Beyond Existence, the Avyaya Puruṣa, the immutable, Supreme One (*Uttama-Puruṣa*). In his identity with the 'plan', Puruṣa is shown in his conditioned aspect. The plan makes the site of the building in his image which is his form. The plan of the building is in the likeness of the Puruṣa, or of the totality of manifestation."

The Vāstu-Puruṣa-Maṇḍala in Vāstuśātra/Śilpaśāstra (Hindu Science of Architecture and Hindu Canons of Iconography, and Sculpture including Painting) is a grand philosophy and technique as well. It is not only a plan in its cosmic implications, it is also a site-plan in its building aspect. Accordingly it is also intimately connected with yet another Fundamental Canon of Hindu Science of Architecture, the Diṅnirṇaya or Prācī-sādhana or Śaṅkusthāpana, i.e. the Doctrine of Orientation. This canon has two aspects, one of technical and the other of scientific-cum-philosophical import. It is not our aim to expound the former here; the latter has some bearing here.

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The theory of the Orientation of buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical, as laid down by Indian designers of structures, consists in setting them in plan in such a way that they may secure the maximum of benefit from the solar radiation automatically and irrespective of the fact whether occupants will it or not. Temples, living places, assembly halls, audience rooms and a host of structures to meet the needs of men of all grades, are thus, so adjusted in plan as to secure an eastern frontage. The eastern facet of structures, both in plan and elevation when truly set in direction, according to the rules, as laid down, gets a full and direct exposure to the field of action of solar radiation. It is very significant in this phase of Indian thought that both the extremes of this eastern belt are denoted by Īśa (N. E. portion) and Agni (S. E. portion), the counterparts of, so to say, ultra-violet or Violet and Red or Infra-red radiation of the Solar spectrum of the Western Science. The very names Īśa and Agni and their individual lakṣaṇas, which are given to these quarters from earliest times, in the Indian History, go to suggest that the phenomenon of refraction and diffraction (dispersion) were well known to Indian Aryans. Accordingly the surface of earth in traditional Indian cosmology is ragarded as demarcated by sunrise and sunset, by the points where the sun apparently emerges above and sinks below the horizon; by the East and West and also by the North and South points. It is, therefore, represented by the ideogram or maṇḍala of a square. The square does not refer to the outline of the earth. It connects the 4 points establised by the primary pairs of opposites, the apparent sunrise and sunset points, East and West; and South and North. The earth is therefore called 'Caturbhṛṣṭi' four-cornered (R. V. X. 58.3) and is symbolically shown as Pṛthvī-maṇḍala, whereas considered in itself the shape of the earth is circular, (R. V. X. 89.4; S. B. VII. I. I. 37). The identification of the square with the Vedī is in shape only and not in size and belongs to the symbolism of the Hindu temple. The Vedī represents and is the levelled earth, a place of sacrifice or worship : "No part of the ground should rise above it; for it was from there that the gods ascended to heaven" (S. B. III. I. I. 1-2). The site, the earth, should be even and firm, for it is the starting place of the ascent (S. B. VIII 5.2.16). The link between the earth and the end of ascent stretches upwards into space, the intermediate region (*antarikṣa*). From it also it leads downwards and rests on earth. In it the temple has its elevation. The Vāstu puruṣa-maṇḍala, the temple-diagram and metaphysical plan is laid out on the firm and level ground; it is the intellectual foundation of the building, a forecast of its ascent, and its projections on earth'—H. T. p. 17.

Thus the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala of Indian architecture takes its symbolism and significance from the square maṇḍala of the Earth and of the Ecliptic : "The Vāstu had come to be the place of the adjustment of solar and lunar cycles. The number 32 of the divinities residing in the square of the border of the Vāstu maṇḍala is also the sum of 4 and 28, the number of the regents of the four planets who rule over the equinoxial and solstitial points referred to the cardinal points and of the regents of the 28 Nakṣatras. Their location in the Vāstu maṇḍalas shows a reconciliation of the motions of the Sun and Moon, and they have their nature in their number which is 32; the single divinities who make up this sum,

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act each as a locum tenens".—H. T. Other details like the symbolism of the square, the form of Mārtaṇḍa, Vāstu, the Remainder are also equally formidable postulates of the philosophy of Vāstu-Brahma.

Similarly the organism of the plan is also in coformity with the formation of the Vāstu-Puruṣa—the Nara-prastara and Vāstu-prastara. This organism of the plan leads to take up the most vital element of Vāstupada-Vinyāsa, the Supernal Man. The Vāstu-Vidhāna (VIII. 26-32) of Nārada says that the Vāstu-puruṣa-maṇḍala is the magic diagram (*yantra*) and the form (*rūpa*) of the Vāstupuruṣa : It is his body (*Śarīra*) and a bodily device (*Śarīra-yantra*) by which those, who have requisite knowledge attain the best results in temple building. It is laid out in tabular notation as man and site Nar-prastrara and Vāstu-prastara. It is in accordance to this symbolic manifestation that Śirās, Anuśirās, Sandhis, Anusandhis, Marmas, Mahā-marmas along with practically all the limbs of the body, a man, nara, have been also allotted to the Body-Corporate, the Puruṣa, the Supernal Man. Accordingly the symbolism of the Vedic altar, Agni, is continued in the Hindu Temple, in its plan. The Vāstu-Puruṣa of the maṇḍala is indeed Agni-Prajāpati. This is the cosmological or metaphysical background on which the most Fundamental Doctrine of Vāstu-Puruṣa-Maṇḍala rests and from this we can very well understand and appreciate the very advanced state of architectural planning in ancient India.

With this very brief exposition of the Philosophy of Vāstu-Brahma, let us take up the second theme of this article, i.e. its impact on Temple-architecture. The foregoing exposition may convince the reader that the ideal of sacred architecture, i.e. Temple-architecture of India was born of the true Indian conception of 'divinity in a spiritualised body.' A good many authors ignorant of this correct background of temple-architecture in India, have forwarded several theories like 'The Mound and Grave Theories', 'The Theory of the Evolution of Stūpa', 'The Umbrella Theory' etc. in connection with the origin of Hindu Temple which are all wrong. It is the Organic Theory which permeates the entire structure of Hindu Temple. The theory of architecture in terms of human organism, rooted in the subjective consciousness of the race constitutes the primary subject of the Śilpaśāstras. Our Śilpaśāstras teach the artist to contemplate the divine ideas. Of all forms in nature, the human form is the most prefect. Our Upaniṣads propound the first injuction in this regard. According to the Chāndogya (S.1.1.) the human body is conceived as the temple of Brahman, thus the idea of body as the abode of spirit is clearly revealed. Similarly Skandopaniṣad says :

देहो देवालयः प्रोक्तः जीवो देवः सनातनः।
त्यजेदज्ञाननिर्माल्यं सोऽहं भावेन पूजयेत्॥

Thus this injunction stands for the assimilation of the external with the internal, the synthesis of macrocosm and microcosm or in other words the identification of the individual soul with the Universal soul. Thus Hindu Temple-architecture essentially reflects the spiritual ideal of India. God is the spirit immanent in the Universe and temple is His abode.

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His omnipresence is confined within the walls of shrine in the same way as the soul is confined within the human body. This brief enunciation of the origin of Hindu Temple brings to it a clear illustration of Vedantic ideal of the Nirākāra and the Sākāra Brahma. Every part of the Temple-architecture is an illustration of this Organic Theory to corroborate this truth that God and His temple correspond to soul and the human body. So many ceremonies, though termed as ritualistic and religious, like Aṅkurāropaṇa, Garbha-vinyāsa, Pradakṣiṇā, Nayanonmīlana etc. etc. are also indicative of this fundamental philosophy. Now avoiding so many details let me reproduce some apt quotations from the texts like Agni-purāṇa, Hayaśīrasa-pañcarātra and Śilparatna which fittingly prove this genesis and genious of Hindu Temple-architecture as propounded above :

प्रासादं वासुदेवस्य मूर्तिभेदं निबोध मे।
धारणाद्धरणीम् विद्धि आकाशं शुषिरात्मकम्॥
तेजस्तत् पावकं विद्धि वायुं स्पर्शगतं तथा।
पाषाणादिष्वेव जलं पार्थिवं पृथिवीगुणम्॥
प्रतिशब्दोद्भवं शब्दं स्पर्शं स्यात् कर्कशादिकम्।
शुक्लादिकं भवेद्रूपं रसमन्नादिदर्शनम्॥
धूपादिगन्धं गन्धतु वाग्भेर्यादिशषु संस्थिता।
शुकनासाश्रिता नासा बाहू तद्रथकौ स्मृतौ॥
शिरस्त्वण्डं निगदितं कलशं मूर्द्धजं स्मृतम्।
कण्ठं कण्ठमिति ज्ञेयं स्कन्धं वेदी निगद्यते॥
पायूपस्थे प्रणाले तु त्वक् सुधा परिकीर्तिता।
मुखं द्वारं भवेदस्य प्रतिमा जीव उच्यते॥
तच्छक्तिं पिण्डिकाम् विद्धि प्रकृतिश्च तदाकृतिम्।
निश्चलत्वञ्च गर्भोऽस्या अधिष्ठाता तु केशवः॥
एवमेव हरिः साक्षात् प्रासादत्वेन संस्थितः।
जंघा त्वस्य शिवो ज्ञेयः स्कन्धे धाता व्यवस्थितः।
ऊर्ध्वभागे स्थितो विष्णुरेवं तस्य स्थितस्य हि॥

Agni. 61.19–27

सर्वतत्वमयी यस्मात् प्रासादो भास्करी तनुः।
तद् यथावस्थितं कथयामि निबोधत॥
पायूपस्थौ प्रणालौ द्वौ नेत्रौ ज्ञेयो गवाक्षकौ।
सुधा भुग्न (?) पिनीज्ञेया स (व) क्षो मञ्जरीवोर्द्धतः॥
जंघो जंघो तु विज्ञेया वरण्डी वसना मता।
शुकघ्ना तु भवेन्नासा सूत्राणि विशेषतः॥
गर्भः स्थिरत्वे विज्ञेयो मुखं द्वारं प्रकीर्तितं।
कपाटाऽष्टपुटौ ज्ञेयौ प्रतिमा जीवमुच्यते॥

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स्कन्धस्तु वेदी गदिता कण्ठं कण्ठमिहोच्यते।
शिरोमालास्थितं ज्ञेयं...चून...संस्थितं।
एवमेष रविः साक्षात् प्रासादत्वेन संस्थितः।
जगती पिण्डिका ज्ञेया प्रासादो भास्करःस्मृतः। Haya S. P. 39
प्रासादं पुरुषं मत्वा पूजयेन्मन्त्रवित्तमः॥
प्रपदं पादकं विद्याच्छिखा स्तूपीति कथ्यते।
लोहकीलकपत्रादि सर्वं दन्तनखादिकम्॥
सुवा शुक्लं त्विष्टकौधमस्थि मज्जा च पीतरुक्।
मंदः श्यामरुचिस्तद्वद् रक्तं रक्तरुचिस्तथा॥
मांसं मेचकवर्णं स्याच्चर्म नीलं न संशयः।
त्वक् कृष्णवर्णमित्याहुः प्रासादे सप्तधातवः॥ Śilpa R. XVI. 121–23
प्रासादं लिङ्गमित्याहुस्त्रिजलल्लयनाद् यतः।
ततस्तदाधारतया जगती पीठिका मता॥ स० सू० ६८.३-४

These terms denoting the different parts of temple-structure should not be viewed objectively; they are used and understood here in a subjective sense aiming at the organic unity of structure. The harmony of human body is transformed here into the body of the Temple. Chandas, the rythm permeating body becomes vital into the very structure of Hindu Temple. It is fully vitalised and breaths life at every point.

This fundamental philosophy of Temple architecture has also accordingly affected its planning. Prāsāda, the Hindu-Temple, is not a congregational structure, but as we have seen, is the home of the spirit, hence the main shrine is called Garbhagṛha and the Prāsāda has circum-ambulatory passages, the Pradakṣiṇā-pathas. This Garbhagṛha is as adorable as an image. There is an identity of the image and its abode. Therefore the following quotation from Iśāna-śivagurudeva-paddhati is very apt and we finish this article with this last word on Hindu Temple :

प्रासादं यच्छिवशक्त्यात्मकं तच्छक्त्यन्तैः स्याद् वसुधाद्यैस्तु तत्वैः।
शैवी मूर्तिः खलु देवालयाख्येत्यस्माद् ध्येया प्रथमं चाभिपूज्या॥

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DATE OF THE ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA

By

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The Ellora copper-plate inscription of Dantidurga, who founded the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire about the middle of the eighth century A.D., was published by S. K. Dikshit in the *Epigraphia India*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25-31 and Plates. The date portion of the grant was read as *Saṁ* 663 *Aśvayuja-śuddha-trayodaśyāṁ Somavāre*, i.e. Monday, Āśvina-sudī 13, Year 663. The year being referred to the Śaka era, the date was regarded as corresponding to the 17th September, 742 *A.D.*

In a paper published by V. V. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XXVI, pp. 163ff., the year of the date was read as *Saṁ* 463 and was referred to the Kalacuri era. The epoch of the era, in this case, was supposed to be 250-51 *A.D.* and the English equivalent of the year was taken to be 715 *A.D.* G. S. Gai, however, regarded Mirashi's reading of the date of the Ellora plates as wrong, while, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV, Mirashi says at p. xi that the date 'should be read as *Saṁ* 463 and not as Saṁ 663,' but at p. 614 he considers the reference of the year to the Kalacuri era to be a matter 'not absolutely beyond doubt.'

Another copper-plate grant of Dantidurga is the Samangad plates issued in Śaka 675=753-54 *A.D.* (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 111). This record shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king assumed independence before the year 753-54 *A.D.*, while the Ellora plates were issued when he had not completely thrown off his allegiance to the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman II as he was still enjoying feudatory titles. Since Dantidurga died about the year 756 *A.D.* when he was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I, the problem before us is whether he ascended the throne sometime before 742 *A.D.* or 715 *A.D.* If we accept Dikshit's reading of the date of the Ellora plates, Dantidurga's rule may be roughly assigned to 740-56 *A.D.* while, if Mirashi's reading is relied on, the period of his rule would be *circa* 712-56 *A.D.* It will be seen that a rule of about 45 years would mean that Dantidurga could not have died much earlier than his fiftieth or sixtieth year. But there is evidence to show that the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire died in his youth.

There is an inscription incised on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the courtyard of the Rāmaliṅgeśvara temple of Rameśvara near Proddaturu, headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh. The record was first published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 68 (pp. 39-42) and has been recently re-edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 57 ff. A verse in this inscription recording the death of Dantidurga *alias* Sāhasatuṅga and the succession of Kṛṣṇa I runs as follows—

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Tasmin Sāhasatunga-nāma-nṛpatau svas-sundarī-prārthite
yāte yūni divaṁ divākara-samaṁ veśy=eva Lakṣmīs=tataḥ
taṁ tv=āvāpya bhuja-dvayena nibiḍaṁ samślişya ramyair=guṇaiḥ
prītyā prāṇa-samaṁ ciraṁ ramayati śrī-kṛṣṇa-rāj-ādhipam

"When that young king named Sāhasatuṅga, on being sought by the celestial damsels, went to heaven like the sun, then Lakṣmī (royal fortunes), like a helaera, having drawn king Kṛṣṇarāja with her pleasant qualities, embraced him closely with both hands and enjoyed him long out of love as if he was her life."

The passage *yāte yūni divaṁ* clearly shows that Sāhasatuṅga (Dantidurga) died in his youth. If such was the case, it is difficult to believe that Dantidurga's reign covered the long period of about 45 years between *circa* 712 and 756 *A.D.* On the other hand, if the king ruled from about 740 *A.D.* to 756 *A.D.*, i.e. for about 16 years, the reference to his death, when he was still young, in the Rāmeśvara inscription seems to be easily intelligible. In case Dantidurga ascended the throne before he was 25 years of age, his death would then occur before he completed his 40th year. The stress on his youth at the time of his death would suggest that he was not much older than 35 when he died, so that he seems to have succeeded his father Indra II not much later than his 19th year.

Mirashi's reading and interpretation of the date of the Ellora copper-plate grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga would thus appear to be wrong.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the Bagumra plates of Kṛṣṇa II describes Dantidurga's death in the following passage— *tasmin divaṁ prayāte Vallabharāje kṛta-praj-ābādhe* (Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 42). Here the epithet *akṛta-praj-ābādha* seems to mean 'one suffering from the distress of not procreating children.' This seems to give the reason why Dantidurga was succeeded by his uncle Kṛṣṇa I. The word *prajā* in the passage quoted above would probably mean 'a male issue' since Dantidurga does not appear to have died without any issue as has been held by some scholars (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 390). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess Revā or Revakā, who was married to the Pallava, King Nandivarman II Pallavamalla and gave birth to the latter's successor Dantivarman, was a daughter of king Dantidurga, also called Dantivarman II (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. Majumdar, p. 150).

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE IN MITHILA UNDER THE KHANDAVALAS OR DARBHANGA RAJ

By

UPENDRA THAKUR, GAYA

Society in mediaeval Mithilā, like mediaeval India, presented the picture of a feudal structure with the king or the Rājā at its head. There was a vast difference in standard of living amongst different classes of people. While the nobles and the zamindars rolled in wealth and extravagances, the lot of the lower classes was hard and they faced chronic economic depression and oppression.

The distinctive feature of the Hindu society during the period was the system of castes and sub-castes as it is to-day. With the advent of Islam and with the fall of the old time ruling classes the position of the legal and formal powers of the Brāhmaṇas had no doubt undergone a considerable change, but on the whole with the elimination of the moral rivalry of the Kṣatriyas, the authority and personnel influence of the Brāhmaṇas increased among the Hindu classes. This naturally led to even more restricting of caste rules and a wider caste-jurisdiction in marriage and diet and a few other spheres that were left to them. Thus, the introduction of Islam was not a 'fundamental revolution in the basic conditions of Indian life', for on the one hand though it affected a change in classes and their relative position, on the other, it could not uproot the old institutions and as such Mithilā or Tirhut still continued to be a stronghold of Brāhmaṇism, averse to all such changes and influences accruing from the new Order that came to dominate other part of the country. In fact, in this part of the country Islam practically succumbed to the spirit of class-division and forgot all about the message of *Qurān*. It is true, as contact between the Hindus and the Muslims grew the Muslims offered *Pūjā* at the Hindu temples and the Hindus offered *Sini* at the mosques, but the inherent rigidities could not be slackened and this so-called intermingling continued to be confined only to be lower strata of the society.

The advent of western civilisation also did not bring any material change in its wake and the Maithila society remained almost the same as it was before. There have been no substantial changes in the mode of the life of the people who inhabit this land and who cling fast to their ancient ways and manners. It has been rightly observed that "Mithilā, a country with an ancient history, traditions of which it retains to the present day, is a land under the domination of a sect of Brāhmaṇas, extraordinarily devoted to the mint, anise and cummin of the law. For centuries it has been a tract too proud to admit other nationalities to intercourse on equal terms, and has passed through conquest after conquest from the north,

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from the east and from the west without changing its ancestral peculiarities." This Brāhamaṇical domination has left ineffaceable marks upon the nature of the rest of the population.

The same age-old castes still dominated the land. They were the Maithila Brāhmaṇas, the Maithila Kāyasthas, Goālas, Bābhans or Bhūmihāras, Dosādhs, Koiris, Kurmīs, Chamārs, Dhānukas, Mallāhs, Nuniās, Tāntis, Rajputs and several other castes in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, Saharsa and Purnea. Of the Mohammadans, the Sheikhs, the Jolāhas, the Dhuniās and the Kunjaras were numerous, and they all belonged to the same linguistic group.

The condition of the villages in Mithilā or Tirhut has been generally wretched all through the ages and the character of the people on the whole has been profoundly influenced by their geographical isolation. In the days of Muhammadan invasion the river Gaṇḍaka proved to be a curiously strong barrier. While the countries to the west of the Gaṇḍaka and south of the Gaṅgā were constantly subjected to the turbulent influences that came in the wake of the Muslim rule, the country of Mithilā remained more or less at peace under the Hindu Rājās. The result is obvious to all who are acquainted with the districts of Champaran, Purnea, Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur. Although the inhabitants of the Hajipur sub-division have naturally assimilated some of the characteristics of their near neighbours in Patna and Saran, it is still clear that the people of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Purnea and Saharsa and Champaran are more backward and less enterprising than the people of the rest of the country.

The structure of the Hindu society as a whole presented the age-old spectacle with the same Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras constituting its vital limbs with their privileges and traditions intact, inspite of ruthless hammering of Islam and numerous shake-ups from without. The laws of Manu had still no sympathy for the downtrodden fraction of the society and the Brāhmaṇas resisted for long the foreign influences with all their resources and succeeded to a considerable extent in their ceaseless efforts with the result that Mithilā remained the least influenced tract with little to gain from the new light that flashed all over the horizon of the country.

Of the various castes and sub-castes, the Brhāhmaṇas, though not so strong numerically, were by far the most important caste owing to their hereditary priestly influences. The majority belonged to the Maithila or *Tirhutiyā* sub-caste which was again divided into the five hypergamous groups—*Śrotiyas* or *Sati Joga* or *Yogya*, *Pāñjibādhs*, *Jaibāra* and *Nāgara*. These different groups still carry on in the same manner as they were enjoined to do when these sub-classes came into being with the introduction of the famous Maithila *Pañji* in the time of Harisiṁhadeva, the last king of the Karnāṭa dynasty of Mithilā.[1]

THE PANJI

This new social organisation constitutes a land-mark in the social history of Mithilā. Introduced some six hundred years ago, it still dominates the Maithila society with all its

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devastating effects and implications. It has been held by some Maithila scholars that "it was primarily a measure of social reorganisation designed to conserve the purity of the Maithila race and to uphold the distinctive characteristics of Maithila culture, but it set up such new standard of social values that in effect it revolutionised the entire outlook of society and shaped the future destiny of Mithilā in such a manner and to such an extent that even the twentieth century is not yet free from its influences... the measure got so stabilised that it has weathered, in course of six hundred years and more, all the storms that have flown over Mithilā without its roots being shaken, much less uprooted.[1]"

We have elsewhere fully discussed this aspect of Maithila social life and shown that this so-called re-constitution of the society, instead of bringing them together, split them up into so many warring camps, each section trying to beat down the other, whenever such opportunity presented itself. This new institution was solely responsible for all the evils—namely the monster of *Bikauās*, the *Kulīns*, the *Ghaṭakas*, etc. that soon crept in and began to eat into the vitality of the society which was gradually turned into a mess of crude monstrosities.[2] How far it "revolutionised the entire outlook of the society and shaped the future destiny of Mithilā" we do not know; how far it conserved "the purity of Maithila race" is also doubtful and what "tremendous fillip" the "ideals" received is just not known, but there is no doubt that it has "weathered in course of six hundred years and more all the storms" and therein only lies the success of this so-called social revolution.

Any reform, be it social or political, is deemed to be successful only when it brings in its wake all that is good, all that is life-giving to the society as a whole. A reform, howsoever, well-intentioned, has demoralising and degenerating effects if it benefits only a section of the society. Great and stabilising reforms always come from the bottom, they never come from the top. Reforms, when imposed, become an object of resistance and hatred, and defeat the very object of its creation. This was exactly the case with the social reforms introduced by king Harisiṁhadeva of Mithilā in *A.D.* 1313 when the famous *Pañjī* was compiled and edited by Maithila scholars by his order.[3]

Some scholars have acclaimed the *Pañjī* as "the crowning act" of the age which was, and has been, never excelled before and after. What is surprising is that unable to shake off their own deep-rooted prejudices they outright dismiss others' views as a product of ignorance and bias and try to confuse the outside world by claiming that the *Pañjī* is the only source of social history of Mithilā and whatever Harisiṁha ordained is to be explicitly followed from birth to death without raising any doubt or murmur or protest whatever. To them it is a divine document like the mediaeval theory of divine right of Kingship, a law unto itself which is to be obeyed, never to be questioned. But from a close and impartial study of the *Pañjī*, it is clear that it was a reactionary measure introduced by the feudal lord of the erstwhile feudal state which stood in the way of the all round social progress of the Maithilas at large though it tremendously benefitted a tiny section of the society that now champions its cause. It had no doubt some intrinsic values in as much as it preserved faithfully the geneological lists of the Maithilas, but on the whole it also encouraged fissiparous tendencies proving much

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detrimental to the general interest of the society in course of centuries. We have not gone in to the details of the merits and demerits of this social reform here, for we have already discussed its various aspects fully and compassionately eleswhere.[1]

As regards the customs and usages, the Hindu society, inspite of the influx of the foreign elements—Muslims and western—witnessed no remarkable change during this period. The most ancient creed of four *āśramas* still lingered on amongst the higherups for we are told that Mm. Maheśa Ṭhākura, the founder rājā of the Khaṇḍavāla dynasty took to asceticism towards the end of his life after having entrusted the administration of the country to Gopāla Ṭhākura.[2] But, it appears that the practice had now almost died out, as we do not get any other notable instance in the later period.

Commission of suicides ,as expiation of penances, was also in vogue in some form or other. There are instances, though few, of persons committing suicide as a penance for murder and other such crimes. Acyuta Ṭhākura, son of Mm. Maheśa Ṭhākura, is said to have started on *Mahāprasthāna* (The Great Pilgrimage) to the Himālaya, according to the Śāstric injunctions as a penance for pillaging and plundering Amarāvatī and massacring the Brāhmaṇas thereof.[1]

The Position of Women

The condition of women was quite unsatisfactory and they were wholly subject to and guided by the dictates of their lords and were always confined within the limits of their house. They were not allowed to expose themselves publicly as it was regarded as the worst dishonour. Devoid of her husband's protection a chaste woman had no other place where she could live in peace and happiness and she could not even go to her father's house without his consent.

Women of the higher castes practised *Purdah*. The rigidity of the *Purdah* system was responsibile for their being subjected to gruesome social tyranny as their very appearance in the public came to be treated as the most shocking scandal. In other words, they were even denied the right of breathing fresh air and were like as many prisoners huddled together in their house-prisons. The Hindus adopted the custom from the Muhammadans under the stress of circumstances which in turn brought about their social, political and intellectual stagnation. The system was so rigidly followed that it has been noted by Jāyasī, Caitanyadeva and Vidyāpati. In fact, seclusion now came to be regarded as a sign of respect and nobility. Husbands forbade their wives the very sight of strangers. But, this coercive *purdah* system had no place among the Hindu lower middle class and the general masses. It was every where a common sight to see women water-carriers walking along the streets without any *purdah*. Even the spread of English education and western influences which succeeded in enlightening and emancipating the women of other parts of the country from the chains of age-old slavery, succumbed to the rigid hierarchical pretensions and worn-out conventions in Mithilā.

Marriage was more a family-question than a personal concern of the marrying people,

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and early marriage or child-marriage was the order of the day. Girls were married before the age of puberty and had no voice in the choice of their husbands. They had no liberty to protest, in words and deeds, against the inexorable laws of society, and "with conscience and feelings deeply wounded, they would only weep and occasionally murmur among themselves." This practice was common among the kings as well as commoners. The institution of the child-marriage was so deep-rooted that it could not be abolished inspite of various legislations. The Western influence has no doubt slackened its rigidity to a considerable extent, yet Scrafton's observations about Bengal hold partially good even to-day so far as Mithilā is concerned.[1]

The Institution of Kulīnsim :

Side by side with child-marriage triumphant *Kulīnism* and dowry system increased during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth cenruries in Mithilā. We have elsewhere discussed the narrow and rigid institution of *Kulīnism*; the creation of sub-classes in the Brāhmaṇa hierarchy, the rise of the *Bikauās* and other institutions like the *Ghaṭakas*, the *Pañjikāras* etc. in the Maithila society.[2] *Kulīnism* in this age proved monstrous and produced shocking abuses, as poligamy became a regular habit with these so-called *Kulīns* or *Bhalamānus* (people of high birth) who demanded a substantial dowry in every marriage as a matter of right. They had now turned the sacred institution of marriage into a hereditary profession, and we have it on record that they normally married twenty-five to thirty wives, and even more. The question of sincere attachment on their part was simply talked out : money and more money was the only demand of these frivolous, unmatched, illiterate and uncouth husbands. Poor and helpless girls remained mostly in in their fathers' houses where their husbands came once in two or three years only to exact their dues from their father-in-law.

Though early marriage was generally the rule, yet in the case of Kulīn's daughter the rule was very often violated. Her parents were bound to wait till they could collect sufficient money for their daughters' dowry. Sometimes from financial considerations, a girl of eleven or twelve was handed over as a wife to a grey-haired *Bikauā* (one who had adopted marriage as his profession). This dowry-system was however not compulsory and never so schocking among the fortunate non-kulīns. Sometimes among the lower classes the practice was exactly the opposite, because among them the bride-groom had to pay a dowry to the bride.

The number of widows grew staggeringly aweul. The death of one *Kulīn* or *Bhalamānusa* naturally caused the widowhood of atleast thirty to forty women.[1] The corrupt and degraded Kulīns were till recently highly honoured because of their birth in the so called high *Kula*, though they generally happened to be illiterate and foolish. The position of the helpless widows in the society was deplorable and at certain places it came to be regarded as inauspicious to have a look at their face. They were an object of hatred and never to be respected by the society.

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Widow-marriage, though prevalent among the lower order, was strictly prohibited among the higher castes. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagara was the first social reformer who raised his strong voice against these scandalous social injusticees in Bengal and elsewhere. As a result of this strong movement widows were given legal rights to marry and their issues legal rights to inherit property. But Mithilā, the land of excessive orthodoxy, completely ruled out any such reform and remained unaffected by these changes and movements.

Satī was an established institution during this period and it continued to flourish as before inspite of several attempts made by Akbar and Jahangir to suppress or regulate the rite. The Brāhmaṇa priest played a prominent part in *Satī* sacrifices. A woman, who was about to practise *Satī*, was not allowed to be touched and thus defiled by a non-Hindu. The queen of Rājā Purusottama Thakura of the Khaṇḍavāla dynasty is said to have practised *satī* on the death of her husband. Rāghava-priyā, the wife of Rājā Rāghava Siṁha also burnt herself to death on the funeral pyre of her husband. There is yet a *satī* temple (*Maṭha*) extant on the place of her funeral to the south of *Bhaurāgarhī* (the fortress of Bhaura). There are no images of god in the temple except two small clay mounds. There is also a big tank there known as *satīāḍa* which people of the surrounding villages call goddess *satī-maī* (Mother Satī) and worship her as village goddess. But it seems that the practice was confined to only the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas and was not so widely current in Mithilā as in Bengal and elsewhere. Instances of *Jauhar* during this period have also come to light.[1]

The *Sabhāgāchī* marriage was yet another peculiar but important aspect of Maithila social life which has no parallel elsewhere. The institution of *Sabhāgāchī* at the Saurāṭha village got great impetus during this period. It is situated to the east of the famous Mādhaveśvara Śiva temple of Saurāṭha, about four miles west of Madhubani where Maithila Brāhmaṇas from all over the country assemble in thousands once in a year to negotiate the marriage of their sons and daughters. Formerly, the Sabhā used to be held somewhere near the Samaulī village, but later on in the time of Rājā Rāghava Siṁha it was shifted to the present site where with the generous grant of the Raja, a *Sabhā* house was built and since then it has been held there uninterruptedly. Later Rājā Mādhava Siṁha excavated a big tank, built a temple and Dharmaśālā, for the convenience of the negotiators. The temple was, however, completed in the time of Raja Chatra Siṁha, his son and successor. It was thus a big social gathering which was responsible for the birth of the institutions of the *Ghaṭakas* (the marriage-contractors) and the *Pañjīkāras*. These institutions have now unfortunately lost their past sacred character and become an object of ridicule among the more progressive section of the society.

Slavery :

Slavery was an established institution in Mithilā during the period of which we have hardly any parallel elsewhere. From various accounts we learn that the evil infected the Maithila society in all its nakedness. The slaves were a product of the feudal order, had nothing of their own and were completely at the mercy of their owners who could dispose of

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them as they pleased to, like so many commodities. From various kinds of State-papers, judgements, grant-deeds, slave-deeds and contracts, known as *Gaurīva-Cāṭikāpatras*, *Bahī-Khātās*, *Ajātapatras* or *Cāṭilas*, *Akarārapatras*, or *Janauḍhī* and *Nistārapatras*,[1] it is clear that it was a deep-rooted institution in the mediaeval age as well as in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. These documents record the sale, gift and emancipation of the slaves or servants. They are unique in the sense that we hardly come across such elaborate documents relating to slavery in any other part of the world.

Sometimes the question of actual ownership of slaves involved title-suits and one such case was actually fought and judgement given in conformity with the ancient legal texts by the judges of Mithilā. This judgement was delivered by Mm. Sacala Miśra and is one of the rare documents relating to a case arising out of the question of ownership of the slaves in Śaka 1716 (1794 *A.D.*) i.e. twenty-nine years after the grant of *Dīwānī* in *A.D.* 1765. The fact of the case in brief is as follows :

"Tulārāma, the plaintiff, claimed that Maninātha should restore him his domestic slave-girl of the name of Saito, daughter of the plaintiff's slave Mati. Tulārāma failed to prove his claim and the judge Mm. Sacala Miśra delivered his judgement in favour of Maninātha who put forward evidences proving possession well over hundred years as required by law in respect of his proprietory right over the slave girl."

Now, the fact that a title-suit was fought over the issue of the possession of a slave shows how deep rooted the institution was. The judgement is quite in keeping with the traditions of the ancient legal texts, and can be compared with any of them. The judge has quoted from the famous digest-writers and law-givers of Mithilā, e.g. Misaru Miśra, Harinātha Upādhyāya and others. Subtle arguments on the issues of slave and slavetrade have been discussed and decided. This judgement shows how the actual administration in this respect was carried out in accordance with the law of the land.[1]

Concluding, we must bear in mind that the real status of a slave (generally called *Bahiā* in several deeds) is clear from the above documents. As we know from the contemporary social relationship existing between different classes of people, the slave had no social standing whatever. He was given a piece of land and in return he had to dedicate his life to the service of his master. The modesty of the slave-girl depended more or less on the good will of the slave-owners. These slaves were responsible for the tilling of the land, sowing the seeds and reaping the harvests for their masters. Besides, they had to look to the comforts of their masters and it was because of their attachment to the masters that there arose the necessity of registering their sale or purchase in the presence of a number of witnesses in addition to the title-suits. There is no doubt that the institution was one of vital importance in the economic set-up of the age when the slaves produced and others enjoyed the all-round comforts of life. The system continued to operate till the second decade of the twentieth century and still partially operates in the remote villages of Mithilā.

Economy :

The economic condition of the people was on the whole satisfactory during the six-

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teenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries *A.D.*, but towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign the condition of the peasantry grew worse all over the country. They were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the provincial governors and local collector. In Tirhut or Mithilā and other parts of the country highways became thoroughly unsafe and evils of pauperism increased widely. The Banjara menace proved chronic in Tirhut which could be suppressed only after years of efforts on the part of the provincial governors.[1] Under Aurangzeb the economic outlook of the country became all the more gloomy and the peasants, besides others, who formed the backbone of economic property as well as the industrial classes were afflicted with great sufferings. The evils increased further during the eighteenth century after the death of Aurangzeb which gave rise to disorders throughout the different parts of the country. The oppressive revenue administration, currency troubles, and the abuse of the extra-ordinary trade privileges by the English East India Company's servants throughout the Bengal Presidency of which Tirhut formed an important part—all combined to aggravate the troubles in different economic spheres.[2]

The period after 1757 has been generally[3] pictured as "the darkest age of Indian economic history." The picture became more and more gloomy due to the devastating effects of the revenue farming system, *abwabs* and famines among agriculturists and inland trade-monopoly enjoyed by the company of which the greater parts of the benefit were utilised for the benefit of their country. Added to it was the lawlessness born out of wide spread unemployment due to the breakdown of the central authority making the whole country unsafe. This anarchy and insecurity dissolved centres of agriculture and industry which were turned into series of jungles and stray villages. In the midst of these came the great famine of 1770 which, combined with rigorous exaction of revenue, produced untold miseries on the people of the Bengal Presidency and caused further desertions of holdings and depopulations of villages in Tirhut.[4]

About a hundred and ninety-two years ago (*c.* 1770 *A.D.*) a great part of Darbhanga was uncultivated, partly due to the dislocation caused by the terrible famine of 1770 and partly due to the oppression of the farmers of revenue and the freebooting Zamindars. So terrible did the famine affect the people that in 1783 the collector of Tirhut submitted a proposal that "cultivators should be attracted from the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh to reclaim the unpeopled wastes of this district" and in 1781 the Judge reported that "owing to the tyranny of the local revenue-officer and his subordinates there was but very little cultivation for twenty miles from Darbhanga and that gross jungles appeared over extensive plains which before were rich in culture."

In 1796 paragana Pachahi was described as "the abode of dreadful beasts of prey" while the adjoining paragana of Alapur (one of the richest parts of Darbhanga, now ravaged by the devastating floods of the Kośī river) was "the haunt of wild elephants whose depradations prevented all improvement."[1] Paragana Bharwāra which now comprises a considerable portion of the head-quarters of the sub-division contained large stretches of waste land. In 1802 it was reported that "for miles nothing could be seen but uncultivated plains

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with here and there a few bighas under the plough." With the establishment of law and order, by 1824 *A.D.*; however, life boomed once again in those jungle-tracts.

Thus, from above it is clear that the condition of the peasantry or ryots in Tirhut under the Khaṇḍavālas was not at all happy. A state of lawless-ness prevailed. The Rājās of this dynasty had to fight several battles within and from withlout, which dangerously told upon the economy of the country. Besides, several litigation suits, claim-titles[2] etc. made the confusion worse confounded. Lord Minto's (Marquess of Hastings') frank observations on the occasion of decorating Chatra Siṁha with the title of *Mahārāja* are a clear manifestation of the fact that the ryots under him were not at all comfortable and happy and that he did not care to ameliorate the distressing condition of the people—a tenor of conduct which Lord Minto deprecated in strong terms.[1] He was honoured because of his loyalty to the Government and not because of his efficient administration and remedial measures. Besides, his help to the British government during the days of the Indo-Nepalese war cost the people much and in the regime of Mahārāja Rudra Siṁha the condition of the peasantry grew staggering by aweful. His predecessors did nothing to arrest the process of this fast deterioration in the economic life of the people and he also proved unequal to the occasion. On the other hand, his extravagance in the form of the digging of numerous tanks, building temples and palaces and liberal patronage of scholars etc. fast accelerated the pace of economic disintegration. When Mahārāja Maheśvara Siṁha came to the throne, the Raj had already run in to heavy debt. And, in its wake came the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. He helped the government with all his means and resources which further administered a severe set-back to the already tottering economic structure of the country. On his death, when the Court of Wards took charge of the Rāj, it was already 70 lakhs in debt. The first concern of the new management was, therefore, to recover the finances and to rehabilitate the country on sound economic footing. All possible sources of income were tapped, new financial measures adopted and new taxes levied on the ryots. It is true that under this management the finances of the Raj recovered, but it is also ironically true that the backbone of the ryots who had to shoulder the burden of all these direct and indirect taxations, was so thoroughly broken that for centuries, the tongueless teeming millions were brutally crushed and were unable to raise their heads in pride. Moved by their distress, Mahārāja Lakṣmīśvara Siṁha, no doubt, tried his best to relieve them of their great suffereing, but his measures proved just like a few drops in the vast ocean. The condition of peasantry since then has been most distressing and deplorable. Moreover, the frequent floods and famines have thoroughly ravaged the lands causing untold sufferings to the millions. No amount of measures and legislations have been sufficient to give them relief, in the true sense of the term.[4]

Another remarkable factor responsible for the sad state of affairs was the lack of personal energy and initiative among the husbandry. In fact, most of the agriculturists were involved in debt, for nearly half of the produce of their fields went towards the payment of rents. Sometimes the rent was as high as nine-sixteenth. Moreover, the difference in the price of grains in the month of *Pauṣa* (Dec.-Jan.) and *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) weighed heavily

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on the poor cultivators. The high price of rice and paddy in *Āṣāḍha* compelled the more indigent ryots to procure these "either by a ruinous mortgage of the ensuring crop, or at an exorbitant rate of interest" from the village money-lenders (Mahājanas).[3] In *Pauṣa*, when the principal harvest was gathered they were under the necessity of immediately disposing of the produce of the fields to discharge the heavy instalments of their rent, or to pay off their debt. In this way, majority of them lived in perpetual indebtedness. Added to this was the naked barbarity and shame-faced tyranny of the petty Zamindars who literally bled them white and virtually fed fat on their carcass.

Flood And Famines

Mithilā or Tirhut may rightly be termed as the land of floods and famines. The abundance of rivers, while it certainly favoured agriculture, was also a cause of perpetual sorrow to the inhabitants of the land. It had to experience floods and famines which often were devastating in their effects, and the area liable to floods, roughly speaking, was the country between the Bāghmatī and the little Gaṇḍaka, the southern part of the Hajipur sub-division and the lowlying tract in the south-east of Darbhanga. Before 1894, a large part of the Hajipur sub-division was liable to flood but the repair of the Gaṇḍaka embankment insured the safety of this tract to a great extent. Besides the Bāghmatī, the Kamalā and the Kosī rivers have been notorious for floods and diseases. While Madhubani subdivision has been the worst victim to the unabating fury of the former, the district of Darbhanga (East), Saharsa, Purnea and Monghyr have been subjected to the horrible devastations caused by the latter, aptly described as "the River of Sorrow". These two rivers alone halved the population of the areas of their visit and destroyed completely, thousands of square miles, through floods and epidemics causing innumerable deaths, homelessness and starvation in to thick jungles, yet unclaimed. With the construction of the new embankments, however, these floods have abased to a considerable extent.

Famines in Tirhut, the land of abject poverty, have also beern directly due to a deficiency in annual rainfall, but the intensity of such famines and the loss of lives caused by them are largely due to the chronic poverty of the people. If the people were generally in a prosperous condition, they could somehow or other make up for local failure of crops by purchases from neighouring provinces, and there would be no loss of life. But, when the people are absolutely resourceless, they cannot buy from surrounding tracts, and naturally they perish in hundreds or thousands or in millions whenever there is a total failure of crops.

The historians of Muhammedan period have left records of several famines of which some were very severe. The year of Akbar's accession to the throne (*A. D.* 1555-56) unfortunately coincided with one of the most aweful famines ever recorded in the long list of Indian famines. This was followed by famines in 1573-74, 1583-84, 1595-96 and 1630 during the Mughal period and twelve famines and four scarcities under the East India Company. Of these the famine of 1630 was one of the greatest that afflicted the whole of India, and Tirhut was one of the worst scenes of this devastating calamity whence thousands of

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people seem to have migrated from one place to another due to the great famine. As a matter of fact, hardly a year passed without the record of some disastrous inundation. Thus, floods and famines have been strangely associated with one another chronologically in Mithilā. In 1785 there was famine, in 1788 flood; in 1866 there was scarcity, in 1867 flood; in 1871 there was flood, in 1783 famine; in 1884 there was flood, in 1885 scarcity;in 1897 there was famine and in 1898 flood, and so on and so forth.

But the earliest famine in the time of the East India Company of which we possess a detailed record that of 1769-70 which took an usually heavy toll of life which affected the population of Tirhut so dangerously that it was reduced to only 18,44,309. The famine and the small pox made their appearance at one and the same time and raged so violently for full three months together that vast multitudes were swept away, "nor can their number be known but to Him that is hidden or invisible. Whole villages and whole towns were swept away by these scourges, and they suddenly disappeared from the face of the earth....This famine desolated the whole country of Bahar (Bihar) as well as the whole kingdom of Bengal"[3] "The husbandmen sold their every thing, they even sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of children could be found. They ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field, and....the living were feeding on the dead."[4]

As against this, it is undoubtedly extremely painful to read of the rigorous collection of the land-tax during years of human sufferings and deaths, perhaps unexampled in the history of mankind, of which any description could be an exaggeration. The mortality was heightened by the action of the Company's servants. Their *Gomastas* not only monopolised the grain in order to make high profits from the distress of the people, but they compelled the cultivators to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest. The Court of Directors were so indignant that they hoped that "the most exemplary punishment had been inflicted upon all offenders who could dare to counter-act the benevolence of the Company and entertain a thought of profiting by the universal distress."[1] But inspite of this "benevolence of the company" we hear of no abatement of the land-tax, although one-third of the population had been swept away and a third of the lands had returned to waste. According to Philip Francis, "atleast two-third of the whole surface of Bengal and Bihar are in a state of total depopulation."

The tragedy was so great and horrifying that the undying recollection of this famine found expression in one of the most touching verses of Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth and Governor-General of India) who had landed in Calcutta when the famine had already begun. Of the entire records this is perhaps the only official description by an eye-witness :

> "Still fresh in memory's eye the scene I view,
> The shrivelled limbs, sunk eyes and lifeless hue,
> Still hear the mother's shrieks and infant's moans,
> Cries of despair and agonizing moans,
> In wild confusion dead and dying lie,

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Hark to the Jackal's yell and Vultures' cry;
The dog's fell howl, as midst the glare of day,
They riot unmolested on their prey;
Dire scenes of horror, which no pen can trace,
Nor rolling years from memory's page efface"

Another tragic after effect of this calamity was that before the commencement by 1771, one third of a generation of peasants had been swept from the face of the earth and the whole generation of once rich families had been reduced to indigence. Every district reiterated the same tale. The revenue farmers—a wealthy class who then "stood forth as the visible government to the common people—being unable to realize the land-tax were stripped of this office; their persons imprisoned and their lands, the sole dependence of their families re-let."[1] Thus, from the year 1770 the ruin of the two-thirds of the aristocracy of Lower Bengal (of the then Bengal Presidency) dates.

A hundred years later Mithilā or Tirhut was afflicted with another great famine (1873-74), besides others in between. Its wide spread nature can be judged from the fact that Maithila folk bards recorded the event and sang it from door to door. The *Akālī Kavitta* by one Fatur Lal, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa (c. 1881) of village Shahpur (Darbhabga) in Maithilī is worth noticing in this connection. It is a description of the famine of the Fasli year 1281 (1873-74) and was written by a man of the people. It is worth noting this fact, for it praises both the English and the Mahārāja of Darbhanga in no unmeasured tone. It speaks of native population in tones of grim satire; that it chimes with the feelings of the people is shown by its universal popularity with the lower orders and a lively gratitude is felt in the hearts of the people of Tirhut for the efforts of the Government and of the Darbhanga Raj in the disastrous year 1874. The poet describes the distress of the famine and at the same time gives a satirical description of the "sinners" (the Mahājans, Māliks, Moharirs etc.) during the famine in a scintillating style in Maithilī mixed with several Braj forms.

Four periods of scarcity—1876, 1886-87, 1889-90, and 1892—intervened between this famine and that of 1896-97. By a moderate calculation it has been estimated that the famines of 1877-78, of 1889 and 1892, of 1897 and 1900 have carried off fifteen millions of people. In other words, population equal to about half of that of England, has perished in India which, men and women, still in their old age, remember.

But of all these famines, the famine of 1896-97 was the greatest to which Tirhut, particularly Muzaffarpur was exposed in the nineteenth century. It affected almost every province, and the famine mort ality came to 7,50,000.

Thus, floods and famines have been peculiarly associated with one another in Mithilā. Though famines have now been less frequent owing to the timely precautionary measures by the government, floods have been more frequent and devastating in their nature in recent years. For the last few years however, Mithilā has been passing through chronic monsoon and other natural calamities have brought about famine or near-famine conditions, giving a

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fillip to the tremendous rise in food-prices, from which there seems to be no escape in near future.

Trade and Industry :

Facilities for smooth communication have been the life-blood of prospective trade throughout the ages. Since the land was intersected by nearly twenty rivers and many lakes, trade in Mithilā was in a prosperous condition and there were numerous land and river routes to carry articles to and from different places. Since the beginning of the Christian era and even earlier, Mithilā had been carrying on trade, both in exports and imports with different parts of the country. In the mediaeval period she had had commercial transactions with Dacca and Murshidabad. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, foreign migrants—the Dutch, the Portuguese the French and the English—established themselves first in Bengal and then in Tirhut. The advent of these new elements had a tremendous effect on agriculture and industry of Trihut. Several articles-sugarcane, tobacco, pepper etc. now came to be produced on a large scale from purely commercial point of view. Agriculture, in a sense now became commercialised and with the commercialisation of agriculture, the foreign merchants encouraged the cultivation of caustic soda and indigo-plants. Various articles were now exported to Nepal and Bhutan from Tirhut through land-routes and to Bengal, Magadh and the United Provinces (Uttara Pradesha) through rivers. Tirhut in return imported several articles from outside.[1]

Extensive trade between Mithilā and Nepal, Bhutan, Bengal, Western India and other parts of the country was in a very flourishing condition and the commodities included mainly salt, nuts, spices, sugar, tobacco, cottongoods, woollen clothes, bright stones, woods, rice, lion-skin, paddy, silk-cloth, pulse, jute, vermillion, *malmal*, opium, shawl, paper, horses, *Khadi Kokaṭī* and many other articles exported to and imported from those parts on a large scale.

From the beginning to the end of the nineteenth century the condition of trade in Mithilā was almost the same as in the preceding period. Most of the trade was carried through rivers. Indigo and salt-petre formed the chief exportable commodities during this period. The introduction of the Railways in 1894 gave further lease of life to the export trade, and *Khāla* (untanned leather) assumed more importance in the changed condition. The extensive volume of trade resulted in the establishment of several trade centres on the bank of the Gaṇḍaka of which Hajipur, Lalganj, Bagaha, Govindapur and Sattaraghat were most important. Besides these, there were several marts and trade-centres on the bank of other rivers—Darbhanga and Kamataul on the bank of the Baghmati; Khagaria, Rosera, Pusa, Samastipur and Muzaffarpur on the bank of the little Gaṇḍaka; Raniganj, Nawabganj, Nathpur, Sahebganj, Rajganj, Rampur, Aliganj, Khawaspur and others on the bank of Kosī; Dulalganj, Kaliyaganj, Devaganj, Krishnaganj, Bahadurganj, Barsai, Khiderpur, Tihajani, English Bazar, Mahishmardini, Sukrabari, Bagharia etc. on the Mahānandā and Kausata, Pokhariya, Shibganj etc. on the bank of the Gaṅgā and several others on the

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banks of the tributaries of these rivers. Of these, however, Rosera, Darbhanga, Khagaria, Sahganj, Nathpur, Lalganj, Raniganj, Nawabganj, Karogola, Kantanagar, Bhawanipur, Dulalganj, Dwaganj and Krishnaganj were the most flourishing trade centres which exported and imported lacs of maunds of commodities consisting chiefly of sugar, oilseeds, tobacco, pepper, wheat, betel-nuts, rice and salt. Rosera imported 2,52,519 maunds in 1872; 1,92,082 maunds in 1873 and 1,85,044 maunds in 1874. Darbhanga came next to Rosera. It exported 1,55,132, 1,07,114, and 1,85,356 maunds and imported 1,15,342, 1,22,779 and 1,02,531 in 1872, 1873 and 1874 respectively.[1]

Khagaria enjoyed the same importance in North Monghyr as did Rosera in Darbhanga. Nathnagar, Shibnagar, Khanjarpur and Mehdinagar in Bhagalpur occupied a prominent place in having the largest number of shops. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century Nathpur was destroyed due to the havoc caused by the devastating Kosī floods and in 1868 Shibganj bazar was completely destroyed on account of shifting beds of the Kalababaya river, an offshoot of the Gaṅgā.[2] So were others in the following centuries due to sharp decline in industry and subsequent desertion and destruction of most of these centres because of the deliberate ingnorance of the company's government, and highhandedness of their servants coupled with the innumerable visits of floods and famines.

The trade of Mithilā or North Bihar was thus chiefly both in exports and imports. As noted above, the exports included indigo, oilseeds, saltpetre, untanned leather (hides), ghee, tobacco, rice, wheat, pulses, *makai*, woods, opium, sugar, *gur*, jute, fruits, *Kokati* (Khadi) cloth, fruits, vegetables, fishes etc. These products found their way chiefly to Patna and Calcutta. Some commodities, e.g., tobacco were sent to western India also. The imports consisted of English Cloth, salt, jawar (Millet), *bajra*, pulses, indigo-seed, cotton, jute, spices (mostly from Patna and Calcutta by ferry-boats). In addition to these, rice was imported from Dinajpur, Maldah, Murshidabad, Gorakhpur and Oudh; jawar and bajra from Oudh and South Bihar; indigo-seed from Kanpur and Allahabad Doab and sugar candy from Kalpi.

From the industrial point of view Mithilā had been self-sufficient since times immemorial. Cottage-industry played an important part in the economic life of the people. Different sections of the society were engaged in different small scale industries. In later times, however, especially during the British period, these indigenous industries lost the patronage of the State and died out their natural death. The import of foreign goods and manufactures was zealously encouraged by the East India Company at the cost of the country's ruination. The cumulative effects of this anti-indigenous trade-policy was that the localised industry could not stand the keen competition and was soon wiped out.

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1. For a detailed history of the Khaṇḍavāla dynasty in Mithilā(c. 1556 A.D.), see the author's forthcoming publication, *History of Mithilā*, Vol. II, chap. III. The dynasty is otherwise known as Darbhanga Raj.

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2. G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Pt. II, p. 4.
3. For details see *HM*, Chapters V-VI (*History of Mithila* by Upendra Thakur).
4. For details see *HM*, Chap. VII, Thakur, *Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithilā*, chap. I.
5. *Sūktimuktāvalī*, ed. R. N. Jha, Intro. 30.
6. For details see *HM*. Chap. VII.
7. *ibid*.
8. *HM* Chap. VII.
9. M. Jha, *Mithilā-tattva-vimarśa*, pp. 74-75.
10. For details see Thakur, *History of Suicide in India*, chap. IV.
11. Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 10-11.
12. For details see *HM*, Chap. VI.
13. In certain provinces girls to the number of a hundred or two were married to one man (Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected works*, Vol. II, pp. 468-70).
14. For details see Thakur, *History of Suicide in India*, Chap. IV.
15. For a detailed account of these various papers, see my article "The Institution of Slavery in Mithilā" in *JBR*, 1959 & IHQ 1958.
16. *JBORS*, VI, pt. II (vide-Sacala Miśra's judgement).
17. For details see my paper, *Op.cit*.
18. For details see *Bernier's Travels* (1656-1668 A.D.), Constables Trans, p. 230-31.
19. Sarkar and Datta, *A Text Book of Modern Indian History* Part III, p. 48-49.
20. R. C. Dutta, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule* (sixth ed.), Preface.
21. R. C. Dutta, *op.cit*. Pref. VI-XXII.
22. *Darbhanga District Gaz*. p. 60.
23. *Ibid*; H. R. Ghosal, *Economic Transition*, p. 257.
24. *Ibid*.
25. Moore, *Indian Appeals*, Vol. VII.
26. For details see the *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*.
27. For details see the author's forthcoming book, *History of Mithilā*, Vol. II, Chap. VI.
28. *Asiatic Researches*, XII, 554-55.
29. W. Hamilton, *A Geographical, Statistical & Historical Description of Hindustan, I*. 35.
30. cf. S. H. Askari's paper in *JBRS* xxxii, p. 61, fn, 5.
31. cf. The Collector's letters to the Revenue Board, 27th May, 1790 and 17th Oct., 1781 in *JBRS*. XXXIX, p. 365-66.
32. Ghulam Hussain, *Siyar*, Vol. III, p. 25-26.
33. W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 420.
34. W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 26-27, 19, fn 5, 20, fn 16, 19-23 & 24-26.
35. *Select Committee's Eleventh Report*, 1783, App.O.
36. cf. *Memoir of the life and correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth*, by his son, Vol. I, pp. 25-26 (London. 1843).
37. *Ibid* 56-57; App. B. pp. 399-422, App. A, pp. 379-98.

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38. For the verses see G. A. Grierson, *Maithili Chrestomathy;* Also cf. J. K. Mishra, "Introduction to the Folk Literature of Mithila in University of Allahabad Studies, 1950, pp. 39–40 Memoria, p. 155; *IGI*, Vol. III, p. 488.
39. K. C. Ghosh, *Famine in Bengal*, pp. 202-03; Memoria, *op.cit.* p. 155.
40. For other details regarding famines and prices of food-stuff, problem of labour etc. see Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, Vol. II, Chap. VI. (M.S.)
41. Vidyapati Singh, *Mithilā Ka Udyoga O Vyāpāra*, pp. 66-67.
42. Hunter, XIII, 145-46.

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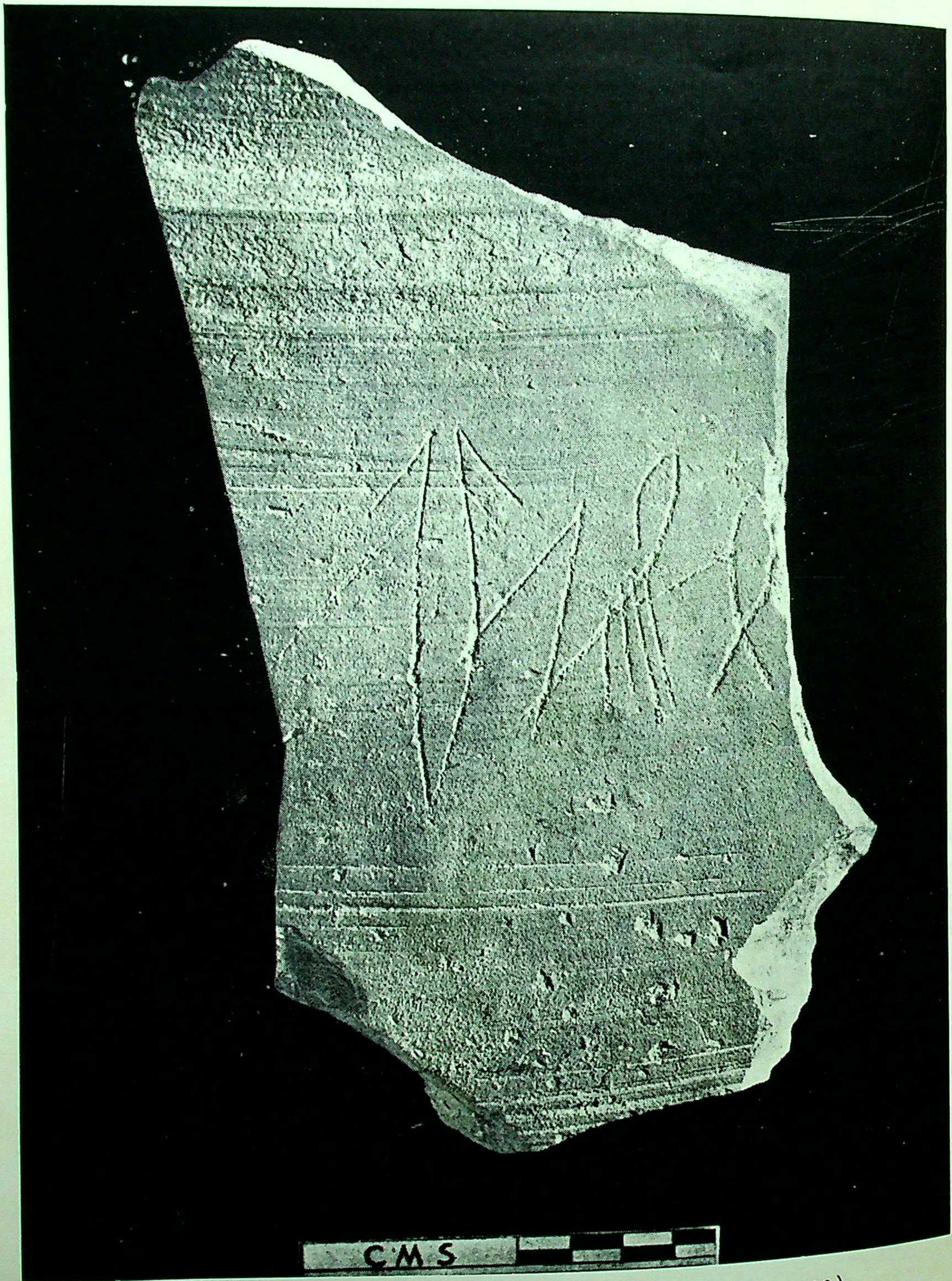

चित्र सं० १——कालीबंगन (राजस्थान) से प्राप्त, उत्कीर्ण मृद्भाण्ड (देखिए पृ० ४९९)
(प्रतिलिप्यधिकार——भारतीय पुरातत्त्व, सर्वेक्षण, भारत सरकार)

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सिन्धु-सभ्यता की लिपि: एक आंशिक दृष्टिपात

श्री ब्रजवासी लाल, नयी दिल्ली

आज से लगभग पचास वर्ष पूर्व अनेक विद्वानों—विशेषकर पाश्चात्य—का कथन था कि भारतीय सभ्यता अशोक, या बहुत हुआ तो महात्मा बुद्ध, के समय से अधिक प्राचीन थी ही नहीं, यद्यपि इस प्रकार के विचार व्यक्त करते समय ये विद्वान् इतना तो अवश्य ही समझते रहे होंगे कि वैदिक काल की सभ्यता बुद्धकालीन सभ्यता से प्राचीनतर थी। खैर, धारणाएं जो कुछ भी रही हों, वास्तविकता तो यह है कि इस निपट अन्धकार को सहसा भेदती हुई प्रकाश की एक किरण सन् १९२१ ई० में सिन्धु-घाटी में स्थित हड़प्पा नामक स्थान से फूट निकली। अगले वर्ष ही माहें-जो-दड़ो ने हड़प्पा का हाथ बटाया; और कुछ ही वर्षों में समस्त संसार ने सिन्धु-घाटी की सभ्यता का जाज्वल्यमान प्रकाश देखा। उपर्युक्त सीमित दृष्टि वाले विद्वानों ने भी मान लिया कि सभ्यता की प्राचीनता की दृष्टि से भारत भी उतना ही गौरवशाली माना जा सकता है जितना कि मिस्र, ईरान, ईराक़ या चीन। यह सिन्धु-सभ्यता आज से लगभग ४५००० वर्ष प्राचीन निकली।

सिन्धु-घाटी में बसने वाले ये व्यक्ति धन-धान्य-पूर्ण एवं कला-मय जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। उनका व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध न केवल स्वदेश के अन्य भागों से ही था, अपितु समुद्रपार के देशों से भी था। सिन्धु-सभ्यता की मुहरों (Seals) का पश्चिमी एशिया के तत्कालीन शहरों में प्राप्त होना इस अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय व्यापार का अकाट्य प्रमाण है। और यदि इससे भी विशिष्ट प्रमाण चाहिए तो देखिए लेथल (गुजरात) में उत्खनित एक पोतस्थान को।

पर दुःख है कि इन मुहरों पर उत्कीर्ण लिपि को आज तक कोई सन्तोषजनकरूप से नहीं पढ़ सका। कतिपय विद्वान् इस सिन्धु-भाषा में तमिल आदि अन्य द्रविड़ भाषाओं का आदिरूप देखते हैं, तो अन्य इसे संस्कृत मानते हैं और इसमें वैदिक सूत्र पढ़ते हैं।

इस भाषा में क्या लिखा है, इस कठिन प्रश्न को तो फ़िलहाल छोड़ ही दिया जाय। खेद तो इस बात का है कि विद्वद्गण इस साधारण विषय पर भी सहमत नहीं हैं कि यह लिपि दाहिनी ओर से बायीं ओर लिखी जाती थी या बायीं ओर से दाहिनी। मतभेद यहां तक है कि इन मुहरों में संस्कृत पढ़ने वाले विद्वानों में ही कुछ इस लिपि को दाहिने से बाएं पढ़ते हैं तथा अन्य इसके विपरीत।

प्रस्तुत लेखक इस लिपि को पढ़ने का तनिक भी साहस नहीं कर रहा है। उसके विचार में सर्वप्रथम आवश्यकता इस बात के जानने की है कि यह लिपि किस ओर से किस ओर लिखी जाती थी। भाग्यवश, सिन्धु-सभ्यता के एक महत्त्व-पूर्ण स्थान कालीबंगन (राजस्थान) की खुदाई करते समय इस लेखक को कुछ ऐसे मृद्भाण्ड मिले हैं जिन पर उत्कीर्ण चिह्नों में से कुछ चिह्न अपने पार्श्ववर्त्ती चिह्नों पर चढ़ते हैं। इस भाँति का प्रमाण चिह्नों के पूर्वापर सम्बन्ध को निश्चित करने में सहायक हो सकता है; और इसी पर इस लेख में विचार किया जायगा।

चित्र सं० १ में दिए मृद्भाण्ड के टुकड़े पर तीन चिह्न दिखाई देते हैं। (ये चिह्न उत्कीर्ण हैं; उत्किरणक्रिया भाण्ड के अग्नि में पक जाने के बाद की है, पहिले की नहीं। लेख सम्भवतः भाण्ड के क्रेता से सम्बद्ध हो—उसका नाम

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हो।) इस लेख में कितने चिह्न और थे यह नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि भांण्ड टूटा हुआ है; यहाँ तक कि दाहिनी ओर का अन्तिम चिह्न भी खण्डित है। मध्यवर्ती चिह्न के तीन भाग कहे जा सकते हैं; एक को अंग्रेज़ी की हस्तलिखित लिपि के 'आई' अक्षर से तुलना की जा सकती है—यह भाग तिरछा पड़ा है; दूसरे भाग में चार लगभग खड़ी लकीरों का समूह है; तथा तीसरा भाग कोणवत् है जिसकी नोक ऊपर की ओर है। ध्यानपूर्वक देखने से (यदि आवश्यकता हो तो आवर्द्धक-लेन्स का उपयोग कीजिए) यह स्पष्ट पता लगेगा कि इस चिह्न का दूसरा हिस्सा—यानी चार लकीरोंका समूह-पहिले हिस्से की तिरछी लकीर के ऊपर चढ़ा हुआ है। (द्वितीय भाग की रेखाएं पूर्ण दिखाई देती हैं, जब कि पहिले भाग की तिरछी रेखा दूसरे भाग की रेखाओं द्वारा कटी दिखाई देती है।) इसी प्रकार इस चिह्न के तीसरे भाग, यानी "कोण" की दाहिनी रेखा प्रथम भाग के निचले अंश पर चढ़ती दृष्टिगोचर होती है। इस प्रमाण से सिद्ध हुआ कि मध्यवर्ती चिह्न के तीन अंगों में से "आई"—तुल्य अंग पहिले कुरेदा गया था और चार रेखाओं का समूह तथा कोण उसके बाद। रेखा-समूह तथा कोण का पारस्परिक उत्किरण-क्रम निश्चित नहीं किया जा सकता क्योंकि ये अंग एक-दूसरे को काटते ही नहीं।

अब इसी चित्र (सं० १) में बाईं ओर के प्रथम चिह्न को लीजिये। इसके भी तीन अंग कहे जा सकते हैं। एक अंग अंग्रेज़ी के "वी" अक्षर के सदृश है, तथा अन्य दो अंगों में से प्रत्येक दो तिरछी रेखाओं का समूह है। इनमें से एक समूह "वी" आकार वाले अंग की दाहिनी खड़ी रेखा के सिरे पर मिलता है, तथा दूसरा उसी प्रकार बायीं रेखा से।

अब देखना है कि बाईं ओर वाले चिह्न तथा मध्यवर्ती चिह्न में क्या सम्बन्ध है। चित्र में बाईं ओर वाले चिह्न के "वी" अंग की दाहिनी खड़ी रेखा को देखिए और साथ ही देखिए मध्यवर्ती चिह्न के कोण रूपी अंग की बायी रेखा के निचले भाग को। जिस स्थान पर ये दोनों रेखायें एक-दूसरे से मिलती हैं उसे ध्यान-पूर्वक देखने से पता लगता है कि "वी" अंग की दाहिनी खड़ी रेखा "कोण" की बायीं रेखा के निचले भाग को काटती है। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि पूर्वोक्त रेखा उत्तरोक्त रेखा के बाद ही उत्कीर्ण हुई होगी। चूंकि "वी" बाएं चिह्न का अंग है और "कोण" मध्यवर्ती चिह्न का, इससे सिद्ध हुआ कि बायीं ओर वाला चिह्न मध्यवर्ती चिह्न के बाद ही लिखा गया होगा। यह सर्वमान्य है कि अक्षरों का उत्किरण या लेखन-क्रम लिपि की लेखन-दिशा का सूचक है। अतः चित्र सं० १ के लेख में प्रयुक्त लिपि की लेखन-दिशा दाहिनी ओर से बाईं ओर हुई है।

अब लीजिए चित्र सं० २ को। इसमें प्रदर्शित मृद्-भाण्ड के टुकड़े पर तीन चिह्न दिखाई देते हैं। इनमें बाईं ओर का चिह्न तथा मध्यवर्ती चिह्न पूरे और स्पष्ट हैं; किन्तु दाहिनी ओर का चिह्न भाण्ड के टूट जाने के कारण अधूरा ही बचा है, साथ ही इस भाग में ठीकरे के घिस जाने के कारण वह अस्पष्ट भी है।

इन तीनों चिह्नों में मध्यवर्ती चिह्न पर दृष्टि डालिए। इसके तीन अंग कहे जा सकते हैं; ऊपर की चार खड़ी रेखाएं, बीच की दो रेखाएं तथा बीच की एक पड़ी रेखा। संयोगवश यह पड़ी रेखा चिह्न से काफ़ी परे निकल जाती है। दाहिनी ओर तो फिर भी बहुत अधिक नहीं जाती किन्तु बायीं ओर तो झुकती हुई बहुत दूर तक चली जाती है, यहाँ तक कि बायीं ओर के चिह्न के अंग्रेज़ी के "वी" रूपी अंग की बायीं खड़ी रेखा तक पहुँचती दिखाई देती है। अब जरा मध्यवर्ती चिह्न को इस पड़ी रेखा एवं बायीं ओर के चिह्न के "वी" अंग की दाहिनी खड़ी रेखा के संगम पर ध्यान दीजिए। आपको यह स्पष्ट प्रतीत होगा कि खड़ी रेखा पड़ी रेखा के ऊपर चढ़ी है। खड़ी रेखा की सफ़ेदी-कालिख (light-and-shade) लगातार चलती है, जब कि पड़ी रेखा कटी दिखाई देती है। इससे सिद्ध हुआ कि मध्यवर्ती चिह्न के बाद ही बाईं ओर वाला चिह्न लिखा गया था। अतः इस चित्र से भी यही प्रमाणित होता है कि सिन्धु-लिपि की लेखन-दिशा दाहिनी ओर से बाईं ओर थी।

हो सकता है कि कुछ पाठक शंका करें कि चिह्नों के एक दूसरे के ऊपर चढ़ने (overlap) के प्रमाण से

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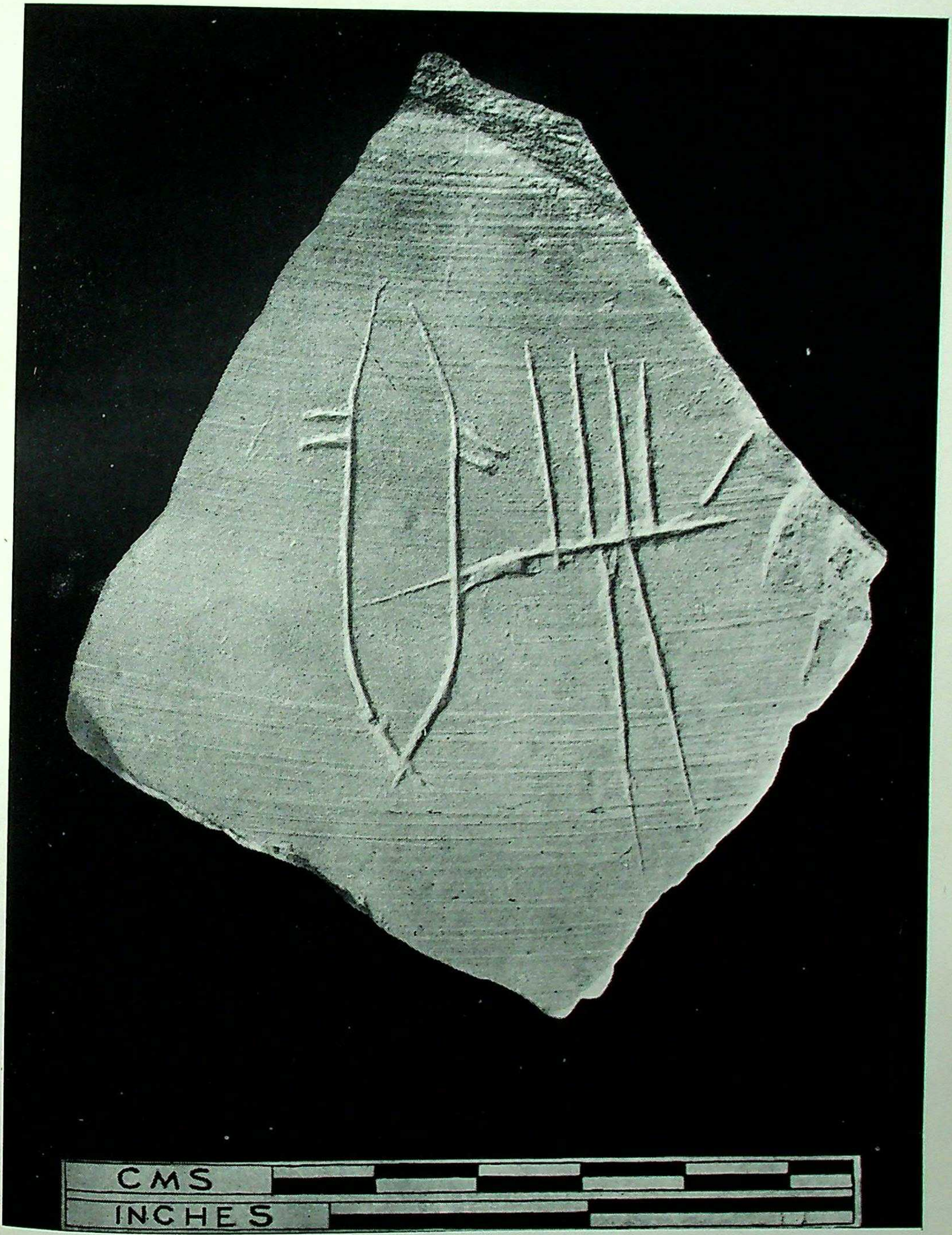

चित्र सं० २--कालीबंगन (राजस्थान) से प्राप्त, उत्कीर्ण मृद्भाण्ड (देखिए पृ० ५००)

(प्रतिलिप्यधिकार--भारतीय पुरातत्व, सर्वेक्षण, भारत सरकार)

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चित्र सं० ३—टोर-ढेरी (पाकिस्तान) से प्राप्त मृद्भाण्ड जिसपर काले रंग से खरोष्ठी लिपि में लेख अंकित है। (देखिए पृ० ५०१)

(प्रतिलिप्यधिकार—भारतीय पुरातत्व, सर्वेक्षण, भारत सरकार)

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लिपि की लेखन-दिशा निश्चित करना संगत नहीं है। अतः उनके सामने एक ऐसा प्रमाण उपस्थित किया जाता है जिसमें लिपि की लेखन-दिशा हमें अन्य प्रमाणों द्वारा पूर्व ही से ज्ञात है, किन्तु वही निष्कर्ष इस नये ढंग (अक्षरों के चढ़ाव) के प्रमाण से भी प्राप्त होता है।

इस सम्बन्ध में देखिए चित्र सं० ३ को। इसमें प्रदर्शित मृद्भाण्ड के टुकड़े पर काले रंग से खरोष्टी लिपि में एक लेख है। भाण्ड के टूटे होने के कारण लेख खण्डित है। दाहिनी ओर से प्रथम अक्षर का निचला हिस्सा अर्ध-वृत्ताकार-सा है। इसके ऊपर (दाहिनी ओर ही से) दूसरे अक्षर का निचला हिस्सा चढ़ा हुआ है। अतः सिद्ध हुआ कि दूसरा अक्षर पहिले अक्षर के बाद लिखा गया था। अब दूसरे और तीसरे अक्षरों के लेखन-क्रम को लीजिए। इसमें तीसरे अक्षर की ऊपर की ओर खिचने वाली खड़ी लकीर दूसरे अक्षर के शिरोभाग की खड़ी लकीर पर चढ़ रही है (यद्यपि यह चढ़ाव आंशिक ही है)। इससे स्पष्ट है कि तीसरा अक्षर दूसरे के बाद लिखा गया था। अब तीसरे व चौथे अक्षरों के सम्बन्ध को लीजिए। इसमें चौथे अक्षर को ऊपर जाने वाली तिरछी रेखा तीसरे अक्षर के शिरोभाग की पड़ी रेखा पर भली भांति चढ़ी है, जिसका आशय हुआ कि चौथा अक्षर तीसरे के बाद ही लिखा गया था। उपर्युक्त प्रमाण से यह सिद्ध हुआ कि इस चित्र सं० ३ वाले लेख में दाहिनी ओर का प्रथम अक्षर सबसे पहले लिखा गया, उसके उपरान्त क्रमशः दूसरा, तीसरा और चौथा। (शेष अक्षरों में आपस में "चढ़ाव" का सम्बन्ध न होने के कारण उनका क्रम निश्चित नहीं किया जा सकता, पर यदि ऐसा चढ़ाव होता तो निस्सन्देह वही क्रम निकलता जो पूर्वकथित चार अक्षरों में है।) इससे निष्कर्ष निकला कि इस लिपि की लेखन-दिशा दाहिनी ओर से बाईं ओर थी। और ठीक यही बात हमें पूर्वपरिचित अन्य प्रमाणों से भी ज्ञात है यानी कि खरोष्टी लिपि, जिसमें यह लेख है, दाहिनी ओर से बाईं ओर लिखी जाती थी। सारांश यह कि अक्षरों के चढ़ाव का प्रमाण लिपि की लेखन-दिशा बताने में पूर्ण रूपेण तर्क-संगत है।

अतः चित्र १ एवं २ में दिये गये उदाहरणों से सिद्ध होता है कि सिन्धु-लिपि दाहिनी ओर से बाईं ओर लिखी जाती थी। आशा है भविष्य में और भी उदाहरण मिलेंगे जो इस निष्कर्ष का समर्थन करेंगे।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. यहाँ "दूसरा" और "तीसरा" शब्द क्रम-सूचक नहीं केवल भिन्नता-सूचक हैं।

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आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा-युक्त बलि-देवी की रहस्यमय मृन्मूर्तियाँ

डा० जगदीश गुप्त, प्रयाग

उपलब्धि-क्षेत्र

मौर्य-काल और गुप्त-काल के बीच की शताब्दियों में जो विशाल कला-वैभव मृन्मूर्तियों के रूप में उपलब्ध होता है, वह अनेक दृष्टियों से अप्रतिम है। इस अप्रतिम इयत्ता के भीतर यदि मुझे किसी अद्वितीय रूप-विन्यास को चुनना पड़े तो मैं असन्दिग्ध रीति से आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा से युक्त उन रहस्यमय नारी-प्रतिमाओं को चुनूँगा जिनमें एक ओर अलंकृत दैवी सौन्दर्य का अतिरेक मिलता है तो दूसरी ओर अंकुश, परशु, गँड़ासा आदि प्राणघाती आयुधों के रूप में पशु-बध एवं नर-बलि की कठोर और भयावह वास्तविकता के दूरवर्ती सांस्कृतिक सूत्र भी संग्रथित दिखायी देते हैं। हिंसा के इन प्रतीकों के बीच घिरा हुआ 'त्रिरत्न' स्थिति को और अधिक गूढ़ अर्थ से भर देता है। ऐसी मृन्मूर्तियाँ, सही रूप में कहा जाय तो मृत्पट्टिकाएँ, रोपड़ (पंजाब) से लेकर तामलुक (बंगाल) तक प्रायः समस्त उत्तर भारत में मिली हैं। मध्यदेश के प्राचीन सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रों, कौशाम्बी, अहिच्छत्रा, राजघाट, मथुरा, संकिसा, अँगईखेड़ा (शाहाबाद, हरदोई) तथा उन अन्यान्य स्थानों से, जहाँ शुंग-कुषाण कला के विविध प्रमाण मिले हैं, इनकी उपलब्धि प्रचुर मात्रा में हुई है और समय-समय पर अब भी होती रहती है। यह विशेष रूप से लक्षित करने की बात है कि जितने उदाहरण अभी तक मिले हैं उनमें एक ही साँचे से निकली मूर्तियों के अपवाद छोड़ कर जहाँ तक मैंने अनुभव किया है, कोई किसी अन्य की अनुकृति नहीं है। सभी का संगठन वस्तुगत समानता होते हुए भी मौलिक एवं स्वतन्त्र रीति से हुआ है। यह तथ्य इस बात का साक्षी है कि इन प्रतिमाओं की रूप-रचना असामान्य कलात्मक स्तर पर हुई है जिसमें पर्याप्त शैली-भेद और विन्यास-भेद परिलक्षित होता है। इससे पहले कि मैं इन मूर्तियों से सम्बद्ध समस्याओं पर विचार करूँ, डॉ० मोतीचन्द्र द्वारा कौशाम्बी की एक मृन्मूर्ति के सूक्ष्म 'वर्णन' को उद्धृत कर देना आवश्यक समझता हूँ, क्योंकि जितनी सूक्ष्मता से सधे शब्दों में उन्होंने उसे प्रस्तुत किया है, उससे प्रतिमा के महत्व और उसकी परम्परा के गौरव पर यथेष्ट प्रकाश पड़ता है :--

'मूर्ति का शिरोवस्त्र खूब सजा हुआ है। बाल दो लट्टूदार जूड़ों में सिर के अगल बगल में हैं। बालों को हटने बढ़ने न देने के लिए ललाट पर चौलड़ी मोती की बद्धी है; जिसके दोनों अन्त के फुँदने साफ़ दिखायी देते हैं। ललाट के दोनों कोनों में समानान्तर रेखाओं में पत्र-भंग है और ललाट के बीचोबीच तिलक, दाहिनी ओर लट्टूदार जूड़े पर कामदार पतली पट्टी बँधी हुई है। बायीं ओर का जूड़ा एक चार टिकरों वाले शिखाजाल से बँधा है। और जूड़ा एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक, निम्नलिखित आकार के टीकरों से सजा है, यथा--सबसे निचला अंकुश है, उसके बाद वाला त्रिरत्न, जिस पर कोई आवरण है, उसके बाद परशु है, उसके बाद फिर त्रिरत्न है जिस पर कुलाहनुमा कोई आवरण है और फिर है गँड़ासा। इन सबके सिरों से मोती की लड़ें लगी हुई हैं। जूड़ों के बीच ढालनुमा गोल टिकरा है, जिसका मतलब शायद चूड़ामणि से हो। . . . कमर से ज़रा नीचे खिसकी हुई एक तीन लड़वाली करधनी है। लड़ें खारदार और

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गोल मनकों से बनी हैं। निचली लड़ से दो फुँदनेदार झुमके लटक रहे हैं। इन झुमकों के ऊपरी लड़ों में दोनों ओर दो कुंभांडों की बैठी हुई मूर्तियाँ हैं। छाती पर दाहिने कन्धे से लेकर कटि तक एक पट्टी है, जिसमें चार जंतर यथा दो मछलियाँ, एक चिड़िया जिसका सर टूट गया है, एक सोती हिरनी और मकर है। इन जंतरों से मनकों की लड़ें लटक रही हैं।...'

—प्राचीन भारतीय वेश-भूषा, पृ० ८३

कौशांबी और ताम्रलिप्ति की मूर्तियों में आश्चर्यजनक साम्य

जिस मूर्ति का यह वर्णन है उसको रेखानुकृति (आ० १०६) निर्दिष्ट पुस्तक के पृ० ८४ पर छपी है। जितेन्द्र नाथ बनर्जी की प्रसिद्ध कृति 'दि डेवलपमेण्ट ऑफ़ हिन्दू आइकॉनोग्राफ़ी' के बीसवें फलक पर मुद्रित तृतीयसंख्यक छायाचित्र को देख कर मैं आश्चर्य में पड़ गया, क्योंकि सहसा मुझे लगा कि जिसे डॉ० मोतीचन्द्र ने चित्र-संख्या १०६ के रूप में छापा है, उसका मूल आधार हो न हो यही है। सब कुछ सर्वथा समान। मेरा आश्चर्य बढ़ गया जब मैंने दोनों के सन्दर्भों की तुलना की। मोतीचन्द्र जी के अनुसार उनका वर्णन ई० एच० जांस्टन के लेख 'टेराकोटा फिगर एट ऑक्सफ़ोर्ड' पर आधारित है, जिसमें कौशाम्बी से मिली हुई एक अखण्डित मूर्ति की चर्चा की गयी है। बनर्जी ने अपनी पुस्तक के पूर्वोक्त छायाचित्र को तामलुक (ताम्रलिप्ति) की 'टेराकोटा यक्षिणी' का चित्र कहा है। मूर्ति सर्वथा अखण्डित नहीं है जैसा डा० मोतीचन्द्र जी ने बताया है और मज़ा यह कि रेखानुकृति और छायाचित्र में मूर्ति के खण्डित अंशों में भी साम्य दिखायी देता है। नीचे बनर्जी द्वारा दिये गये विवरण का अंश भी द्रष्टव्य है:—

'......One such beautiful terracotta originally found at Tamluk and now in the South Kenington Museum (London), depicts a Yakshiṇī overloaded with ornaments; the ornamental use of some miniature weapons on her coiffure and of some tiny human figures on her thighs should be noted.

—The Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 368 (Ed. II)

मेरी मति मानस की कौशल्या की भाँति विभ्रमित हो रही है:—

'इहाँ उहाँ दुइ बालक देखा। मति भ्रम मोर कि आन बिसेखा॥'

बस यही समाधान सूझ रहा कि एक ही साँचे की ये दोनों मूर्तियाँ होंगी पर इससे भी मन पूरी तरह पुसा नहीं रहा है। कैसे कहूँ कि दोनों महारथियों में एक गलत है दूसरा सही—को बड़ छोट कहत अपराधू! अब तो लगता है कि मूर्ति की रूपरेखा ही रहस्य से भरी नहीं है, उसका वर्णन और विवरण भी रहस्यपूर्ण है। ऐसे में उसका काल-निर्णय भी विचलित हो जाय तो क्या आश्चर्य!

डॉ० मोतीचन्द्र कहते हैं कि 'ई० पू० पहली शताब्दी में कुछ ऐसी मिट्टी की स्त्री-मूर्तियाँ कौशाम्बी, मथुरा इत्यादि से मिली हैं जिनकी वेश-भूषा में कंचुक, भारी भरकम शिरोवस्त्र और भारी गहने हैं। स्त्रियों की यह पोशाक भरहुत और साँची के अर्धचित्रों में नहीं मिलती। ये मिट्टी की मूर्तियाँ शुंगकाल की कही जाती हैं, पर ध्यान देने से पता चलता है कि ये ई० पू० पहली शताब्दी की हैं। लगता है इनके वेश पर शक प्रभाव पड़ा है, पर गहने भारतीय हैं।'

—प्राचीन भारतीय वेश-भूषा, पृ० ८२

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काल-निर्णय की समस्या

अपने मत के अतिरिक्त लेखक ने अपने प्रेरक जांस्टन के मत का उल्लेख किया है, जिनके अनुसार इस मूर्ति का समय ई० पू० २०० का है और शायद यह मूर्ति मायादेवी की है। एक अन्य मत 'अर्ली इण्डियन टेराकोटाज़' शीर्षक लेख के लेखक डी० एच० गॉर्डन का भी दिया गया है, जिन्होंने पूर्व मत का कुछ संशोधन करते हुए उन्हें ई० पू० दूसरी शताब्दी के अन्त की और अधिकतर ई० पू० पहली शताब्दी की रचना माना है। बनर्जी महोदय उन्हें 'मौर्य और शुंगकाल' का बताते हैं, क्योंकि इस प्रकार की देवियों (श्री-लक्ष्मी और पुष्टि-सरस्वती) तथा यक्षिणियों की मूर्तियाँ इन युगों में बहुप्रचलित रही हैं।

बलि-देवी सिनीवाली

इस प्रकार की मूर्तियों के काल-निर्णय की समस्या पर सबसे अधिक प्रकाश कौशाम्बी के उत्खनन से पड़ा है, जिसमें रक्षा-प्राचीर के पूर्वी द्वार के समीप बनी 'श्येन-चिति' रूपी बलि-वेदी के निकट से भी आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषावाली देवी की मृन्मूर्ति प्राप्त हुई है। (द्रष्टव्य चित्र सं० ४)। इस देवी का सम्बन्ध पशु-बलि ही नहीं नर-बलि से भी रहा होगा, क्योंकि शतपथ ब्राह्मण तथा तैत्तिरीय, मैत्रेयी और वाजसनेयी नामक संहिताओं एवं तैत्तिरीय संहिता के सायण भाष्य में पुरुष-मेध के जो सन्दर्भ मिलते हैं, उनसे उत्खनित सामग्री, यज्ञ कुण्ड, पशु और मानव अस्थियों आदि की पूर्ण संगति कौशाम्बी की प्रकाशित रिपोर्ट में उत्खननकर्ता श्री गोवर्धनराय शर्मा द्वारा प्रदर्शित की गयी है। निर्दिष्ट ग्रन्थों के साक्ष्य का आधार लेकर ही उन्होंने उक्त मृन्मूर्ति की 'सिनीवाली' संज्ञा प्रामाणिक मानी है; यद्यपि उनका निष्कर्ष अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण होते हुए भी सर्वथा असन्दिग्ध नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि जो तीन विशेषण 'सुकपर्दा,' 'सुकुरीरा' तथा 'स्वौपशा' सिनीवाली के लिए प्रयुक्त हुए हैं उनमें से एक भी आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा का पर्याय नहीं है। मूर्ति और सिनीवाली के शास्त्रीय वर्णन के आधार पर अनुमान भले ही कर लिया जाय।

आयुध—आभूषण अथवा केश

'सुकपर्दा' का अर्थ है सुन्दर लटें और 'सुकुरीरा' का तात्पर्य है सुन्दर शिरोभूषा। परन्तु घातक अस्त्रों के विन्यास से इस सौन्दर्य की क्या संगति है, इसका कोई समाधान इन शब्दों में नहीं मिलता। 'स्वौपशा' सुन्दर अवयवों का द्योतक शब्द है। अतः वह तो और भी असम्बद्ध है। डॉ० मोतीचन्द्र के वर्णन से यह नहीं लगता कि आयुध केशों के ही विशेष विन्यस्त रूप से बने हैं, क्योंकि उन्होंने स्पष्टतः शीश को 'टीकरों से सजा' लिख कर टीकरों के ही आकार को आयुध कहा है, केश-विन्यास को नहीं। ऐसी कुछ ही मूर्तियाँ हैं जिनमें आयुधों को विशेषतः विन्यस्त केशों के रूप में ग्रहण किया जा सकता है, सो भी सन्देह के साथ ही, पूर्ण निश्चय के साथ नहीं; जब कि ऐसी बहुसंख्यक प्रतिमाएँ मिलती हैं, जिनमें आयुध केशों से स्पष्टतः भिन्न और आभूषण रूप में प्रयुक्त दिखायी देते हैं। (द्रष्टव्य चित्र सं० १, २, ३ और ५)। जहाँ आयुध केश-रचना लगते हैं वहाँ उनके वैसा लगने का कारण मूर्ति की रचना-शैली भी हो सकती है, जैसा चित्र सं० ६ में प्रतीत होता है। आयुधों के रूप में केशों के विन्यास की कल्पना मान लेने के बाद भी मुझे उसकी तह तक जाने की आवश्यकता का अनुभव होता है, क्योंकि तब उन्हें 'अभिप्राय' के रूप में ग्रहण किया जायेगा और अभिप्राय बहुधा कठोर वास्तविकताओं की स्मृति के रूप में सांस्कृतिक निधि बन कर कला में कैसे सुरक्षित रहते हैं, यह कला-समीक्षकों की दृष्टि से छिपा नहीं है। 'सिनीवाली' का बलिदेवी होना मुझे आयुधों की व्याख्या के लिए अधिक सार्थक लगता है, बजाय उसके सुकुरीरा या सुकपर्दा होने के। आयुधों की बलि से जितनी संगति है उतनी केश-कलाप

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१.

१. शुंगकालीन एक यक्षिणी रोपड़ (पंजाब) से प्राप्त एक शुंगकालीन (चतुर्थ काल) मृण्मूर्ति। प्रस्तुत रेखानुकृति 'एन्शिएन्ट इंडिया' नं०९ के पचासवें फलक पर प्रकाशित छाया-चित्र 'एक' पर आधारित है, जिसमें दो नग्न यक्ष-मूर्तियाँ भी समाहित है। तीनों की शैली एक ही है।

२.

२. अहिच्छत्र से प्राप्त (एवं राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय में रक्षित) एक मृण्मूर्ति का रेखांकन। इसमें चित्रित आयुधों में अंकुश आदि के अतिरिक्त धनुष-बाण भी लक्षित होता है।

३.

३. कौशाम्बी से प्राप्त एक मृण्मूर्ति जो प्रयाग संग्रहालय में है।

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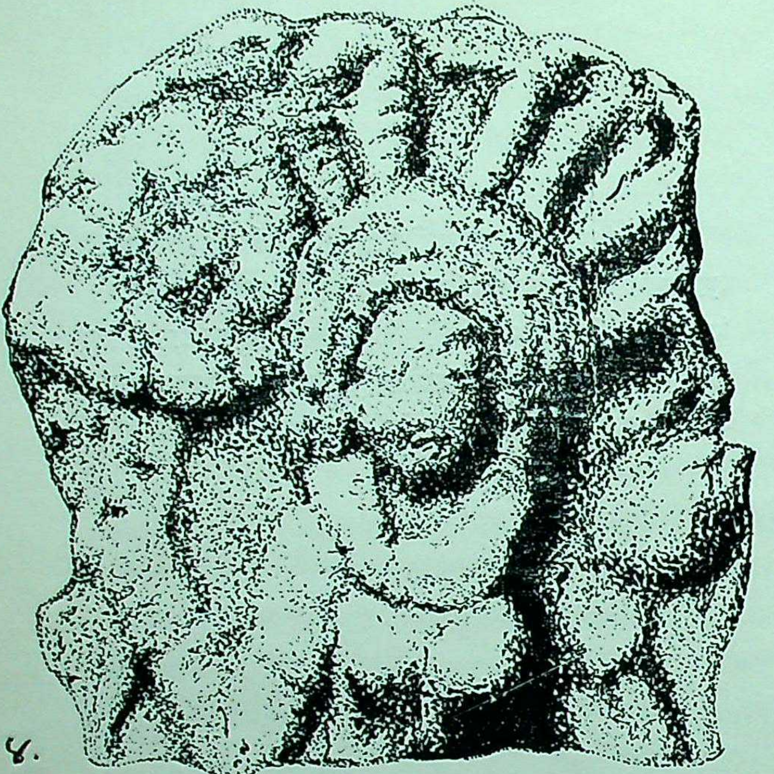

४.

४. कौशांबी की खुदाई में बलि-वेदी के समीप से प्राप्त मृण्मूर्ति जिसे पुरुष-मेध से सम्बद्ध वैदिक देवी 'सिनीवाली' कहा गया है। इसकी शिरोभूषा भी आयुधों से अलंकृत है।

५.

५. अंगईखेड़े से प्राप्त मृत्पट्ट का रेखांकन जिसमें आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा वाली देवी के वाम भाग में, वेदिका में स्थित वृक्ष का अंकन है। उस पर एक पक्षी भी बना है। देवी की वेश-भूषा विशेष आकर्षक है।

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६.

६. अंगईखेड़े से प्राप्त एक खंडित आवक्ष मृण्मूर्ति जिसकी शिरोभूषा में आयुध और केश समान शैली में बने हैं।

७.

५.

७. 'भारतीय वेशभूषा' में प्रकाशित (आ १०६) रेखाचित्र की रेखानुकृति जो कौशांबी ही नहीं तामलुक से भी सम्बद्ध है।

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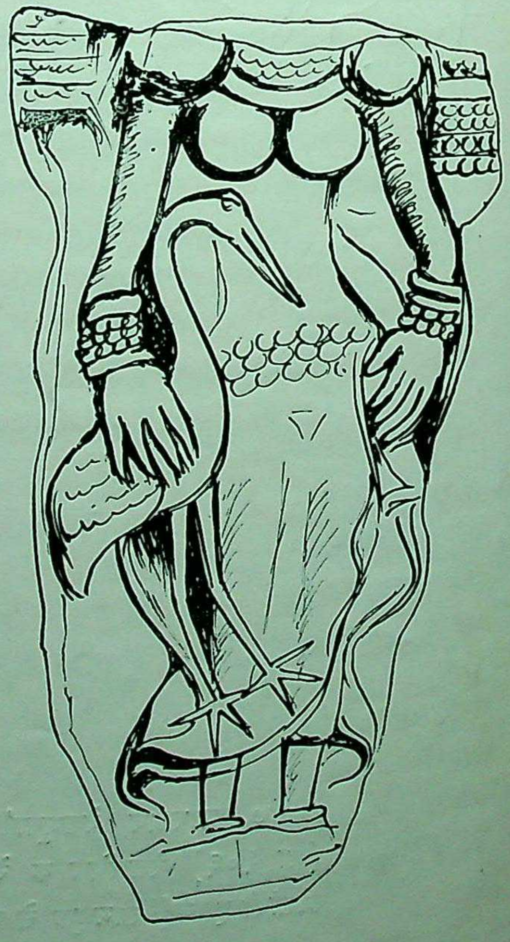
८. अ

८ अ. अंगईखेड़े से प्राप्त एक आयुधालंकृत मूर्ति का ऊर्ध्वभाग।

८. आ



८ आ. अंगईखेड़े से प्राप्त मूर्ति (ऊर्ध्व भाग) का संभावित अधोभाग जो खंडित रूप में प्राप्त हुआ है पर उसी सांचे का लगता है क्योंकि दोनों का कुछ अंश समान है।

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और शिरोभूषा से नहीं। आयुधों को देवी का अलंकार बनाना लगभग वैसा ही है जैसा काली को मुंडों की माला से विभूषित करना अथवा शिव को विभूतिभूषण कहना।

"टेराकोटा फीगरिन्स ऑफ सिनीवाली" शीर्षक से मेरे प्रिय शिष्य और पुरातत्त्व-विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के शोध-छात्र श्री अशोक प्रधान ने एक लेख समस्त आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषायुक्त मृन्मूर्तियों को कौशाम्बी के पूर्वोक्त प्रमाण से 'सिनीवाली' संज्ञा देते हुए अक्तूबर २२, १९६१ के लीडर (साप्ताहिक, मैगज़ीन सेक्शन) में प्रकाशित कराया, जिसमें उन्होंने अनेक समस्याओं को, जो इस बलि-देवी से सम्बद्ध हैं, पहली बार व्यापक स्तर पर उठाया, किन्तु वह एक आरम्भिक प्रयत्न ही था। अशोक ने आयुधों को वास्तविक अथवा आभूषण रूप में प्रयुक्त टीकरों के रूप में न ग्रहण करके उन्हें केवल केश-कलाप ही माना है।[1] मेरी दृष्टि में यह परिणाम इतनी सरलता से नहीं निकाला जा सकता।

'सिनीवाली' नाम का अभिप्राय

'सिनीवाली' शब्द मोनियर विलियम्स के अनुसार संस्कृत भाषा का नहीं है, अतः किसी धातु से उसका अर्थ व्युत्पन्न नहीं होता। अमरकोश के अनुसार वह 'कुहू' निशा का पर्याय है, जिसमें चन्द्रमा की सभी कलाएँ नष्ट हो जाती हैं। इस अर्थ का आधार है ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण; आप्टे के कोश में आधार और आधेय दोनों को उद्धृत कर दिया गया है।[2] मैकडॉनल ने इस देवी का वर्णन करते हुए वैदिक साहित्य के ही आधार पर बताया है कि यह देवताओं की भगिनी, कुटुम्ब की संरक्षिणी तथा सन्तानदायिनी है। उसकी उपासना सरस्वती, राका और कुहू के साथ होती है। इस कथन से यह कुहू से भिन्न और अपदेवता के स्थान पर मंगलकारिणी देवी प्रतीत होती है, परन्तु अन्धकार और 'नष्टेन्दुकला'-कारिणी रूप में वह मृत्यु और मोह की अधिष्ठात्री लगती है। उसके लिए दिये गये 'मायादेवी' नाम की सूचना डॉ० मोतीचन्द्र के वर्णन में समाविष्ट है। माया और कुहू की पारस्परिक अर्थ-संगति सुविदित है। परन्तु अथर्ववेद में इसे विष्णु-पत्नी का पद भी दिया गया जो प्रायः लक्ष्मी और पृथिवी को प्राप्त रहा है। तब क्या यह मृन्मूर्ति मृत्तिका देवी का अर्थ रखती है? पुरुष-मेध का विवरण जहाँ मिलता है वहाँ यज्ञ-वेदी की रचना से पूर्व सिनीवाली की अभ्यर्थना ऊखा नामक बलि-पात्र के सुनिर्मित होने के लिए एवं मिट्टी को मृदु बनाये रखने के निमित्त करने का उल्लेख है। महा-अदिति के हाथों में मिट्टी देकर यही इसके शुभारम्भ की क्षमता रखती है।

अनेक परम्पराओं का मिश्रण

महा-अदिति से सिनीवाली का सम्बन्ध और बलि-पात्र की रचना के लिए उसकी कृपा की पुरुष-मेध यज्ञ में आवश्यकता इस बात को निर्भ्रान्त रूप से सिद्ध कर देती है कि जिस युग में वैदिक यज्ञों में बलि की प्रथा प्रचलित थी, इस आयुधालंकृत देवी सिनीवाली का असाधारण महत्व था। बलि-विरोधी बौद्ध और वैष्णव धर्मों के प्रभाव से वह न्यून और न्यूनतर होता हुआ विलुप्त हो गया। अभी तक मुझे गुप्तकालीन कला में इस देवी के चित्रण का एक भी प्रमाण नहीं मिला। कालिदास के समस्त साहित्य में शिरोभूषा का बहु-विध वर्णन किया गया है, परन्तु कहीं भी आयुधालंकरण का संकेत नहीं उपलब्ध होता, जिससे निश्चित हो जाता है कि शुंग और कुषाण काल के बाद इस प्रकार के मृत्पट्टों का निर्माण अकस्मात् बन्द हो गया। आभूषणरूप में प्रयुक्त आयुधों में 'त्रिरत्न' इस बात की सूचना देता है कि इस देवी के रूप-विन्यास में वैदिक और अवैदिक परम्पराओं का सम्मिश्रण घटित हुआ। साथ ही अहिंसावादी बौद्ध-मत का प्रभाव इसे विलुप्त नहीं कर पाया। वास्तविकता यह है कि साँची और भरहुत के अर्ध-चित्रों के शिलांकित होने के युग में इसका कहीं भी आलेखन नहीं हुआ है। भारतीय कला में इसकी स्थिति शुंग-काल से पूर्व नहीं मिलती। संहिताओं के साहित्यिक प्रमाण अवश्य इसके अस्तित्व को ईस्वी सन् के आरम्भ से कई शताब्दियों और पूर्व (ई० पू० १५००-१००० ई० पू०)

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खींच ले जाते हैं। साहित्यिक आधार पर तो 'सिनीवाली' बुद्ध के जन्म से पूर्व की देवी सिद्ध होती है, पर पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण अभी उसको इतनी प्राचीनता के पक्ष में नहीं है। कौशाम्बी में, जहाँ इसकी उपलब्धि विधिवत् किये गये उत्खनन द्वारा हुई है, यह उन स्तरों से सम्बन्ध रखती है, जिनका काल-विस्तार २०० ई० पू० से ५० ई० तक की ढाई शताब्दियों का है। यदि साहित्य और कला दोनों को मिला कर 'सिनीवाली' के अस्तित्व पर विचार किया जाय तो एक या डेढ़ सहस्राब्दी तक का प्रमाण मिलता है। पर जैसा मैंने कहा है, साहित्य में आयुधालंकरण का स्पष्ट उल्लेख न होने से अभी तीन-चार शताब्दियों के शुंग-कुषाण काल तक ही सीमित रहना युक्तिसंगत होगा। न मौर्य-युग में और न उससे पूर्व की सिन्धु-सभ्यता में, शुंग-काल से पूर्व सम्भवतः किसी अन्य ज्ञात संस्कृति में ऐसी देवी की उपासना का कोई आभास नहीं मिलता है। मातृदेवी की पूजा करने वाली किसी ऐसी विदेशी जाति का भी बोध नहीं है, जिससे निश्चित रूप से 'सिनीवाली' को सम्बद्ध किया जा सके। शक-पार्थियन प्रतिमाओं के कंचुक आदि वेश-विन्यास से कुछ साम्य अवश्य मिलता है, पर शिरोभूषा में आयुधों का समावेश देशी-विदेशी किसी परिचित स्रोत से सम्बद्ध नहीं हो पाता।

यक्ष-संस्कृति से सम्बन्ध

यदि थोड़ा बहुत सम्बन्ध किसी संस्कृति से जोड़ा जा सकता है तो वह है यक्ष-संस्कृति। भारतीय कला और संस्कृति के अनेक विशेषज्ञों ने यक्ष-किन्नर-गन्धर्व परम्परा के तत्वों को असाधारण महत्व देते हुए उनके सम्मिश्रण का निर्देश किया है। किसी काल में मथुरा यक्ष-संस्कृति का बड़ा भारी केन्द्र था। साँची और भरहुत की कला में भी उनका प्रचुर अंकन हुआ है। चन्दा, सुदसना, महाकोका, चुलकोका और सिरिया इत्यादि अनेक यक्षिणियों के नाम उनकी आकृतियों के साथ निर्दिष्ट किये गये हैं। यह सही है कि इनमें आयुधालंकरण नहीं मिलता, पर शुंगकालीन यक्षिणियों की मूर्तियों से ही सबसे अधिक निकटता इस प्रकार की मृन्मूर्तियों की मिलती है। वह ऊपरी आकृति-प्रकृति और वेश-विन्यास तक ही सीमित है या इससे गहराई तक जाती है, यह कहना कठिन है; पर यक्षों की नर-वाहन उपाधि प्रचलित है। वे अपदेवता भी माने गये हैं। उर्वरता तथा सुरक्षा के भाव से उनकी अभ्यर्थना के प्रसंग भी मिलते हैं। सन्तानकामी स्त्रियाँ यक्षिणियों की उपासना करती थीं। धन-सम्पत्ति के दाता कुबेर यक्षों के स्वामी थे। महामाता हारीति उन्हीं की स्त्री कही गयी हैं। हारीति की शिशुपालक प्रतिमाएँ शुंग-कुषाण-काल में अनेकशः उपलब्ध हुई हैं। जिस काल में यह आयुधालंकृत मृन्मूर्तियाँ मिलती हैं, वह यक्ष-संस्कृति के प्रभाव का गौरवपूर्ण काल कहा जा सकता है। ऐसी दशा में यक्षिणी के रूप में इसे ग्रहण करना अनुचित और निराधार नहीं कहा जा सकता।

उपर्युक्त धारणा का पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण भी मिलता है। रोपड़ से जो आयुधालंकृत मृन्मूर्ति मिली है (द्रष्टव्य चि० सं० १), वह अकेली ही नहीं मिली। उसके साथ वहीं से दो नग्न यक्ष-प्रतिमाएँ भी प्राप्त हुई हैं, जिनका शैली-शिल्प उक्त नारी-मूर्ति से मिलता-जुलता है। यहाँ तक कि जहाँ उसका छायाचित्र छपा है, वहीं उसे यक्षिणी कहा गया है और उन्हें यक्ष तथा तीनों के चित्र साथ ही साथ छापे गये हैं।[3] यह अभिज्ञान है डॉ० यज्ञदत्त शर्मा का जिन्हें रोपड़ के उत्खनन का महत्वपूर्ण श्रेय प्राप्त है और जो भारतीय पुरातत्त्व के एक मान्य विद्वान् हैं। बनर्जी की भी ऐसी ही धारणा है। फिर भी तर्क के लिए यह कहा जा सकता है कि जिन्हें हम यक्ष-यक्षिणी के रूप में व्याख्यापित करते हैं, वे आकृतियाँ कुछ और भी हो सकती हैं और किसी मिलती-जुलती अज्ञात या अल्पज्ञात जातिविशेष से उनका सम्बन्ध माना जा सकता है, क्योंकि उन पर कोई अभिलेख तो मिलता नहीं, जिससे असन्दिग्ध भाव से उन्हें यक्ष-संस्कृति से जोड़ा जा सके। जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ, उन्हें यक्ष कहने का आधार आकृति-प्रकृति का साम्य ही है, जो मथुरा, साँची, भरहुत की असन्दिग्ध यक्ष-यक्षिणियों से सहज ही परिलक्षित होता है। मथुरा की वसुधारा की मृन्मूर्ति के हाथ में वही मत्स्य-युग्म का अभिप्राय

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मिलता है जो कौशाम्बी-तामलुक वाली मूर्ति की आवक्ष पट्टी पर अंकित मिलता है।[४] कठिनाई मात्र इतनी है कि आयुधालंकरण का कोई साहित्यिक प्रमाण ऐसा नहीं मिलता, जो यक्ष-संस्कृति से सम्बद्ध हो। नर-वाहन होना एक बात है और नर-बलि से सम्बद्ध होना दूसरी। इसी तरह सन्तानदायिनी देवियाँ भी यक्षिणियों तक सीमित नहीं हैं। ऐसी दशा में यक्षिणी के रूप में व्याख्या भी एक सम्भाव्य अनुमान की कोटि में पहुँच जाती है। बिना आग्रह किये इस यथार्थ को स्वीकार करना ही श्रेयस्कर लगता है। सम्भव है शुंगकालीन कला और साहित्य की और गहरी छानबीन से कोई सूत्र हाथ लगे, अतएव इसकी चेष्टा अपेक्षित है।

इन मृन्मूर्तियों का काल-विस्तार जितना सीमित है, उतना क्षेत्र-विस्तार नहीं। जैसा प्रारम्भ में कहा जा चुका है, पश्चिम से पूर्व तक उत्तर भारत में इनकी उपलब्धि हुई है। पश्चिमी बंगाल के चौबीस परगना ज़िले में स्थित चन्द्रकेतुगढ़ और हरिनारायणपुर के उत्खनन से १८५७-५८ में आयुधालंकृत शिरोभूषा वाली कई मृन्मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं, जिनके विवरण चित्रसहित भारतीय पुरातत्व-विभाग की मुख-पत्रिका में प्रकाशित हुए हैं।[५] विवरण में चन्द्रकेतुगढ़ की मूर्ति को यक्षी कहा गया है और उसकी वेशभूषा की तामलुक वाली उसी मृन्मूर्ति से तुलना की गयी है जो अब ऑक्सफ़ोर्ड में है। वास्तव में यह मूर्ति भी अद्वितीय रूप से सुन्दर है। इसमें आयुधों का विन्यास केशों से प्रायः पृथक् और अत्यन्त सूक्ष्म एवं कलात्मक रीति से किया गया है। मुखाकृति भी बहुत मिलती-जुलती है। हरिनारायणपुर की मृन्मूर्ति मातृदेवी की कही गयी है और आयताकार पट्ट पर अंकित है। उसके उभार की रेखाएँ कठोर हैं।

अँगईखेड़ा (शाहाबाद, हरदोई) से अभी तक मिट्टी की चार आयुधालंकृत नारीमूर्तियाँ मिली हैं, जिनका विवरण कहीं भी प्रकाशित नहीं हुआ है। इनमें से तीन खण्डित हैं, एक अखण्ड। खण्डित मूर्तियों में से एक (चित्र सं० ८) का अधोभाग भी मिलता है जो एकदम उसी का न होकर उसी साँचे की दूसरी मूर्ति का लगता है। उसमें मूर्तित स्त्री एक हाथ बगुले की पीठ पर रक्खे हुए है। ऐसा मृत्पट्ट कहीं अन्यत्र मेरे देखने में नहीं आया। इसी प्रकार एक अन्य पट्ट (चित्र सं० ५) भी सर्वथा अद्वितीय है और कलात्मक दृष्टि से भी अन्यतम कहा जा सकता है। इसमें नारी-वेश अत्यन्त आकर्षक है। उसका एक हाथ वृक्ष की उस शाखा पर है जिस पर बैठा एक पक्षी फल खा रहा है तथा दूसरा हाथ पुष्प-स्तबक या व्यजन जैसी कोई डँडीदार वस्तु लिये हुए है। शिरोभूषा शुंगकालीन पगड़ीदार है, जिसके बीच में एक फुल्ला ऊपर उभरा हुआ है। चार या पाँच आयुध उसके बायीं ओर पगड़ी के पार्श्व में क्रमबद्ध रूप से सज्जित हैं गँड़ासा, अंकुश और परशु सर्वथा स्पष्ट है, चौथा सम्भवतः त्रिरत्न है। कंचुक या उत्तरीय प्रदर्शित नहीं है। अधोभाग में कटि के नीचे आधी दूर तक दोहरी मेखलाओं से कसी वस्त्र-सज्जा है, शेष भाग में दोनों ओर विकीर्ण होने वाली सुव्यवस्थित एवं आकर्षक चूननें प्रदर्शित हैं। आभूषण अधिक नहीं हैं, केवल पैरों और हाथों में कड़े और कंगन पहने हैं। पक्षी के समीप एक वेदिका में निबद्ध फलवाला वृक्ष है, जिसका शाखा-जाल ऊपर तक फैला है तथा पत्रावली अत्यन्त सूक्ष्म रूप से अंकित है। लगभग दो सहस्र वर्ष बाद भी इस मृत्पट्ट में उसका लहरीलापन स्पष्ट झलकता है। प्रस्तुत रेखानुकृति में वह प्रभाव नहीं आ सका है।

यह और ऐसी अनेक अप्रतिम मृन्मूर्तियाँ उत्तर भारत के विविध प्राचीन सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रों से प्राप्त हुई हैं, जिनके विन्यास में एक केन्द्रीय फुल्ले के इधर या उधर अथवा इधर-उधर दोनों ओर आयुध अलंकारवत् चित्रित मिलते हैं। मेरा ध्यान इन मूर्तियों एवं मृत्पट्टों की ओर हठात् जाता रहता है और मैं उनके रहस्यमय रूप और कल्पनामय अतीत में प्रवेश करने की सतत चेष्टा करता रहता हूँ। बहुसंख्यक उदाहरण मेरे सामने हैं। यहाँ तो केवल कुछ का ही सन्दर्भ दे पाया हूँ। बहुत-सी समस्याएँ मन में उठती रहती हैं, पर लगता है, उनके समाधान की स्थिति अभी और शोध की प्रतीक्षा कर रही है। इत्यलम्।

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सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. The notable thing from the point of view of artistic style is the representation of the arms in head-dress as braids. The phenomenon is unknown to Indian art elsewhere and before its discovery and identification with Sinivali at Kaushambi people mostly took these arms as real.

—The Leader, 22 nd. Oct. 1961, page I.

२. या पूर्वाऽमावास्या सा सिनीवाली योत्तरा सा कुहूः (ऐ० ब्रा०)।
सा दृष्टेन्दुः सिनीवाली सा नष्टेन्दुकला कुहूः (अमरकोश)।

३. (i) Yakshi and Yaksha figures of Śunga Period from Ropar IV
—Lalita Kala, No I–2, Pl. XL VIII Fig. 2I
(ii) Ancient India, No. 9 (1953) Pl L. Fig. A

४. उत्तरप्रदेश के सांस्कृतिक केन्द्र-२, मथुरा, फलक ४-क —लेखक तथा संपादक, डा० कृष्णदत्त बाजपेयी।

५. Indian Archaeology 1958-59, A Review, p. 77; plate L XXVIII, B, C; LXXIX, A.

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F--BIOGRAPHICAL

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KAVIRAJJI AS I KNOW HIM

By

S. Bhattacharya, Varanasi

1941. Dissertation formed a part of the Āchārya final of the Benaras Hindu University. Somehow "The Theory of Illusion according to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika" caught my fancy. I sought the advice of Prof. Batuk Nath Sharma of the Department of Sanskrit and Pali as to the person I should contact in this regard. Sharmaji put me on to Kavirajji with a small letter of introduction. I never knew its contents but I had then a hazy view of the man—a mystic who believed in anything that came in his way, whose genius could fabricate a superstructure of metaphysical orgy from trifles. I gave a bit of my suspicion to Sharmaji. He was annoyed. But with affection and moderation so characteristic of him reminded me of my specific purpose : I had nothing to do with his other aspects.

Kavirajji was seated at the corner room on the first floor of his house at Sigra. About 3 p.m. with an humble bow, I produced the letter from Sharmaji. Kavirajji carefully scanned it. After a moment's pause, he silently handed over an old text of more than 300 pages from the unclassified heap all round him and instructed me to find out the places dealing with the question of illusion, mark them out and see him with the book next day same time. I paid another bow and cleared out.

The book was a challenge to me. Printed in the old style, the whole thing was a continuum without punctuation and even without break-up into paragraphs. This monolithic structure has to be broken into bits and to be carefully penetrated piece by piece in order to cull the fragments I require. And all has to be disposed of in a day, barring the time for routine duties and sleep :

It was the *Sāṁkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya.* I had never read it before. The only book I had access to on the same field was the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā* with the gloss of Vācaspati. I was accustomed to read from a teacher; never dreamt before to read an unknown text all by myself. I was drowned in the book. The venture showed result. In a few hours' time, I succeeded to find out what I wanted. But what was more important, I discovered myself. A sense of confidence crept into me. A dark corner of my life—power of understanding unread texts was lit up. I bowed to Kavirajji on the spot with deep reverence; courted him as my teacher who has thus kindled the eye that looks beyond.

Next day I presented myself. Kavirajji cautiously examined the markings and seemed to be satisfied. He surprised me with a ready-made bibliography on the subject, touching upon the different systems of Indian philosophy with the details of chapters and almost pages to be consulted. I worked on them with inspiration and persistence. The

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result was satisfactory. I passed both M. A. and Nyāya-Āchārya same year both in first class, having obtained record marks in the dissertation. I was awarded University gold medal for standing first among all the successful candidates of the year, 1942.

In due recognition of my achievements I was awarded the same year a Mayurbhanj Fellowship instituted only a year ago along with the Mayurbhanj Chair of Sanskrit by munificence of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj of Orissa. In the meantime I had come much closer to Kavirajji. I unhesitatingly approached him for a suitable subject for research. He suggested a few, gave me a few days' time for final selection. When I met him again, he scapped all of them at a stroke !

"Why do not you try your hand on a subject which is enormously fascinating ?—" He intervened. "I mean, the Philosophy of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. They say it is the whetstone for the exhibition of scholarship." With deep silence I heard him. Tne *Bhāgavata* appeared to have been haunting me. Sometime ago, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pt. Pramathanath Tarkabhusanaji had regretted that he was too old to teach me that work. So he could only bless : let my mind be steeped into it. I cannot swear that I relished the idea. I was a Śākta by family tradition. The meek devotionalism of the *Bhāgavata* would go ill with my constitution. But I had not protested as I did not do so this time also. Kavirajji saw through my diffidence. He coaxed me up. With hesitation I agreed. After all, the approach was to be purely scholarly. It should not be vitiated by personal prejudice.

Kavirajji once again gave me a bibliography on the different streams of devotional thought, that are directly inspired by the *Bhāgavata*. But he warned me that the *Bhāgavata* was in the sects but the sects are wanting in the *Bhāgavata*. For a few days he dictated a number of questions bearing upon the topic, to kindle my quest in different directions, showed me the method of taking down notes and the mechanical device for organizing thoughts in well-planned channels. I plodded. He was at the helm, I was at the row. The process continued till I finished the sects. He asked me to apply the same method now to the *Bhāgavata*. I was seized by his personality, did what he wanted me to, to the best of my limited capacity. Materials were collected and the first draft of the thesis was done under his supervision.

In 1945, I had an opportunity to go abroad to join the School of Oriental and African Studies as a research scholar. The Second World War had just ceased. The thirty-five thousand Tonner Troop Ship, second in the transhipment of British soldiers from India to Great Britain, sailed away from the Bombay coast. I lost all sense of the land. Day in and day out, it was blue above, blue below and blue all round. I was lost in the wilderness of blue. I became aquatic, land being just an accident. Many old habits had to be replaced by new. The ship was a world by itself—indeed, a moving city with twelve thousand passengers and one thousand and five hundred crew ! Strange situations become familiar, and familiar situations strange. Man is reborn not only on land, but also on the sea. It involves also risk in certain circumstances. We have seen mines floating wthin the distance of one mile from the ship. The captain was a clever man. He steered clear of them.

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I met Prof. Turner, the Director of the School, with a letter of introduction from Kavirajji. I never knew the contents. Professor Turner's face beamed with joy. "How is Kavirajji ?"—He asked softly. Professor Turner had come to India and had worked at Varanasi at the Queen's College as the Professor of Sanskrit. He knew Kavirajji very well. I gave him a suitable reply.

After 1945, my association with Kavirajji became thin. I came back to Varanasi in 1947 after having completed Ph. D. from the University of London, and also Bar-at-Law from the Gray's Inn. But only after a few months, I returned to the School as a full-fledged Lecturer. While a research student at the School I was offered a part-time Lectureship. Somehow my reports as a teacher being favourable, the then Head of the Department invited me to accept a full-time Lecturership in Sanskrit and Bengali. I could not decide on the spot. I returned to India, consulted people including Kavirajji. He readily assented. With his blessings again I sailed back to England in 1948.

I completed D. Litt. from the University of Lille (France) in 1950. Next year the Viśva-bhāratī became a Central University and I was offered Professorship in Sanskrit. Up to the end of 1962, I was there—full twelve years. The University was good enough to publish my research work in two volumes under the caption : *The Philosophy of the Śrimad-Bhāgavata.* I duly acknowledged my first indebtedness to Kavirajji therein; presented a copy of each volume as it came out.

On the second of January, 1963, I joined the Banaras Hindu University as the Mayurbhanj Professor of Sanskrit. Although I was all along a professor at Viśva-bhāratī, enjoying the same scale as at Varanasi, several considerations weighed with me to come over. I was delighted to be back to my alma mater. I took it as a fulfilment that I was now to hold the Chair under which I was once appointed a Fellow and subsequently an Assistant Professor, once a dignified name for a Lecturer.

I went to Kavirajji to pay my homage. He said, he was delighted that I should be appointed to this post. He mentioned that he had duly received both of my volumes, has read line by line and he was profoundly satisfied with my performance. He was also impressed with the improvements that I had made upon the first draft which he had seen. I was surprised that he should remember what I did during the first draft and would thus bring in comparison between the old and the new. After all, since the first draft a good many number of years had rolled upon my life. The ruggedness of a novice had to be chiselled to fit in with the requirements of Ph. D. of the University of London and D. Litt. of the University of Lille. Thoughts crystallized as new matters made their entrance. In fact, the volumes contain every line new. Things were marshalled into a new perspective. I knelt down before him with folded hands and bowed. With all humility at my command, I broke out : I consider it the highest glory of my life, the greatest fulfilment of all my endeavours for more than twenty years that you are happy. Dr. Radhakrishnan was gracious enough to write a preface to my work. I have had always his blessings, as I had of Tarkabhusanaji. But

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Kavirajji's compliments were overwhelming. I treasure them more valuable than all the criticisms by the rest of the world.

II

As already suggested at the outset, many episodes are woven round the name of Kavirajji. He is a mystic given to blind faith. Under the initiation of Svāmī Viśuddhānanda, he is an ardent practiser of *yoga*. His unstinted devotion to his spiritual teacher is evinced by the surrender of as much as half of his salary to him every month. Indeed he opted for premature retirement from the Principalship of the Sanskrit College, Varanasi, on the ground that it was an interference with his spiritual life. He has had to pay sometimes dearly for his blind faith. He was often the ideal target of fraud. And so on. But I had nothing to do with all these.

My transaction with him has been confined to the field of scholarship. My access was to the sublime figure seated upon a couch over the heaps of books—the deity of knowledge comfortably lodged over the mount Kailasa. There was constant flow of men from all possible walks of life—scholars, pension-holders, students, spiritual associates—of all ages and sexes. He was the idol of real democracy.

Many days I entered his room at the middle of some serious elocution. I became immersed in the ocean of his all-absorbing eloquence. I was full to the brim. The Śāstras were churned to submit the harvest of jewels bristling with originality. The age-old barrier between one system of thought and another gave way. The Vedas and the Tantras coalesced. The atheists and theists embraced each other as bosom friends. The magnetic touch of a wonderful genius has transformed all differences into an indivisible whole. An all-embracing unity has pervaded every grain of my being; wonderful, magnanimous drift into a realm of splendour.

But there is a remarkable distinction between his oral discourse and written exposition. In oral transmission he is much of an inspired person and takes unflinching strides. He moves with extraordinary grace and delight from Kashmir Śaivism to Tantric mysticism. It lifts one's mind to a transcendental plane whose most adequate expression is profound silence. Both the speaker and the listener land upon this consummation. With an humble bow, I quit. I am on the lookout for another opportunity to tell him my business.

Many times I entered his room while a class for the *Yoga-darśana* of Patañjali was on. Kavirajji was busy with the analysis of a point. He would feel irritated, if some body interrupted him, while playing with delicate shades. Once it was an exposition of salvation (*kaivalya*) which, according to the yoga system of thought, is the state of equivalance between the spirit (*puruṣa*) and the mind (*citta*). My doubt was : how could the mind achieve complete equivalance in point of purity (*śuddhi-sāmya*) with the spirit ? After all, the mind is knit into the texture of the three guṇa-reals. However sublime the mind could possibly soar in point of excellence of *sattva* with *tamas* and *rajas* reduced to barest minimum, it has still the tinge of impurity brought it by the existence of *rajas* and *tamas*. There can therefore be no perfect equivalance between the two. As I understood him, Yoga system recognizes this

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sublimation of the mind which at the perfection of yoga becomes completely immune from impurity. He was importing the concept of pure matter (*viśuddha-sattva*) of the Tāntrikas into the system of Yoga—I thought. But I dared not to ask any question. At the beginning of the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya*, there is an idea to that effect. But to me, to accept that position would be a rude violence to the general notion that with regard to the recognition of categories the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga are one. I do not know.

But as a writer Kavirajji is just excellent. As against his oratory weaving a fairy land, his writing is the perfect specimen of a superb rational mind. He has writtten under diverse circumstances. In fact, mostly articles are extorted out of him by formidable editors. He has written in English, Hindi, Sanskrit and Bengali. They are scattered all over India. His indifferent mind is not bothered about their preservation. Recently, collections of his articles in Hindi are published. There is also some attempt to publish his articles in English and Bengali. It requires sustained effort to unearth all that he has written. Will all his writings see the light of the day in collections, in spite of all this ? Many more are still with him in Mss. They say that each of these is a precious jem. Each of them is said to embody the quality of a D. Litt. thesis. But Kavirajji is unconerned. On enquiry, one is told that they are meant for his personal use. What has the world got to do with them ? He loves oral discourse, from over the heaps of books. Sermons from the Mount !

Kavirajji is indifferent to his family life all through his career. He has tragedies and bereavements. He has lost his only son at the prime of his life. His wife is shattered and is turned blind. Once she was fumbling over the stairs to get down. I did not know her. But I volunteered my assitance. I took her down by hand. She thankd me and enquired wistfully if I knew her son. I said I did. I was moved to the core. She was groping for a prop in her old days. Alas ! She needs it very badly. Her only grand-son stays far away in Calcutta. Kavirajji has had a serious operation. He is disabled to some extent as a result. But Kavirajji is unaffected. He is the same throughout his life. He is neither depressed with adversity nor jubilant with prosperity. The Government of India has showered Honours on him. But he is untouched. Kavirajji is a living *sthita-prajña*. He is settled upon his pristine glory—*sve mahimni pratiṣṭhitaḥ*.

From hoary antiquity, Varanasi has been the seat of Indian scholarship. There has been unbroken march of scholars to this city from all over India. It has constantly witnessed the congregration of the veterans in all fields of Indian scholarship. I have had also singular privilege to sit at the feet of some of them in my time. But Kavirajji is unique. He is the grand fusion of both the old and the new. His versatility, his unassailable penetration, his flaming genius, his synthetic approach have opened up a world perspective of philosophy in which modern science has been assigned its proper place. Kavirajji is a unique revelation of God. I am gratified that I know him and that I have had his blessings. I now realize how profoundly significant my introduction was to him by Prof. Batuknath Sharma. May God spare him longer to us. Admittedly my prar yer is selfish, but it is also for the entire mankind.

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श्रीगुरुः शरणम्

लेखकः

श्रीराजेश्वरशास्त्री द्राविडः

श्रीमन्तः सुगृहीतनामधेयाः म० म० गोपीनाथकविराजमहोदयाः स्वत एव स्वकीयेन गुणगौरवेण विदुषां साधारणानां वा समवाये परिचिता इत्यहो ! अतीवामीषां वैदग्ध्यम् ।

"यदि सन्ति गुणाः पुंसां विकसन्त्येव ते स्वयम् ।
न हि कस्तूरिकामोदः शपथेन विभाव्यते ।।"

वस्तुगत्या ये सारस्वतं सारं लब्धवन्तस्तेषां प्रवृत्तिर्न केवलं स्वार्थाय, अपि तु जगतां हितायानितरसाधारणी भवति । भवति च तेषां वचनरचनाप्यार्तहृद्या । "विद्यावतां समस्तकार्यजातमेव गिरां दवीयः" इति लोकप्रसिद्धोदाहरणस्य सार्थकत्वं श्रीमत्सु पं० कविराजमहोदयेष्वस्माभिर्दृष्टमिति महत्सौभाग्यमस्माकम् । ईदृशानां विदुषां सम्माननेन शासकपदालङ्कृता अधिकारिणः स्वीयं कर्तव्यं यदि न निर्वहन्ति तर्हि नायं दोषस्तेषां विदुषामपि तु शासकानामित्येतेभ्यो महाभागेभ्यो राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालये पुस्तकालयाध्यक्षपदं प्रदाय शासकैर्गुणपरिचयप्रौढिः प्रारम्भे प्रकटीकृता ।

"पुरो वा पश्चाद्वा वयमुपविशामः क्षितिभुजां
ततः किं नश्छिन्नं वचनरचनाक्रीतजगताम् ।
अगारे कान्तारे कुचकलशभारे मृगदृशां
मणेस्तुल्यं मूल्यं सहजसुभगस्य द्युतिमतः ।।"

इत्युक्तन्यायेन विद्वांसो यत्र कुत्रापि वा तिष्ठन्तु, विद्यायाः सुखानुभूतिर्हि तेषाममूल्यं वस्तु, तेनाध्यक्षपदं तेन च वैदुष्यमुभाभ्यां च शासकः शोभते ।

"प्रायश्चित्तानित्यत्वान्मनुष्याणामश्वसधर्माणः हि मनुष्या नियुक्ताः कर्मसु विकुर्वते" इति न्यायेन पदारूढाः कृपणानां वेदनां नानुभवन्ति, परन्तु कविराजानां स्वभावे वैपरीत्यमेवास्माभिरनुभूतमित्यहो ! तेषामनुपमेयं स्वभावसारल्यम् ।

यदा स्वनामधन्यानां पूज्यपादानां प्रातःस्मरणीयानां गुरुचरणानां भट्टाचार्यमहोदयानां सविवेऽहं प्रामाण्यवादग्रन्थमपठम्, तदा प्राभाकरमतप्रसङ्गेन तत्रोपवर्णितं मीमांसकमतं हि मनसि नारूढम् । निदाघातपेन तप्तस्याल्पतमजलप्राप्त्या पिपासावृद्धिरिव मीमांसकमतजिज्ञासा अधिकोदिता । दैवात्तदानीं श्रीकविराजमहाभागाः पुस्तकालयाध्यक्षपदे समासीना आसन्, सरस्वतीभवने सारस्वतपुस्तकागारसत्त्वान्मीमांसकमतमुपलब्धुं शक्यते, किन्तु तदुपलब्धिर्भवेत्कथमिति चिन्तयन्नेव भीत इवाहं कविराजमहोदयानपश्यम् । तदानीमेतैः सरलहृदयैरध्यक्षपदासीनतया इदमेव फलं यज्जिज्ञासूनां पुस्तकप्रदानेन सेवा नामेति महता हर्षेण झटित्येव दाक्ष्यपूर्वकं मुद्रितं भाट्टरहस्यमवलोकनाय प्रदत्तम् ।

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प्राभाकरमतं सन्दिग्धमेवासीत्, अधुना पं० सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिप्रकाशितया प्रसिद्धया प्रकरणपञ्चिकया जयपुरी-नारायणभट्टीसमेतया तदवगतम्, इति अतिकठिने नैयायिकानां दुरूहतमे मीमांसकमतविन्यासे कविराजमहोदयानां स्वभावसारल्येन जातं साहाय्यं जीवनेऽस्मिन् विस्मर्तुं न शक्नोमि।

"अमात्यसम्पदोपेताः सर्वाध्यक्षाः शक्तितः कर्मसु योज्याः" इत्युक्त्यनुसारेण अमात्यसम्पदन्तर्गतेषु गुणेषु स्मृतिगुण एतेष्वियानासीत्, योऽधुनान्यत्र दुर्लभ इव भासते। सारस्वते भाण्डागारे स्थितानामेतेषां कुत्र किं लिखितं वर्तते इति विषयो नाविदितः। अम्भसि कमलपत्रमिव सारस्वते जले न ह्यन्तःकरणं तेषां शुष्कमासीत्। अमुं स्मृतिगुणं विशिष्टमुपलभ्य शासकैर्हठादेते राजकीयसंस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्य प्रधानाध्यक्षपदमलङ्कर्तुं सम्प्रार्थिता अत्याग्रहेण तत्पदं समलञ्चक्रुः। तदानीमपि विद्वत्सु समासीनः पक्षपातोऽभिवर्धमानो मया दृष्टः।

"विद्या ददाति विनयम्" इत्युक्तिं यथार्थां स्वचरित्रेण सर्वान् विदुषः प्रदर्शयामासुः।

अत्यन्तमभ्यर्हिततमं प्रत्यभिज्ञादर्शनं पठनपाठनपरम्पराविलोपेन दुरूहं जातमासीत्, परन्तु तस्य प्राकट्यकरणेन स्फोटवादादीनां रहस्याविष्करणेन च विदुषामज्ञानरूपस्य तमसोऽपसारणनिमित्तं श्रेय एभिरेव महाभागैरुपलब्धम्। योगशास्त्रविषये त्वनेकशो लेखाः प्रसिद्धिं गताः यैरेतेषां कीर्तिर्दिगन्तेऽप्यविश्रान्ता सती नृत्यति। ईदृशं विद्यारसिकत्वं येषु केषुचिद्विरलेषु दृश्यते तेषु श्रीमतां महाभागानां नामधेयं पुरत उपस्थितं भवतीति सुस्पष्टमेव विद्वत्त्वमेतेषाम्। स्वभावत एव सत्यपि सर्वत्र वैदुष्ये योगविषये विशेषत एव लब्धपाण्डित्या एते गुरुभक्तिमनुसृत्य अन्तरायतया लब्धमपि महत्पदं परित्यज्य विजिज्ञासया गुरुचरणान् सेवितुं तदाश्रममेव शरणममन्वन्तेति महदिदं गुरुभक्तानामेतेषां त्यागवैशिष्ट्यम्। गुरुभक्तिमूलत्वादेवैते महति पदे समास्थिता अपि जनपदविद्वेषभाजो न बभूवुरपि तु नित्याधिकारस्थिति-योग्यतां प्रादुर्भावयामासुरिति कियद्वा वर्णनीयमेतेषां शीलविषये।

अनेकशो दुरूहविचारावसरे मम परामर्शस्थानमिमे महाभागा एव तत्त्वपक्षपातिनो वर्तन्ते, यथा—राजनीति-वर्गस्थापनाप्रसङ्गे वेदापौरुषेयत्वानुमानस्य, तथा "शान्ति का अग्रदूत"-निर्माणस्य च प्रसङ्गे मया एषां विदुषां मनस्तोषः समुपलब्धः।

वाचस्पत्यपरीक्षावसरे तु एतेषां सङ्गतिरनेकशो लब्धा।

एवं सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासद्वारासञ्चालितायां "पुराण"-पत्रिकायां पुराणविषये "हाज़रा"-महोदय-कृतस्याक्षेपस्य खण्डनावसरेऽप्येतैः सह परामर्शः कृतः। केषुचन विद्वत्सु पूजननिमित्तेन वृत्तिवितरणं स्वशक्त्या भवत्विति सङ्कल्प्य शास्त्ररक्षासमितिर्गुरुवर्यैः पितृचरणैश्च श्रीमतां शास्त्रिमहाभागानां साहाय्येन संस्थापिता। अद्याप्येषामेव कविराजमहोदयानां परामर्शानुसारेण मया तत्समितिकार्यं प्रचाल्यते। एतादृशानां सर्वमान्यानां महतां विषये यत्कि-ञ्चिल्लेखनं नाम सूर्यस्य पुरस्तद्दीपप्रदर्शनमिव भवेदिति स्वपरिचयमात्रं प्रदर्श्य विरम्यते।

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क्रमतत्त्व पर कविराज जी से एक वार्ता

लेखक

नवजीवन रस्तोगी, लखनऊ

सन् १९५८-५९ में अभिनवगुप्त के स्तोत्रों का अध्ययन मैंने शोध-पत्र का विषय चुना था। इन स्तोत्रों में एक क्रमस्तोत्र भी है, वह लग नहीं रहा था। उसी समय किसी प्रसंग से वाराणसी गया हुआ था। मेरे विषय को देखते हुए श्री सांवल जी नागर (हिन्दू स्कूल के भूतपूर्व अध्यापक) मुझे कविराज जी की सेवा में ले गए। उनके सामने जाते मुझे भय लग रहा था, और उनके पहले ही वाक्य "कुछ पढ़ा भी है कि रिसर्च करने लगे। क्रम-दर्शन पर काम करने के लिए बड़ी सामर्थ्य चाहिए। है उतनी सामर्थ्य" ने उस भय को और भी बढ़ा दिया। फिर उन्होंने बताना प्रारम्भ किया। पठनीय और मननीय साहित्य की एक बहुत बड़ी सूची उन्होंने दी। बीच में उन्होंने एक-दो प्रश्न भी किए, उत्तर दे सकने का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। लगभग वह एक घण्टा बोले। मैं नोट करता गया। उस समय तो समझ में नहीं आया पर बाद के अध्ययन में उनकी वह पंक्तियाँ हमेशा मार्गदर्शन करती रही हैं।

इस वार्ता को दो भागों में बाँटा गया है। पहले में क्रमतत्त्व का विवेचन है और दूसरे में उसी क्रम-दृष्टि से कश्मीर के शिवाद्वैत के कुछ पक्षों का अनावरण हुआ है[1]।

क्रमतत्त्व-विवेचन

यद्यपि सभी दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों की अपनी अपनी पद्धति और अपना अपना लक्ष्य होता है। फिर भी हम चाहे जिस प्रस्थान से चलें, पहुंचते अखण्ड ज्ञान पर ही हैं। इस प्रकार अखण्ड ज्ञान सबमें एक समान बिन्दु है। प्रश्न है कि हम क्रम-जगत् से इस शाश्वत, सामान्य (यूनीवर्सल) बिन्दु तक पहुँचते कैसे हैं? अखण्ड ज्ञान व्यक्ति के प्रयास से सम्भव नहीं होता, अनुग्रह से ही सम्भव हो पाता है। चाहे जिस मार्ग का अवलम्बन लिया जाए, जहाँ अनुग्रह हो वहीं अखण्ड ज्ञान की उपलब्धि हो जाती है। अनुग्रह के लिए अवसर-विशेष का प्रतिबन्ध नहीं है। दैवी-बोध (डिवाइन रेवेलेशन) किसी क्षण भी हो सकता है। अखण्ड में क्रिया नहीं होती। किन्तु वहां भी एक नियम जरूर है, पर वह जगत्-निरपेक्ष है।

(तन्त्र-शास्त्र में आध्यात्मिक साधना के प्रसंग में दो प्रकार के पाकों का उल्लेख हुआ है—मालपाक और हठ-पाक) उनमें से मालपाक क्रम के मार्ग—जहाँ कारणात्मक आरोह (काज़ल असेंडिंग है) में होगा। बारह[2] तक पहुंचने पर भी आवश्यक नहीं है कि व्यक्ति अक्रम तत्त्व का लाभ कर ले। यह भी सम्भव है कि किसी अन्य को दूसरा स्तर पार करते ही अक्रम-साक्षात् हो जाए। इसमें एक नियम रहता है, जो समग्र पदार्थ-जगत् का आन्तरिक रहस्य है[4]।

दो स्थितियां हो सकती हैं—एक जहाँ गति (मूवमेण्ट) है, और दूसरी जहाँ गति नहीं है। जहाँ गति है वहीं क्रिया है। पातञ्जलदर्शन भी इसी कलन से शुरू होता है। जब कलन होगा तब क्रम होगा। अलातचक्र को लें। वहाँ क्रम आरोपित (इम्पोज़्ड) है।[3] (सभी आगमदर्शनों में, विशेषतः त्रिक सम्प्रदाय में) देशाध्वा-सहभाव (को-इक्जि-

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स्टेन्स) की धारा है और कालाध्वा (सक्सेशन) की। सहभाव में कम्पन हट जाता है। स्वयं ऋग्वेद में देखा जाए। आदित्य के तीन क्रम, त्रिपाद-विभूति, 'त्रेधा निदधे पदम्' में यही मुख्य भाव (सेण्ट्रल आइडिया) है। दो स्थितियाँ हैं—अक्रम और सक्रम। शक्ति का स्वभाव (नेचर) ही है क्रिया। जहाँ क्रम है वहीं तिङन्त का प्रयोग होता है। 'अस्ति नास्ति इति कालसम्बन्धः' ("है, नहीं है"—ये प्रयोग कालसम्बन्ध से सार्थक हैं)। इसीलिए 'वह' क्रम से परे है। नागार्जुन ने इसे 'चतुष्कोटि-विनिर्मुक्त' कहा है।[४] तुरीय और तुरीयातीत में कोई भेद नहीं (एब्सोल्यूटली नो डिफरेन्स) है। जब जाग्रतादि रहती हैं तब उसका नाम तुरीय, जब नहीं रहती तब वही तुरीयातीत हो जाती है। सभी दर्शनों में क्रम का स्वरूप (कान्सेप्ट) भिन्न-भिन्न (पिक्यूलियर) है। परन्तु कारण-शृङ्खला—क्रम-नियम (काज़ल आर्डर आव् सीक्वेन्स), एक के द्वारा दूसरे का अनुगमन (वन फालोइंग दी अदर), सबके पीछे एक ही मूल-भाव है। क्रम धातु (क्रमु पादविक्षेपे) विशिष्ट क्रमण को बताती है। इसीलिए (आदित्य के) तीन क्रम हैं।

सभी छह दर्शनों में जहाँ क्रिया है वहाँ क्रम है। लोकप्रसिद्ध (पापुलर) वेदान्त में जो कुछ है वह मायिक है। वेदान्त में 'वस्तुतः' क्रम 'नहीं' है (अपितु क्रम 'मायिक' है)। साङ्ख्य और वैशेषिक में अन्य क्रम अभ्युपगत हुआ है। द्व्यणुक से त्रसरेणु और आगे क्रम का ही राज्य है।

क्रम क्रिया है। वह शक्ति से सीधे सम्बद्ध है। शक्ति से सम्बद्ध होने के कारण ही इस (क्रम) को काश्मीर दर्शन में स्थान मिला है। इसीलिए शाक्त दर्शनों में भी क्रम की मान्यता हुई है। प्रणव के विकास (इवोल्यूशन)—परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा, वैखरी—में क्रम का असन्दिग्ध व्यापार है। हाँ, उन्मनी में क्रम नहीं है। अ, इ, उ, म् के बाद बिन्दु, नाद, कला का आविर्भाव होता है। (समना) कला जहाँ समाप्त होती है वहाँ बिन्दु प्रारम्भ होता है। बिन्दु अक्रम है। इसी प्रकार "वार्तिकालङ्कार" में सर्वज्ञत्व का विचार करते समय उसे अक्रम बताया है। महेन्द्र जैन के "न्यायविनिश्चय" में जहाँ जहाँ सर्वज्ञत्व का विचार हुआ है, ऐसी ही बात कही गई है। अभिसमय अर्थात् बुद्ध के महाज्ञान में भी क्रम नहीं है। जैन भी केवल-ज्ञान में क्रम नहीं मानते।

निष्क्रम भूमि में क्रम नहीं रहता, परन्तु स्पन्द रहता है। स्पन्द है सूक्ष्म क्रिया—वहाँ क्रम एक विचार (आइडिया) मात्र है। इकाइयों (यूनिट्स) को लेकर चलने में दो चीजें सामने आती हैं। एक ओर वस्तु को अखण्ड मानें तो कहना होगा कि वह गति का विषय बनकर या गतिशील हो इकाइयों में परिणत होती है—आधुनिक विज्ञान का तरङ्गसिद्धान्त (वेव-थ्योरी) और फोटोन-थ्योरी इसी पक्ष के पोषक हैं। दूसरी ओर यदि वस्तु को सूक्ष्म कण (कार्पस्कल्स) मानें तो हर कण के बीच में एक सम्बन्ध-सूत्र (कनेक्टिंग लिंक) मानना होगा। इस प्रकार एक प्रविभक्त (डिस्क्रीट) है; और दूसरा अविच्छिन्न (कान्टिनुअस) है, पर उसमें गति नहीं है।

'गुण' और 'कर्म' की वैशेषिक धारणा 'द्रव्य'-सापेक्ष है। क्यों? क्योंकि वैशेषिक में तीनों ही पृथक् हैं। परन्तु अन्यत्र दर्शनों में कहते हैं कि गुण द्रव्य से भिन्न नहीं है और गुण कर्म के बिना नहीं है। 'भवति' में भवन गुण है। परन्तु 'ति' कैसे लगा? कर्म (क्रिया) बिना क्रम है ही नहीं इसलिए (अर्थात् गुण भी क्रिया का ही एक रूप है) क्रिया सक्रमा होती है। जैसे बर्गसाँ के सृजनात्मक विकास (क्रिएटिव इवोल्यूशन) के सिद्धान्त में माना गया है कि जब क्रिया या गति (मूवमेन्ट) शान्त हो जाती है तब वही गुण बन जाती है, वही गुण द्रव्य बनता है। मीमांसा में यह बात अधिक स्पष्ट हुई है। भूत वह है जो प्रवाहित हो चुका है, जो रुक गया है, इसीलिए द्रव्य है वह। वर्तमान जो हो रहा है, भव्य जो होने वाला है। शक्ति (एनर्जी) का घनीभाव ही शक्तिभूत (मैटर) है, भूत का आख्यानीभाव (सूखना) समाप्त होता है तो वह फिर ऊर्जा या शक्ति (एनर्जी) बन बैठता है। भूत पदार्थ (मैटर) में गतिशक्ति; गति (मूवमेंट) में स्थिरता-भूत पदार्थ—यही क्रम है। अन्तर्धान के क्षणों में यही होता है। शरीर के कणों (पार्टिकल्स) की गति को तीव्र (स्पीडअप) कर देते हैं।

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शिवाद्वैत

ज्ञान का स्वरूप क्या है, और अज्ञान का स्वरूप क्या है। ज्ञान दो प्रकार का है—बौद्ध और पौरुष। द्वैत-शैवमत और अद्वैत-शैवमत में एतत्सम्बन्धी क्या अन्तर है।"

१. 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मि'-वेदान्त का यह परम ज्ञान है। परन्तु तान्त्रिक या शैव मत में यह परमज्ञान नहीं है। इनका लक्ष्य तो शिव-शक्ति-सामरस्य है।

वेदान्त के मत को शैव 'शान्तब्रह्मवाद' कहते हैं। इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि शैवों को ब्रह्म की शान्तता अभिप्रेत नहीं है। शैव ब्रह्म अर्थात् परमशिव शांत नहीं है। वह सक्रिय है। शिव का शक्त्यंश उसकी सक्रियता को द्योतित करता है। गीता में जो यह कहा गया है "ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति। भ्रामयन्सर्वभूतानि यन्त्रारूढानि मायया" (१८।६१) वह गीता को भी काश्मीर शैव-दर्शन से पृथक् कर देता है। यहाँ भी आत्मा या ब्रह्मन् स्थितिरूप (तिष्ठति) है, क्रिया तो उसकी माया की ही है। वेदान्त में चरम तत्त्व निष्क्रिय है; शैवमत में क्रिया, ज्ञान, इच्छा, चित्, आनन्द—पञ्चशक्ति, पञ्चकृत्य और पञ्चमुखी शिव की पर्याप्त महिमा है।

२. शैव दर्शन इस जगत् की दो स्थितियाँ स्वीकार करता है—व्यक्त और अव्यक्त। व्यक्तभूमि सृष्टि की स्थिति है, और अव्यक्त भूमि से ही अनुत्तर या मातृका का उदय होता है। मूल कलारूप का किस प्रकार विकास होता है—इसी में सृष्टि निहित है। सृष्टि शिव की क्रियाशक्ति का प्रतिफलन है। क्रिया क्रिया के ही अन्तर्गत हो सकती है।

शक्ति प्रविभक्त (डिस्क्रीट) है, इसीलिए सक्रिय है; शिव अविच्छिन्न (काण्टिनुअस) है, वहाँ तो वृत्ति भी सम्भव नहीं है।

वेदान्त में निष्क्रिय से क्रिया होती है। शैवमत में शिव में स्वयं क्रिया है।

३. क्रम कलनात्मक है। क्रम का कलना से प्रारम्भ होता है। समस्या है 'अक्रम से क्रम कैसे उत्पन्न होता है।' दोनों के मध्य एक सन्धिबिन्दु होना चाहिए; दोनों विरोधी हैं, अतः एक समन्वयस्थल होना चाहिए। शैवमत में यह सन्धिबिन्दु है कुण्डलिनी। दोनों के बीच सन्धि होती है कुण्डलिनी में।

वेदान्ती के लिए निष्क्रिय से क्रिया का उद्भव मायागत है। पर, माया के स्वरूप के बारे में वह अनिश्चित हैं—क्योंकि माया का रूप अनिर्वचनीय है। ब्रह्मसाक्षात् के बाद फिर माया रह ही नहीं जाती। अर्थात् मूलतः ब्रह्म में क्रिया का अधिष्ठान ही नहीं है।

काश्मीर शैव दार्शनिक माया के स्थान में चिद्रूपा शक्ति मानते हैं; वेदान्त की माया तो अचिद् है, जड है। शिव भी चिद्रूप है। दो नाम इसलिए हैं कि शिव कूटस्थ है और शक्ति सक्रिय। समुद्र और तरङ्ग एक दूसरे से अभिन्न हैं, तब भी दो नाम हैं। शक्ति में शिव का स्वभाव भी है—इसलिए वह शिव से अभिन्न है। सृष्टि का संसरण शक्ति से होता है, अतः पदार्थ या सर्ग का स्वभाव भी उसमें है। अतः शक्ति माध्यम-रूप है। दीप को शिव जान नहीं सकता क्योंकि शिव स्वनिष्ठ है। पर दीप का ज्ञान शिव को शक्ति द्वारा होता है, क्योंकि शक्ति द्वारा ही शिव का आभासन होता है। इस प्रकार शक्ति में शिव का स्वभाव भी है और दीप का भी।

४. यह शक्ति स्वातन्त्र्य-रूपा है। शिव का जो "अहं-बोध" है वह इसी शक्ति के कारण है। शक्ति के बिना शिव में 'अहं' का सम्भव नहीं। वेदान्त के ब्रह्म में 'अहं' नहीं है, जबकि शिव में 'अहं' है क्योंकि वह शक्तिरूप भी है।

माया तो अचित् है। अतः शैवों की दृष्टि में वेदान्त के ब्रह्म का स्वप्रकाशत्व भी सम्भव नहीं। क्योंकि माया तो ब्रह्म की 'स्व' नहीं है। अतः ब्रह्म के प्रकाशरूप माने जाने पर भी ब्रह्म का स्वप्रकाशत्व असङ्गत हो जाता है।

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५. वेदान्त में यद्यपि कार्यकारणभाव को वही स्थान नहीं मिला है जो अन्य दर्शनों में, तब भी कारणतावाद की असन्दिग्ध स्वीकृति वहाँ है। शैवदर्शन में कार्यकारणभाव का स्थान ही नहीं है—यहाँ आभासवाद है। यहाँ बिन्दु, विसर्ग है।

शिव और शक्ति दोनों पृथक्तः अपूर्ण हैं, दोनों मिलकर पूर्ण बनते हैं। सृष्टि के लिए शिव का आत्मसंकोच होता है। शक्ति का स्फुरण होता है। 'अहं' की जगह 'इदम्' का उदय होता है। विश्वातीतरूप का संकोच होकर विश्वरूप में विकसन होता है। शिव विश्वोत्तीर्ण और विश्वमय दोनों ही हैं, जबकि ब्रह्म केवल विश्वोत्तीर्ण है।[६]

६. पञ्चमातृका परमाश्रय हैं। बिन्दु का अर्थ है समाहार (मिला देना); यहाँ शिव की सभी शक्तियाँ समष्टिगत (एकरूप) हो जाती हैं। यहाँ कोई शक्ति विशिष्ट रूप में नहीं रह जाती, इसे ही ज्योति, अनुत्तर, अनुस्वार कहते हैं। महाशून्य आकाशादि हैं, जो मध्यवर्ती हैं। इसके तीन स्तर हैं—तत्वाध्याय-चरमरूप, कलाध्याय-समग्ररूप, भुवनाध्याय-इदंरूप।

७. अ, इ आदि वर्ण मातृका हैं। ये वर्ण रश्मि हैं। बिन्दु चक्र का केन्द्र है। पञ्चभूत के लिए पञ्चबिन्दु है। 'चिद्' का छठा बिन्दु है। यही षट्चक्र है।

८. दो स्थितियाँ हैं, आत्मा के ऊर्ध्वोन्मुख होकर मुक्त होने की। एक है समना—जहाँ मन का उन्मूलन नहीं हो पाता। और फिर आती है उन्मना या उन्मनी जो प्रकाश-रूप है और जहाँ मन का व्यापार शान्त हो जाता है। इन दोनों स्थितियों की अनेक अवान्तर स्थितियाँ हैं।

समना के अन्तर्गत ये स्थितियां आती हैं--१. जागृति; २ स्वप्न; ३. सुषुप्ति; ४. बिन्दु (तुरीय) ५. शक्ति; और ६. कला।

उन्मना के (जो प्रकाशरूप है) तीन स्तर हैं--१. चित्शक्ति का प्रारम्भ, २. तत्पश्चात् शिव और ३. तदनु परमशिव।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१ क्रम-दर्शन में आध्यात्मिक प्रगति के बारह स्तर, तदनुरूप बारह कालियां निरूपित हुई हैं। 'काली' शब्द कलन (क्रिया) से निष्पन्न होता है। 'बारह तक' अर्थात् अन्तिम स्थिति तक।—ले०।

२ There is a law—secret of whole things.

३ क्रियावशात् आरोपित है। क्षणिकवादी बौद्धों ने भी इसी उदाहरण को लिया है। इसी तरह का एक उदाहरण नदी का प्रवाह भी है। कश्मीर के त्रिक दर्शन में भी ऐसी ही उपमाओं का आश्रय लिया गया है।—ले०।

४ ये चारों कोटियाँ क्रम पर आधारित हैं।

५ आगे द्वैत-शैवमत और अद्वैत-शैवमत में भेद नहीं दिखलाया गया है। केवल यहाँ उपोद्घात मात्र किया गया है।—ले०।

६ Śiva is both immanent and transcendental, while Brahman is only transcendental.

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महामहोपाध्याय गोपीनाथ कविराज जी का विद्या-व्यसन

(एक संस्मरण)

लेखक

डा० गोवर्धननाथ शुक्ल, अलीगढ़

बात चार-पाँच वर्ष पूर्व की है। उन दिनों कविराज गोपीनाथ जी पर्याप्त रुग्ण थे और स्वास्थ्यलाभ करने के लिए पूना गए हुए थे। पूना में उनकी आवास-व्यवस्था डी० के० राय के बँगले के सामने वाले बँगले में की गई थी। उन्हीं दिनों 'सम्प्रदाय-चतुष्टय की भक्ति-पद्धति का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' विषय को लेकर अपने डी० लिट्० उपाधि-सम्बन्धी शोध-प्रबन्ध तैयार करने के लिए मैं भाण्डारकर रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट की निज़ाम अतिथि-शाला में ठहरा हुआ था। मेरे एक मित्र श्री प्रभाकर पण्डित ने सूचित किया कि श्री गोपीनाथ जी कविराज पधारे हुए हैं और अमुक स्थान पर ठहरे हुए हैं। मुझे दर्शन की उत्कण्ठा वर्षों से थी, किन्तु यह जानते हुए भी कि वे रुग्ण हैं और आगन्तुकों को उनसे मिलने नहीं दिया जाता और वे ही लोग उनसे मिल सकते हैं जिनके लिए पहले से ही समय निश्चित कर दिया जाता है, मैं बाल-चपलता वश, किन्तु दर्शन की तीव्र उत्कण्ठा को लिए, अतिथिशाला से चल ही तो पड़ा। मेरे आन्तरिक जगत् में किसी कोने में यह कामना भी छिपी हुई थी कि अपने विषय की चर्चा पूज्य कविराज जी से करूँ और उनका—थोड़ा सा ही सही—आशीर्वाद अवश्य ही पाऊँ।

अपराह्ण में ठीक चार बजे मैं उनके आवास पर पहुँच गया। उस शान्त एकान्त निसर्ग-रम्य छोटे से बँगले का सौन्दर्य देखते ही बनता था। पूछने पर पता चला कि आनन्दमयी माँ उनका कुशल-मङ्गल जानने के लिए पधारी हैं और उनके जाने के बाद कविराज जी न तो नीचे पधारेंगे न किसी से मिलेंगे। निराश मन ने फिर भी बँगला छोड़ना नहीं चाहा, केवल इतनी ही इच्छा रह गई कि भारत की इस महान् विभूति की एक झलक ही मिल जाय। अतः निराशा के अन्तिम क्षणों में भी स्वभाव की धृष्टतावश बँगला छोड़ते नहीं बना। थोड़े ही समय में आनन्दमयी माँ चली गयीं और कविराज जी उन्हें छोड़ने के लिए शरीर से असमर्थ होते हुए भी ज़ीना उतर कर नीचे तक आ गए थे। भीड़ की हड़बड़ी में मुझे अवसर मिला और मैंने लपक कर चरणस्पर्श कर ही तो लिया। महामानव की एक स्निग्ध दृष्टि मेरे ऊपर पड़ी और बोले—'आपका परिचय'? मैंने संक्षेप में आत्म-परिचय दिया और तुरन्त ही अपने विषय की चर्चा भी कर डाली। विद्या-व्यसनी कविराज जी को जैसे कोई रस-बिन्दु मिल गया हो, पीछे रखी कुर्सी खींच कर बैठ गए। निजी सेवक और सचिव के सौम्य निषेध पर ध्यान न देते हुए कविराज जी की वाक्-निर्झरिणी प्रवाहित होने लगी। सुख-संकोच के उन दिव्य क्षणों को भूला नहीं जा सकता है। महामानव उतने समय के लिए डाक्टरों का निषेध, उपचार-संयम, परिचर्या के विधि-निषेध आदि सबको तिलाञ्जलि देकर अपने मनोराज्य में विचरने लगे। देह-कष्ट मानों उतने क्षणों के लिए विदा हो गया हो। भक्त्याचार्यों की दृष्टि में आचार्य शङ्कर के वदतोव्याघात दोषों की सरसरी दृष्टि से चर्चा करते हुए भक्त्याचार्यों के परस्पर तारतम्य की कविराज जी चर्चा कर गए और अन्त में धीरे से बोले "आपके विषय का प्रधान प्रतिद्वन्द्वी तो शङ्कर है। सावधानी से काम कीजिए। अच्छा है विषय। उपयोगी काम होगा।"

निरभिमान, अप्रतिम विद्वत्ता के साथ मूर्तिमान सौशील्य और स्नेह के दर्शन कर यह जन कृतकृत्य हो गया। भारत की यह महान् विभूति शतायु हो यही सर्वेश से प्रार्थना है।

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संस्कृत-जगत् की विभूति पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज

लेखक

डा० सम्पूर्णानन्द, राज्यपाल, राजस्थान

पण्डित गोपीनाथ कविराज से मेरा कभी सम्पर्क नहीं हो पाया, कोई न कोई बाधा पड़ती रही। परन्तु यह तो मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता था और काल पाकर यह जानकारी बढ़ती ही गयी कि वह उद्भट विद्वान् हैं। वह उस पीढ़ी के पण्डित हैं जो अब प्रायः समाप्त हो गयी है। पं० सभापति उपाध्याय और पं० रामाज्ञा पाण्डेय के देहावसान के बाद उसके अवशिष्ट सदस्यों को सम्भवतः अंगुलियों पर गिना जा सकता है। संस्कृत तो अब भी पढ़ी-पढ़ायी जाती है, परीक्षाएँ दी जाती हैं और उपाधियां प्राप्त की जाती हैं। परन्तु अब अध्ययन श्रम, बेगार, भार-वहन है—पुरानी पीढ़ी के लिए वह तपश्चर्या थी, वाग्देवता की उपासना का महान् साधन था।

कविराज जी मेरे मित्र स्वर्गीय आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव के कभी सहपाठी थे, मैं उनसे भी उनकी चर्चा सुना करता था। इस चर्चा से उनके प्रति श्रद्धा की वृद्धि होती ही गयी। इसीसे और आश्चर्य होता है कि मैंने आजतक उनसे मिलने का अवसर क्यों नहीं निकाला।

कहा गया है कि 'प्रज्ञाप्रसादं लभते भिन्नैरागमदर्शनैः।' यह कथन सत्य है और कविराज जी ऐसे विद्याधनी इसके जीते-जागते प्रमाण हैं। उनका प्रगाढ़ पाण्डित्य विभिन्न विषयों में चञ्चुप्रवेश का फल नहीं है—निश्चय ही उन्होंने बहुत से विषयों का अध्ययन किया है, परन्तु जिस विषय में हाथ लगाया उसके अन्तस्तल तक गये, उसकी गम्भीरता का पूर्ण अवगाहन किया।

परन्तु उनकी जिस बात ने मुझको सबसे अधिक प्रभावित किया वह यह है कि वह केवल पण्डित नहीं हैं, श्रोत्रियमात्र नहीं हैं, उनको परा विद्या=अध्यात्मविद्या में भी अभिरुचि है और यह अभिरुचि केवल शास्त्रों के पन्नों को उलटने तक सीमित नहीं है। वह साधक हैं। वह किस मार्ग से साधना करते हैं, किस द्वार से आध्यात्मिक दुर्ग के अन्तःपुर में प्रवेश करना चाहते हैं, यह उनके चयन की बात है। ऐसे ही व्यक्ति सच्चे अर्थों में ब्राह्मण कहलाने के अधिकारी हैं।

इतना ही कह सकता हूँ कि वह काशी ही नहीं संस्कृत-जगत् की विभूति हैं। विद्या-व्यसनियों को उनसे बहुत कुछ ज्ञान की सामग्री प्राप्त हो सकती है जो उनके बाद प्रायः लुप्त हो जायगी।

ईश्वर उन्हें चिरायु करे। मैं इस अवसर पर श्रद्धा के सुमन उनके चरणों पर अर्पित करता हूँ।

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कविराज जी : कतिपय संस्मरण

लेखक

श्री बलदेव मिश्र, ज्योतिषाचार्य, पटना

श्री गोपीनाथ कविराज जी से मेरा परिचय सम्भवतः १९१२ ई० के अगस्त महीने में वाराणसी के क्वीन्स कालेज के बोर्डिंग हाउस में हुआ। वे एपिग्राफ़ी विषय के एम० ए० अन्तिम वर्ष के छात्र थे। इसी क्लास के एक छात्र फ़ैजाबाद के श्री नरेन्द्र देव जी भी थे। वे भी उसी बोर्डिंग हाउस में पहले से रहते थे। उसी क्लास के एक अन्य छात्र श्री हरि रामचन्द्र दिवेकर जी महाराष्ट्र ब्राह्मण थे। वे शहर में ही रहते थे। मेरा नरेन्द्र देव जी से पहले ही परिचय हो गया था। उन्होंने पहले ही मुझे बताया था कि कविराज जी बोर्डिंग हाउस में आने वाले हैं। प्रिन्सिपल, डा० ए० वेनिस साहब ने कविराज जी से कहा था कि वे बोर्डिंग में चले आवें, कालेज समीप पड़ेगा। नरेन्द्र देव जी ने मुझसे कहा था कि कविराज जी प्राचीन भारतीय शास्त्र के जानकार भी हैं और उनकी आस्था भी प्राचीन रीतियों पर है, वे संस्कृत के बड़े प्रेमी हैं।

नरेन्द्र देव जी से उनकी प्रशंसा सुनकर उनको देखने की बड़ी इच्छा थी। जिस दिन सन्ध्या को वे बोर्डिंग में आए उसी दिन रात को मैं उनसे मिलने उनकी कोठरी में गया। पहले सोचा था कि नरेन्द्र देव जी के माध्यम से उनसे मिलूंगा; किन्तु उत्सुकतावश मैं उनके पास स्वयं ही चला गया। उस समय वे कुछ अस्वस्थ थे। उन्हें थोड़ा ज्वर था। जाकर अपना परिचय देते हुए मैंने उनसे कहा कि मैं संस्कृत कालेज का एक छात्र हूं। उन्होंने मुझसे पूछा कि संस्कृत के अध्ययन में प्रतिपत् तिथि को अनध्याय क्यों माना जाता है तथा स्तोत्रों में मेरी दृष्टि में कौन स्तोत्र सब से अच्छा है। मैंने यथाबुद्धि उनके प्रश्नों का उत्तर दिया और तभी से क्रमशः उनसे परिचय बढ़ने लगा। उनकी कोठरी मेरी कोठरी के पास ही थी। इसलिए प्रयोजनवश उनके यहां मैं और मेरे यहां वे जाते आते थे। वे इतने पठनशील होते हुए भी हम लोगों की बड़ी सहायता करते थे। एक बार मैंने उनसे पूछा कि अंग्रेज़ी की कौन सी पुस्तक पढ़ूं कि अंग्रेज़ी अच्छी तरह आ जाय। उन्होंने लाल बिहारी दे की "Tales of Bengal" नामक पुस्तक का नाम बतलाया। मैंने उस पुस्तक को बाज़ार से खरीद लिया। उसके बहुत से शब्द ऐसे थे जो मुझे अज्ञात थे। कविराज जी ने प्रत्येक कथा में अज्ञात शब्दों के नीचे लाल चिह्न लगा दिया। मैं एक कापी पर उन शब्दों को लिखकर उनके पास जाता था वे उन शब्दों के हिन्दी अर्थ मुझे लिखा देते थे। इतना श्रम मेरे लिए वे करते थे। क्वीन्स कालेज में गणित के अध्यापक डा० गणेश प्रसाद थे। उन्हीं दिनों मैंने गणित सीखने की इच्छा प्रकट की। कविराज जी ने प्रिन्सिपल साहब से कहकर डा० गणेश प्रसाद के क्लास में मेरी भर्ती करा दी और मैं उनसे गणित सीखने लगा। इतनी कृपा थी उनकी मेरे ऊपर।

उन दिनों सान्याल नामक एक बड़े विद्वान् राजघाट मोहल्ले में रहा करते थे। उनकी ऐसी विद्वत्ता थी कि वे किसी भी प्रश्न पर घंटों व्याख्यान दे सकते थे। कविराज जी उनके यहां बहुधा जाया करते थे। उनकी एक पुस्तक "परलोक" तीन भागों में वंग-भाषा में है। कविराज जी ने एक दिन मुझसे कहा कि मैं वहाँ चलूँ और गणित विषयक कोई प्रश्न उनके सामने रखूँ जिस पर उनका प्रवचन हो। मैं कविराज जी के साथ एक दिन वहाँ गया। दो मंजिले

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पर एक बड़ा हाल था। उसके एक कोने पर सान्याल महोदय बैठे थे। कोठरी गुग्गुल-धूप से सुवासित थी। पेन्सिल उनके हाथ में थी जिसे वे घुमा रहे थे। उस दिन कोई और ही बात चली और मुझे प्रश्न रखने का अवसर नहीं मिल सका। मैं फिर कभी वहां नहीं जा सका। बाद में तो कविराज जी भी सान्याल महाशय के सदृश ही प्रवचन करने लगे। वे यदा कदा शाम को घूमते घामते दशाश्वमेध घाट चले जाया करते और वहां जहां कहीं भी किसी अच्छे विद्वान् का प्रवचन होता वहीं बैठकर सुनने लगते। एक दिन उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि दशाश्वमेध घाट पर एक पण्डित गीता पर प्रवचन करते हैं; उनका गीता का पारायण बहुत मधुर होता है; वहां चलो और उनके पारायण का लाभार्जन करें। मैं उनके साथ वहां गया और उन पुराने पण्डित का गीता-पाठ सुना। गीता बाँचने वाले पण्डित जी की पुस्तक पर लोग दो चार पैसे चढ़ा देते थे। कविराज जी ने प्रसन्न होकर एक रुपया चढ़ा दिया।

एक दिन कविराज जी ने मुझसे कहा कि मैं उन्हें कुछ सुनाऊं। मैंने संस्कृत के कुछ अच्छे श्लोक तथा मैथिली भाषा के भी कुछ पद्य सुनाये। उसके बाद मेरी भी बारी आई और मैंने भी उनसे निवेदन किया कि वे भी कुछ सुनाने की कृपा करें। उन्होंने मुझसे पूछा कि बंगला सुनाऊं या अंग्रेज़ी। मैंने कहा कि दोनों भाषाओं में सुनाया जाय। तब उन्होंने बंगला में रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर की "नैवेद्य" नामक कविता सुनाई जिसका एक आद्य पद्य यह है—

छाड़िया जाओ न प्रभु
यदि आमार हृदय दुआर बन्द थाके कभुँ
द्वार भेंगे एस मोर प्राणे फिरिया जाओ ना प्रभु
. . . .
यदि तोमार आसने आर काहार ओ बसाइ यतने
चिरदिवसेर राजा आमार फिरिया जाओ ना प्रभु॥

अंग्रेज़ी की जो कविता उन्होंने सुनाई वह थी ग्रे कवि की एलिजी में की—

"Full many a gem of the purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of the ocean bear
Full many a flower is blown and blush unseen
And wastes its sweetness in the desert air."

उसी अवसर पर उन्होंने इन दोनों कविताओं की अच्छी तरह व्याख्या भी की थी।

बोर्डिंग हाउस में पहले मैं अकेला मैथिल छात्र था। पीछे दो तीन और साथी थे जिनकी और हमारी रसोई एक साथ होती थी। मेरे चौके से सटा हुआ एक मेस था। कविराज जी उसी में भोजन किया करते थे। दिन में तो नहीं किन्तु रात में बहुधा हम लोगों का तथा कविराज जी का भोजन एक ही समय में होता था। उस समय भी खूब वार्तालाप हुआ करता था। कभी-कभी छोटी छुट्टियों में छात्रों के चले जाने से मेस बन्द हो जाया करता था। तब कविराज जी से बहुत प्रेम होने के कारण मेरे आग्रह से उनका भोजन हम लोगों के साथ ही होता था।

कविराज जी सम्भवतः १९१० में क्वीन्स कालेज में एम० ए० प्रीवियस में भर्ती हुए थे। उनकी विशिष्ट प्रतिभा देखकर वेनिस साहब ने ३०) रु० मासिक साधोलाल स्कॉलरशिप भी उन्हें दिया था। पहले वे बंगाली टोले में कहीं पर रहते थे। उन्होंने महामहोपाध्याय न्यायाचार्य वामाचरण भट्टाचार्य जी से, जो क्वीन्स संस्कृत कालेज में न्यायशास्त्र के अध्यापक थे, संस्कृत दर्शन शास्त्रों का अध्ययन इतने अभिनिवेश से किया कि अपना स्वास्थ्य ही बिगाड़ लिया। डाक्टरों ने समुद्र के किनारे आराम करने का सुझाव दिया। इसलिए कविराज जी श्री जगन्नाथपुरी चले गये

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और वहाँ समुद्र के किनारे एक वर्ष व्यतीत करके १९१२ में काशी लौट आए। प्रिन्सिपल साहब की कृपा से उन्हें पुरी में भी स्कॉलरशिप मिलता रहा।

कविराज जी के पूर्वज मैमन सिंह ज़िले के दान्या नामक गांव के रहने वाले थे। इनके अल्पवय में ही इनके पिता जी, जो एक होनहार विद्वान् थे, बहुत थोड़े वय में संसार से चल बसे। कविराज जी का विवाह भी अल्प वय में ही हो गया था। इनके परिवार में इनकी माता, स्त्री, एक लड़का और एक लड़की मात्र थी। ये सब अपने गाँव में ही थे। १९१४ में जब कविराज जी को सरस्वती-भवन में पुस्तकालयाध्यक्ष का पद मिला तब वे अपने परिवार को काशी ले आए और तेलियाबाग मोहल्ले में एक मकान लेकर रहने लगे।

कविराज जी एण्ट्रेंस परीक्षा पास करके जयपुर चले गये थे। उस स्टेट के प्रधान-मंत्री, श्री संसारचन्द्र सेन, की छत्रच्छाया में रहकर वे वहीं से ग्रैजुएट हुए थे। सेन महोदय दरबार से रात को लौटते थे और आने के बाद ही शौचालय में जा बैठते थे। शौचालय में अधिक समय तक बैठने का उनका अभ्यास था और वहीं वे पढ़ा भी करते थे। उनके पढ़ने की सामग्री कविराज जी पहले से ही वहाँ प्रस्तुत रखते थे। जयपुर स्टेट के डाइरेक्टर पं० रामभद्र झा एम० ए० का, जो स्वयं बहुत अच्छी अंग्रेजी लिखते थे, कहना था कि मैं ऐसी सुन्दर अंग्रेजी नहीं लिख सकता जैसी कविराज जी लिखते हैं। कविराज जी ने एक बार प्रसंगवश मुझसे कहा था कि जो छात्र सातवें-आठवें दर्जे में कोई एक डिक्शनरी कण्ठाग्र नहीं कर लेता वह अंग्रेज़ी क्या जानेगा। बोर्डिंग में रहते हुए मैंने एक बार देखा कि वे एक संस्कृत छात्र से धाराप्रवाह आध घंटे तक संस्कृत में ही बोलते रहे। रामेश्वर दवे नामक छात्र ने, जो वेदान्त का परीक्षार्थी था, इन्हीं से पाठ्य-ग्रन्थों को पढ़ा और परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण हुआ। मैं क़रीब दो वर्ष उनके साथ बोर्डिंग में रहा और उसी बीच कई बार उनके साथ विभिन्न स्थानों में गया। उनकी बातचीत प्रायः विद्यासम्बन्धी ही रहती थी। उनका घर कहाँ है? उनके परिवार में कौन है? उनका जीवन किस प्रकार बीतता है? आदि सांसारिक बातें उनसे कभी नहीं हुई। मैंने उन्हें कभी उत्साहविहीन नहीं देखा। वे बहुत सवेरे उठते थे और उसके बाद बहुत देर तक भगवान् श्री सूर्यनारायण के प्रकाश को देखते रहते थे। प्रकाश-रश्मियों के साथ उनकी कलम चलती रहती। सम्भवतः सवेरे वे डायरी और पत्र लिखा करते थे।

कविराज जी अपने एम० ए० की परीक्षा में प्रथम श्रेणी में प्रथम हुए और नरेन्द्र देव जी तथा दिवेकर जी द्वितीय श्रेणी में आये। ये तीनों मित्र अलग अलग जो अध्ययन करते थे वह तो करते ही थे, बहुधा बोर्डिंग हाउस में एक साथ बैठकर भी आठ बजे सवेरे से ही शिला-लेखों को पढ़ा करते थे।

१९१३ ई० की गरमी की छुट्टियों की बात है। उन दिनों डा० वेनिस नैनीताल में थे और वहीं उन्होंने कविराज जी को भी बुला लिया था तथा उनके रहने के लिए एक घर भी ठीक कर दिया था। कविराज जी ने वहीं से मुझे एक पत्र लिखा और उसमें वहाँ की शोभा का बड़ा ही विशद वर्णन किया। वे नैनीताल में ही थे जब उनका परीक्षाफल प्रकाशित हुआ।

कविराज जी एम० ए० परीक्षा पास करने के पूर्व ही संस्कृत, बंगला, अंग्रेज़ी, पालि, प्राकृत, फ्रेंच, जर्मन आदि अनेक भाषाओं के अच्छे ज्ञाता हो गए थे। सरस्वती भवन पुस्तकालय में डा० वेनिस ने इनकी नियुक्ति भी इसीलिए की। इन्हें उस समय पढ़ने-लिखने के अतिरिक्त कोई अन्य व्यसन नहीं था। ये ज्वराक्रान्त रहने पर भी पुस्तकें पढ़ते रहते थे। कालेज से ये जब लौटें तो भरपाँज पुस्तकें लिये हुए ही लौटें। कुछ दिनों बाद इन्होंने झगड़ू नामक एक नौकर रखा जिसका कार्य बस इतना ही था कि कालेज से पुस्तकें ले आए, स्टोव पर दूध गरम कर दे और लेटर बाक्स में पत्र छोड़ आए। इन्हें पत्र लिखने का भी बड़ा शौक था। अनेक मित्रों के साथ इनका पत्राचार बराबर चलता रहता था। मेरे सदृश अल्पज्ञ को भी इन्होंने अनेक पत्र लिखे।

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कविराज जी आरम्भ से ही स्वभाव के बड़े शिष्ट रहे हैं। उनसे जो कोई भी जाकर कुछ पूछता था उसे वे बड़े स्नेह से उत्तर देते थे किन्तु कुशल-मंगल पूछने के अतिरिक्त दूसरे से पूछने के लिए उनके पास कोई प्रश्न नहीं रहता था। आप जो कुछ पूछिए उसका उत्तर देकर वे चुप हो जाते थे। उनकी बातें तब बढ़ती थीं जब परस्पर प्रश्नोत्तर होते थे। किसी की निन्दा न करते थे, न सुनते थे। किन्तु स्तुतियोग्य लोगों की स्तुति करने से कभी नहीं चूकते थे। उनकी विद्या की गरिमा के विषय में कुछ कह सकना मेरी सामर्थ्य के बाहर है क्योंकि मुझे उतना ज्ञान ही नहीं। स्वभाव के सम्बन्ध में उनमें बहुत परिवर्तन देखा। मेरे लिए, जो उनका इतना समीपी था, कभी-कभी उनसे मिलना भी कठिन हो जाता था। बड़े बड़े महामहोपाध्यायों को देखा कि उनके पास जाते और बैठे रहते और यदि उस समय कविराज जी कोई प्रवचन करते होते तो जब वे उससे निवृत्त होते तभी उन महामहोपाध्याय महोदय को यह सौभाग्य प्राप्त होता कि कविराज जी उनसे उनका कुशल-मंगल पूछें। इधर करीब पचीस वर्षों से मैं उनके सम्पर्क में नहीं हूँ, इसलिए इधर की बात नहीं कह सकता। उन्हें जब पद्मविभूषण का सम्मान मिला तब मैंने उन्हें एक बधाई-पत्र भेजा और उन्होंने उसका उत्तर भी दिया।

काशी के बड़े बड़े विद्वान् उनके पास जाते थे और लाभ उठाते थे। प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के महामहोपाध्याय डॉ० उमेश मिश्र, हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के श्री बलदेव उपाध्याय, आदि सब कविराज जी की विद्या के ऋणी हैं।

कविराज जी की विद्या तथा प्रतिभा को डॉ० वेनिस ने अच्छी तरह समझा था। उन्होंने कविराज जी को उनकी रुचि के अनुसार सरस्वती भवन में पुस्तकालयाध्यक्ष तो बना दिया, किन्तु पोस्ट को ग्रेडेड नहीं किया, केवल १२५) रु० में काम करने को कहा। उस समय कविराज जी थोड़ा विचलित हुए थे और अन्यत्र जीविका की खोज में जाना चाहते थे; किन्तु वेनिस साहब के अनुरोध पर पूर्व स्नेह के कारण उन्होंने उस पद को उतने ही वेतन में स्वीकार कर लिया।

कविराज जी जब लाइब्रेरियन हुए और तेलियाबाग में रहने लगे तब एक दिन उन्होंने मुझसे कहा कि मैं एक मैथिल रसोइया उनको दूं। मैंने पूछा कि मैथिल रसोइया आपको क्यों चाहिए तो उन्होंने कहा कि जब कभी छात्र जीवन में मैं आप लोगों के साथ भोजन करता था तो वह बड़ा स्वादिष्ट लगता था। इस पर मैंने कहा कि कोई भी रसोइया अपने बनाए भोजन में वह स्वाद नहीं ला सकता जो एक पवित्र ब्रह्मचारी ब्राह्मण छात्र के बनाए भोजन में होता है। उसी दिन उन्हें मैंने अपने साथ भोजन करने के लिए निमंत्रण दिया और वे कृपा करके आए और मेरे साथ भोजन किया। उस दिन की एक विशेष घटना यह है कि मेरे रहने की कोठरी में खूंटी से लटकी हुई एक रुद्राक्ष की माला को देखकर उन्होंने कहा कि माला को अनावृत नहीं रखना चाहिए और इसी पर घंटे भर व्याख्यान देते रहे। ऐसी अप्रतिम और अगाध उनकी विद्या है। तंत्रशास्त्र के वे पारंगत हैं और उनका विश्वास है कि तंत्रशास्त्रज्ञ उस परम पद को प्राप्त करता है जो मोक्ष से भी ऊपर है।

वास्तव में कविराज जी को पूरी तरह समझने वाले तथा कर्मक्षेत्र में उन्हें बढ़ाने वाले थे म० म० डॉ० गंगानाथ झा। डॉ० गंगानाथ झा कदाचित् १९१८ में डॉ० वेनिस की कार्यसमाप्ति पर संस्कृत कालेज के प्रिन्सिपल होकर आए और कविराज जी की विद्या से परिचित हुए। एक स्थान पर सरस्वती भवन स्टडीज में झा जी ने उन्हें "Gifted Librarian" कहा था और यू० पी० सरकार को भी लिखा था कि ऐसे योग्य व्यक्ति को ग्रेड रहित सेवा में रखना अन्याय है। इसके फलस्वरूप यू० पी० सरकार ने सरस्वती भवन के लाइब्रेरियन की पोस्ट को प्रोविन्शियल पोस्ट घोषित करके कविराज जी को २५०) रु० मासिक पर नियुक्त कर दिया। इतना ही नहीं जब झा जी इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय के वाइस-चान्सलर के पद पर जाने लगे तो उन्होंने अपने स्थान पर नियुक्त किये जाने के लिए कविराज

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जी का ही नाम लिया और उस स्थान पर कविराज जी नियुक्त भी हुए। इससे स्पष्ट है कि कविराज जी को ऊपर उठाने में डॉ० गंगानाथ झा जी का कितना बड़ा योगदान है।

एक बार जिन दिनों वे संस्कृत कालेज के अध्यक्ष थे, उन्होंने दो दिन मेरे दो प्रश्नों पर बहुत देर तक प्रवचन किया। एक दिन "वेद वस्तु क्या है" इस पर घंटों बोलते रहे और दूसरे दिन 'कुमारसम्भव' के निम्नलिखित श्लोक पर उनका व्याख्यान घंटों होता रहा——

तां हंसमाला: शरदीव गङ्गां महौषधिं नक्तमिवात्मभास:।
स्थिरोपदेशामुपदेशकाले प्रपेदिरे प्राक्तनजन्मविद्या:।।

कविराज जी ने अल्प पेन्शन लेकर अपनी कार्यावधि की समाप्ति के आठ वर्ष पहले ही संस्कृत कालेज की अध्यक्षता से निवृत्ति प्राप्त कर ली, जिससे समस्त संस्कृत समाज को बड़ा ही दु:ख हुआ। लोगों ने उनसे निवेदन किया कि वे अपने कार्य को न छोड़ें; किन्तु उन्होंने एक बार जो निश्चय किया वह कर लिया, उसमें कोई परिवर्तन करना उनके स्वभाव में नहीं है। संस्कृत कालेज के कार्यभार से मुक्त होने पर उनसे अनेक बार उच्च पदों पर नौकरी करने को कहा गया किन्तु वे नहीं माने और अपने निश्चय पर अटल रहे। उनके कुछ निश्चय अपूर्व थे। वे किसी सभा-समिति में नहीं जाते थे और न अपना फ़ोटो ही खिंचवाते थे। एक दो बार छात्र-जीवन में बोर्डिंग में उनका फ़ोटो अवश्य लिया गया था। मुझे स्मरण है कि कविराज जी ने एक बार अपने छात्र-जीवन का फ़ोटो दिखाकर मुझसे पूछा था कि यह फ़ोटो किसका है।

एक बार कविराज जी के पास मैंने एक अपूर्व पुस्तक देखी। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि यह पुस्तक उनके पास कैसे आई तो उन्होंने कहा कि श्री भगवान् की कृपा है कि जिस वस्तु की मुझे आवश्यकता या उत्कट इच्छा होती है वह प्राप्त हो ही जाती है। उन्होंने कहा कि मैंने कभी किसी वस्तु के लिए कोई आवेदन-पत्र उपस्थित नहीं किया। वांछित वस्तु भगवान् की कृपा से आप से आप आ जाती है। ज्योतिष् के महान् पण्डित वराहमिहिर ने भी तो बृहत्-संहिता में कहा है कि——

"श्रान्तस्य यानमशनं च बुभुक्षितस्य
पानं तृषापरिगतस्य भयेषु रक्षा।
एतानि यस्य पुरुषस्य भवन्ति काले
धन्यं वदन्ति किल तं खलु लक्षणज्ञा:।।

अर्थात् थक जाने पर सवारी, भूख लगने पर भोजन, प्यास लगने पर पानी, भय के अवसरों पर रक्षक, ये सब जिस पुरुष को समय पर प्राप्त हो जाते हैं, उन्हें भाग्यवान् पुरुषों के लक्षण जाननेवाले पण्डित धन्य कहते हैं। कवि कालिदास ने भी रघुवंश में एक स्थान पर कहा है——

"अन्वियेष सदृशीं स च स्नुषां प्राप्तवाननुकूलवाग्द्विज:।
सद्य एव सुकृतां हि पच्यते कल्पवृक्षफलधर्मिकांक्षितम्।।

अर्थात्, राजा दशरथ ने जैसे ही अपने अनुरूप पुत्रवधू की इच्छा की वैसे ही जनक के यहां से अनुकूल संवाद लेकर ब्राह्मण पहुंच गया। पुण्यवानों का मनोरथ कल्पवृक्ष के समान फल देने वाला होता है।

कविराज जी के पास पुस्तकें बहुत थीं। कुछ पुस्तकें उनके पिता जी की थीं। शेष उन्होंने स्वयं संकलित

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की थीं। एक दिन वेनिस साहब के साथ यू० पी० के विद्या-भवन के डाइरेक्टर बोर्डिंग देखने आए। जब वे कविराज जी की कोठरी के सामने आए तो उनकी पुस्तकों को देखकर वेनिस साहब ने कहा कि "कविराज, मैं यह तो जानता था कि तुम बहुत पढ़ते हो किन्तु यह मालूम नहीं था कि तुम्हारे पास पुस्तकें भी बहुत हैं।"

काशी में बनारस संस्कृत सीरीज़ नाम की एक पुस्तकमाला निकलती थी। इस सीरीज़ में संस्कृत वाङ्मय के लगभग सभी विषयों की अच्छी अच्छी पुस्तकें थीं। जिस समय की यह बात है उस समय तक इस पुस्तकमाला में १५१ पुस्तकें निकल चुकी थीं और प्रत्येक पुस्तक का मूल्य १) रु० था। इस सीरीज़ के मालिक, श्री कृष्णदास जी से यह तय हुआ कि यदि सभी पुस्तकों की एक एक प्रति ले ली जाय तो वे पूरा सेट आधे मूल्य अर्थात् ७५) रु० में दे देंगे। तदनुसार श्री कविराज जी और हम इस सीरीज़ की समस्त पुस्तकें खरीद लाये। कविराज जी का भोजन, परिधान, बिछावन सब साधारण रूप का था। भोजन में वे भात-रोटी खाते थे। जाड़े के दिनों में धूसा ओढ़ते थे या उसी को शरीर पर धारण करके बाहर जाते थे। बिछौने में एक तोशक तथा एक चद्दर मात्र थी। वे जहां बैठते थे वहीं पढ़ते-लिखते थे।

प्राचीन रीति से रहने वाले और पूजा-पाठ करने तथा गायत्री मन्त्र जपने वाले लोगों पर कविराज जी की विशेष श्रद्धा थी। एक दिन मैंने पण्डित बालबोध मिश्र की योग्यता की चर्चा करते हुए कहा कि वे सब दर्शनों के तीर्थ हैं, संस्कृत कालेज वाराणसी के व्याकरण, न्याय और साहित्य के आचार्य हैं तथा प्रतिदिन सूर्योदय के पहले एक सहस्र गायत्री-मंत्र का जप करते हैं। कविराज जी ने कहा कि उनका मुझे दर्शन कराइये। उन दिनों मिश्र जी छात्र ही थे। मैं संस्कृत कालेज से उन्हें कविराज जी के पास बुला ले गया। पण्डित जी के दाहिने हाँथ की अंगुली में कुश की अंगूठी देख कर कविराज जी यत्परोनास्ति प्रसन्न हुए। पीछे उन्हीं की कृपा से या उसी दिन के परिचय के कारण मिश्र जी को संस्कृत कालेज में स्थान भी मिल गया। इसी प्रकार मैंने कविराज जी से श्री दयानन्द झा, ज्योतिषाचार्य की प्रशंसा की थी। १९१६ में मुज़फ्फरपुर संस्कृत कालेज की स्थापना होने पर झा जी ने उसमें प्राध्यापक पद के लिए इच्छा प्रकट की और कविराज जी के पास सहायता के लिए आए। कविराज जी ने उन्हें डॉ० वेनिस के नाम एक पत्र देकर नैनीताल भेज दिया, क्योंकि डॉ० वेनिस उन दिनों नैनीताल में ही थे। डॉ० वेनिस ने कविराज जी के पत्र के आधार पर ही उनके आवेदन-पत्र को अच्छी तरह समर्थित कर दिया। और यह उसी का परिणाम था कि झा जी को मुज़फ्फरपुर कालेज में प्रथम स्थान मिल गया। कविराज जी जिसका आदर या सम्मान करते हैं उसकी सब प्रकार से सहायता के लिए भी सदा तैयार रहते हैं। एक बात और है। कविराज जी कहने के लिए तो अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे विद्वान् हैं, किन्तु वास्तव में उनका रहन-सहन और आचार-विचार आदि सब एक पुराने संस्कृत विद्वान् के सदृश है। ईश्वर उन्हें चिरायु रखे।

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कविराज जी के कतिपय संस्मरण

लेखक

श्री बलदेव उपाध्याय, वाराणसी

मेरे जीवन की वह परम मंगलमयी घड़ी थी, जब पूज्य कविराज जी से मेरा प्रथम परिचय हुआ। १९२१ ई० के अगस्त मास की यह घटना है। उस समय मैं हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय की एम० ए० कक्षा (संस्कृत) के प्रथम वर्ष में अध्ययन कर रहा था। प्रथम परिचय में ही कविराज जी के सौम्य स्वभाव, विनय, मधुर व्यवहार ने मेरे ऊपर विशेष प्रभाव डाला और तब से यह परिचय निरन्तर रससान्द्र होता चला गया। कविराज जी ने सम्भवतः किसी उच्च कक्षा के छात्रों का नियमतः अध्यापन नहीं किया है, परन्तु आदर्श अध्यापक के जितने सद्गुण हैं वे इनमें विशिष्ट मात्रा में विद्यमान हैं। किसी विषय की व्याख्या करते समय वे उस विषय के साथ इतने तन्मय हो जाते हैं कि उन्हें अपने शरीर की भी सुध नहीं रहती। कठिन से कठिन विषयों को सरल सुबोध भाषा में हृदयंगम करा देना उनकी व्याख्यातृ-शैली का चूडान्त उत्कर्ष है। कविराज जी तुलनात्मक शैली से किसी विषय के विवेचन में विशेष अभिरुचि रखते हैं। शास्त्रों में उनकी अबाधित गति है। दर्शन तथा धर्म, योग तथा तन्त्र, वैदिक, बौद्ध, जैन आदि नाना सम्प्रदाय, भक्ति तथा रस-शास्त्र आदि दुर्बोध विषयों के अन्तस्तल में पहुँचना और उनकी तद्रूप व्याख्या करना कविराज जी की विशिष्टता है। नाना धर्मों के तत्त्वों की व्याख्या करते समय ये तद्भिन्न धर्मों में तदनुरूप तत्त्वों की जब व्याख्या करने लगते हैं, तब प्रतीत होता है कि अनेक सन्देह की ग्रन्थियाँ स्वतः खुलती चली जाती हैं। इतना ही है कि व्याख्यान का स्तर सर्वदा बहुत ही ऊँचा रहता है—इतना ऊँचा कि उस विषय का बहुश्रुत विद्वान् ही उसे यथावत् समझने में कृतकार्य होता है। कविराज जी से किसी ग्रन्थ का पंक्तिबद्ध अध्ययन कठिन ही होता है। उनकी अलौकिक प्रतिभा अपने को पंक्तियों के भीतर बन्द न कर उन्मुक्त भाव से समस्त विषय का आलोड़न करती है और अन्त में ज्ञान के नवनीत प्रस्तुत करने में समर्थ होती है।

'भारतीय दर्शन' नामक मेरे ग्रन्थ का संशोधन कविराज जी ने बड़ी मार्मिकता के साथ किया है। उनके ही आदेश से मैंने उसके अन्तिम परिच्छेद में तन्त्रों का संक्षिप्त परिचय दिया है जो उस ग्रन्थ का अपना एक वैशिष्ट्य माना गया है। इसी प्रकार मेरे 'बौद्धदर्शन मीमांसा' में आपका उपदेश सर्वदा जागरूक रहा है। उसको इन्होंने एक विशिष्ट प्रस्तावना से भी अलंकृत किया है जो बौद्ध-दर्शन के अनेक नूतन तथ्यों का आविष्कार करती है।

बहुतों को यह पता न होगा कि वे बँगला के मार्मिक आलोचक हैं। इतनी गम्भीर आलोचना लिखी है कि लेखक महाशय भी आश्चर्यचकित रह जाते हैं। उन्होंने रवि बाबू के किसी विशिष्ट काव्य के रहस्य का उद्घाटन ऐसे ही एक निबन्ध में किया था, जिसे पढ़कर वे भी चकित हो उठे थे। इसी प्रकार चितरंजनदास के 'सागर-संगीत' की आलोचना भी उतनी ही मार्मिक, महत्वपूर्ण तथा प्रौढ़ थी। एक बार आशुतोष मुकर्जी ने शारद नवरात्र का पर्व काशी में ही बिताया। उसमें कविराज जी उनके सम्पर्क में आये। इनकी विद्वत्ता से आशुतोष बाबू इतने प्रभावित हुए कि उन्होंने कविराज जी को कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के संस्कृत विभाग का अध्यक्ष बनने के लिए विशेष आग्रह किया, परन्तु वे काशी छोड़कर कलकत्ता जाने के लिए तयार नहीं हुए। रुपयों का तथा ख्याति का प्रलोभन पूर्णतः आकर्षक था, परन्तु अपने गुरु डा० वेनिस की परम्परा छोड़ना इन्हें कथमपि स्वीकार्य नहीं था। डा० वेनिस कविराज के गुणों से

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इतने आकृष्ट थे कि वे उन्हें पुत्रवत् स्नेह करते थे। नाना शास्त्रों तथा अनेक भाषाओं (जर्मन, फ्रेंच, पालि, प्राकृत आदि) में प्रवीणता प्राप्त करने के कारण ये वेनिस साहब को बड़े सम्मान की दृष्टि से देखते थे। उन्हें पितृवत् मानते थे और उनके उपदेशों के अनुसार चलते थे।

आध्यात्मिक साधना की ओर कविराज जी की अभिरुचि बाल्यकाल से ही है। इन्होंने काशी में रहने वाले अनेक साधु-सन्तों को खोज निकाला है तथा उनके सद्गुणों का परिचय जिज्ञासुजनों को कराया है। 'आनन्दमयी मां' की खोज इसी प्रकार की खोज का परिणाम है। अपने पतिदेव के साथ काशी में यात्रा के निमित्त आनेवाली इस आध्यात्मिक विभूति को कविराज जी ने बहुत पहले ही पहिचान लिया था। ऐसे सन्तों के पास उनके साथ जाने का अनेक अवसर मुझे तथा मेरे दिवंगत मित्र पं० बटुकनाथ जी को प्राप्त हुआ था। सन्तों के प्रथम दर्शन तथा स्वल्प वार्तालाप से ही उनके अन्तस्तत्व को समझ लेना कविराज जी का निजी वैशिष्ट्य है। तथ्य तो यह है कि सन्त ही सन्त के स्वरूप को पहचान सकता है और कविराज जी स्वयं पहुँचे हुए सन्त जो ठहरे। फलतः सन्तों के यथार्थ रूप को समझना जैसे उनके लिए अनायास साध्य है, वैसे ही उनके पास जाना तथा जिज्ञासु बन कर उनकी बातें सुनना भी उनके लिए सहज है। उनके संग मुझे उनके गुरुदेव स्वामी विशुद्धानन्द जी के पास अनेक बार जाने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है। उस समय उनकी जिज्ञासु-वृत्ति, भावुकता तथा वार्तालाप के अन्तस्तल में पहुँचने की योग्यता देखकर दंग रह जाना पड़ता था। विशुद्धानन्द जी अलौकिक शक्तिसम्पन्न योगी थे, जिन्हे 'सूर्यविज्ञान' का मर्म प्राप्त था। मैंने स्वयं उन्हें किसी भी फूल के नैसर्गिक गन्ध को अपहृत कर नवीन गन्ध का संचरण करते हुए बहुशः देखा है। वे इसे सूर्य की रश्मियों की सहायता से करते थे, जो किसी विशिष्ट शीशे के द्वारा फोकस (केन्द्रित) की जाती थीं। यह प्रयोग कविराज जी के सान्निध्य में किया जाता था। गुरुदेव के इन कार्यकलापों तथा उपदेशों को कविराज जी ने 'विशुद्धानन्द प्रसंग' नामक बँगला ग्रन्थ के अनेक खण्डों में वर्णित किया है।

कविराज जी स्वयं उच्चकोटि के साधक हैं। वे प्रति सप्ताह सोमवार तथा गुरुवार को मौन धारण करते हैं। उनके यहाँ अध्यात्म तत्त्व के जिज्ञासुओं का ताँता बँधा रहता है, जिसमें मैंने अनेक बार यूरोपियन तथा अमेरिकन लोगों को भी देखा है। कविराज जी को हम लोगों से शिकायत रहती है कि हम लोग केवल शास्त्र की ही बातें पूछते हैं, साधना की बातें नहीं पूछते, जिनको उन्होंने स्वानुभूत किया है। वे 'सस्ती प्रशंसा' से सर्वदा हमें दूर रहने का उपदेश देते हैं तथा किसी भी वस्तु के अन्तरंग में प्रवेश करने की सदा शिक्षा दिया करते हैं। तन्त्रशास्त्र के ऊपर उनका अबाधित अधिकार आश्चर्य में डालने वाला है। बहुत से जानकारों की दृष्टि में वे तन्त्रशास्त्र के सर्वश्रेष्ठ अधिकारी विद्वान् हैं। तन्त्र के साधना पक्ष की चर्चा वे बहुत कम करते हैं, क्योंकि उसके लिए अधिकारी पात्रों का अभाव मुख्य हेतु है। तन्त्र के सिद्धान्त विषयक उनके हिन्दी निबन्धों का संग्रह हाल ही में बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद् (पटना) से तथा अंग्रेजी-बँगला के निबन्ध पुस्तक रूप में कलकत्ता तथा बर्दवान विश्वविद्यालय से प्रकाशित हुए हैं और हो भी रहे हैं। परन्तु इन निबन्धों की उनकी व्याख्या सुनकर ही कोई व्यक्ति तन्त्रों के मर्म समझने में कृतकार्य हो सकता है। ऐसी है उनकी विशद व्याख्यानशैली।

साहित्य तथा साधना के एकमात्र अधिकारी विद्वान् पण्डित गोपीनाथ कविराज शील तथा सौजन्य की मूर्ति हैं। अभिमान तो उन्हें छू नहीं गया है। निरभिमान सौम्य मूर्ति का भव्य दर्शन दर्शक के चित्त में एक विचित्र पवित्रता का उदय कराता है। वे ऋषिवत् पूजनीय हैं। संसार के छलछद्मों से अपरिचित यह विद्वान् आज के इस कुटिल कलि-काल में सत्ययुग का दृश्य उपस्थित करता है। गत ४४ वर्षों से उनके साथ मेरा गाढ परिचय रहा है। फलतः नाना संस्मरणों में से एक दो संस्मरण ऊपर निर्दिष्ट हैं। इन पंक्तियों के द्वारा मैं अपनी हार्दिक भावना उनके पूज्य चरणों में अर्पित करता हूँ।

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अपार ज्ञानराशि के साथ ही साधना के धनी—कविराज जी

लेखक

डा० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा, पटना

(१)

मई सन् १९४६ में मैं हरिद्वार में सत्यज्ञान-निकेतन में स्वामी सत्यदेव परिव्राजक के आश्रम पर ठहरा हुआ था। वहीं पर पं० रामनारायण मिश्र जी के साथ अपनी काशी यात्रा का प्रोग्राम मैंने बनाया। मिश्र जी ने काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा के कार्यपाल के पास पत्र लिखकर मेरे ठहरने का प्रबन्ध कर दिया। मैं हरिद्वार से काशी आया। प्रायः ८, ९ बजे प्रातःकाल डॉ० भगवानदास से मिला और उसके बाद कविराज जी का दर्शन किया। वे अपने निवासस्थान की दूसरी मंजिल में एक कमरे में नीचे ही वस्त्र बिछाकर बैठे थे और दर्शनशास्त्र का अध्यापन कर रहे थे। उनकी बैठी हुई मुद्रा में भी उनकी विशाल काया परिलक्षित हो रही थी। उनका गौर वर्ण, उनके उत्फुल्ल नयन और उनके मुख की आर्य आकृति को देख कर जो मानसिक कल्पना उनकी शारीरिक सम्पत्ति की मैंने अपने विद्यार्थी-जीवन में की थी वह दूर हो गयी। पहला प्रभाव जो मेरे ऊपर कविराज जी का पड़ा वह उनके शारीरिक सौष्ठव का था, जो उनके तपस्या-पूर्ण आन्तरिक जीवन का बाह्य विग्रह था। कुछ देर के बाद उनसे बातचीत शुरू हुई। बौद्ध दर्शन के उद्भव-विषय पर अनेक गम्भीर बातें उन्होंने वतायीं और अनेक ऐसे स्रोतों और ग्रन्थों का हवाला दिया, जिनसे उनके विशाल पाण्डित्य और व्यापक स्वाध्यायशीलता का पता मुझे मालूम पड़ा। इण्डियन ऐण्टीक्वेरी (Indian Antiquary) में प्रकाशित अल्ब्रेख्ट वेबर के लेख, याकोबी (Jacobi), चार्पेण्टियर (Charpentier) द्वारा सम्पादित 'जैन वाङमय' और 'वैतानसूत्र' का उन्होंने हवाला दिया। पाशुपत सूत्र, तत्त्व समास, पंचविंश और षड्विंश ब्राह्मण देखने के लिए उन्होंने कहा। इटली के विद्वान् टुची (Tucci) के लेख तथा ह्यून-त्सांग के ग्रन्थों का भी उन्होंने नामनिर्देश किया। डाक्टर हरदत्त तथा कृष्णदास के लेखों का भी उन्होने जिक्र किया। तमिल साहित्य में भी बौद्ध दर्शन विषयक स्थलों की ओर उन्होंने इंगित किया। प्रायः आध घण्टे की बातचीत में बौद्ध धर्म और दर्शन से सम्बद्ध प्रायः अन्य समस्त भारतीय वाङ्मय का उन्होंने एक संक्षिप्त गतावलोकन कर डाला।

(२)

चार वर्षों के अमेरिका-प्रवास से मेरे मस्तिष्क की सोचने की शैली कुछ वैज्ञानिक हो गयी। सन् १९५१ में पं० ब्रह्मदत्त जिज्ञासु के मोतीझील-स्थित काशी आश्रम में मैं ठहरा था। उस समय अनेक विषयों में एम० ए० डिग्री धारण करने वाले पं० रामकुमार चौबे से परिचय हुआ। हम दोनों साथ ही कविराज जी का दर्शन करने उनके निवास-स्थान पर गए। इसके बाद अनेक बार कविराज जी का दर्शन करने का और उनसे शास्त्रीय वार्तालाप करने का अवसर मिला है। उनमें से कुछ प्रसंगों का यहाँ निर्देश करूँगा।

एक बार मैं वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि का समर्थन कर रहा था और वे सूर्यविज्ञानसिद्ध स्वामी विशुद्धानन्द जी की विलक्षण विभूतियों का वर्णन कर रहे थे। उस समय उन्होंने स्यात् यह भी कहा कि विशुद्धानन्द बन्द कमरे में भी प्रवेश

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कर सकते थे और गम्भीर विपत्ति की अवस्था में उन्होंने कमरा बन्द रहने के बावजूद वहाँ आकर दारुण आपत्ति से उनकी रक्षा की थी। इस प्रसंग की ओर मैं कुछ अनास्थावान् था तो कविराज जी ने कहा—"आप वैज्ञानिक हैं, इसलिए जिस बात का आपको प्रत्यक्ष नहीं है उसे आप अवश्य न मानें, किन्तु जिस बात का मुझे (कविराज जी को) प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव है, उसे नहीं मानने का कोई कारण नहीं है, क्योंकि वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि अनुभव पर आधारित है।"

बातचीत के प्रसंग में कविराज जी ने मुझसे अमेरिका के शोधकार्य के विषय में पूछा। मैंने बताया कि कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालय में मेरे रिसर्च का विषय था 'मार्क्सवाद के सैद्धान्तिक आधार'। तब उन्होंने राजनीति विज्ञान के एक प्राध्यापक द्वारा लिखित मार्क्सवाद पर एक पुस्तक मुझे दिखायी।

एक बार काशी में कविराज जी से श्री अरविन्द के योग के विषय में चर्चा चल पड़ी। कविराज जी ने बताया कि श्री अरविन्द का देहावसान वस्तुतः हुआ नहीं है। देहत्याग तो औपचारिक भौतिक क्रिया है। वस्तुतः जिस कार्य को एक देहविन्दु की उपाधि से ग्रस्त होकर श्री अरविन्द कर रहे थे, उसी को निरुपाधिक धरातल से प्रशस्ततर रूप में वे अब कर रहे हैं।

सन् १९६४ में जब उनमें मैं मिला तो मैंने एक शंका उपस्थित की कि यदि अध्यात्म, ईश्वरवाद आदि सत्य हैं, तब क्यों ईश्वरभक्त श्री रामकृष्ण परमहंस पचास वर्ष की ही आयु में केन्सर से कालकवलित हुए और क्यों स्वामी विवेकानन्द की साढ़े उन्तालीस वर्षों की छोटी आयु में हृद्गति रुकने से अकाल मृत्यु हुई। प्रश्न को सुन कर कविराज जी कुछ जोश में आ गए और मृत्यु की मायात्मकता का उन्होंने विवेचन किया। इस प्रसंग में उन्होने भौतिक दृष्टिकोण का उपहास करने की चेष्टा की और शुद्ध देह का तत्व विवेचन किया। उनके कथन का आशय यह था कि भगवत्-चिन्तनरत योगी इस भौतिक देह की कुछ पर्वाह नहीं करता। जो अपार दुःख साधारण लोगों को मृत्यु से होता है उसका शुद्ध देह विकसित रहने के कारण, वह सर्वथा अतिक्रमण किए रहता है।

(३)

पटना विश्वविद्यालय के दो तीन अन्य प्राध्यापक कविराज जी से शोधकार्य में सहायता के लिए उनसे मिले। लौटने पर वे लोग कह रहे थे—"कविराज जी बोरा हैं।" अर्थात् जैसे किसी याचक को कुछ वस्तु माँगने पर कोई गृहस्थ बोरा ही खोल दे और दिये हुए अन्न की राशि से याचक अभिभूत हो जाय, वैसी ही अनुभूति कविराज जी से बौद्धिक विचार करने पर होती है। ज्ञान का उनका अक्षय स्रोत जब प्रवहणशील होता है, तब उसकी विरति ही नहीं होती और प्रश्नकर्ता उस अखण्ड ज्ञानराशि में अपनी स्थिति को खोया हुआ-सा अनुभव करने लगता है।

पटने में हम लोगों की गोष्ठियों में प्राचीन वाङ्मय के चार महान् विद्वानों—रामावतार शर्मा, सुरेन्द्रनाथ दास गुप्त, सर्वपल्ली राधाकृष्णन् और गोपीनाथ कविराज के विषय में अक्सर प्रसंग छिड़ जाते हैं। इस तथ्य पर हम लोगों में ऐकमत्य है कि अपार ज्ञानराशि के साथ ही साधना के धरातल पर आरोहण कविराज जी का वैशिष्ट्य है।

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"जाइये, भजन कीजिये"

लेखक

डा० राममूर्ति त्रिपाठी, सागर विश्वविद्यालय

पूज्यपाद कविराज जी को वर्षों निकट से देखने का सौभाग्य जिन लोगों को मिला है, उनमें एक मैं भी हूँ। ये वे सारस्वत-शिखर हैं, जिनमें ज्ञान का गौरव, मानवता की ऊँचाई तथा सहृदयता के निर्झर हर क्षण निनादित होते रहते हैं। इसका कारण कदाचित् यह रहा है कि ज्ञान का रस साधना की आँच में पक कर मधुर आसव के रूप में कहीं निरन्तर मुक्त बरसता हुआ मिला है—तो वह कविराज जी के यहाँ।

महापुरुषों के यहाँ चमत्कार-स्मरणीय वैशिष्ट्य सदा ही घटित होते रहते हैं—चाहिए केवल सक्षम नेत्र, जो उनका साक्षात्कार कर सकें। १९६४ की बात है—शारदीय अवकाश था। अवकाश होने के कारण कतिपय दिनों के लिए काशी आया हुआ था। काशी पहुँचने पर आचार्य श्री कविराज जी के दर्शन के लोभ का संवरण मेरे लिए कठिन क्या असम्भव हो जाया करता है। जब काशी पहुँचा तो कविराज जी अपने घर पर थे। बड़ी ही उत्सुकता के साथ उनके घर की ओर चला। रास्ते में डा० योगेश्वर पाण्डेय (प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय) मिल गये। फलतः हम दोनों साथ ही उनके यहाँ पहुँचे। वहाँ हम तीन ही कुल मिल कर व्यक्ति थे। मैं यह भी बता दूँ कि कविराज जी को जिज्ञासुओं से बड़ा स्नेह है। वे सदा जिज्ञासुओं का स्वागत करते हैं और अच्छी तथा संगत जिज्ञासा सामने रखने पर उछल जाते हैं। प्रष्टा को, लगता है, उस क्षण अपने हृयदका सब कुछ दे डालते हैं। इसका मुझे शतशः अनुभव है। वे भरी विद्वन्मण्डली में ऐसे लोगों की प्रशंसा करते हैं और समीप बिठाते हैं। ऐसा लगा है कि सच्ची एवं संगत जिज्ञासा की भेंट यदि उन्हें चढ़ावे तो उससे प्रियवर वस्तु उन्हें विश्व में दूसरी कुछ नहीं लगती। उनके प्रिय बनने का साधन, मुझे तो यही जान पड़ा, कि अहर्निश चिन्तन-प्रसूत संगत जिज्ञासाओं के समर्पण से बढ़ कर कुछ नहीं है। और ऐसी जिज्ञासाओं के मूल में यदि साधना की भी पृष्ठभूमि हो तो फिर उनकी कृपा-दृष्टि के लिए मणि-काञ्चन योग ही समझिये। वे इतने निःस्पृह हैं कि जिस बिड़ला से प्राप्त होने वाली अर्थराशि की प्राप्ति के लिए काशी के दिग्गज पण्डित भी स्रोत ढूँढ़ते हैं उस अर्थराशि के स्वतः आ जाने पर भी उन्होने मेरे सामने निषेध कर दिया है। लाने वाले से कहलवा दिया कि "श्री बिड़ला जी अप्रसन्न न होंगे, क्योंकि उन्होंने मेरी चिकित्सा के लिए बहुत कुछ किया है—पर इस प्रकार की अर्थ-राशि लेने का मैं आदी नहीं हूँ।" लक्ष्मी का यह तिरस्कार देख कर मेरे मन में अगाध श्रद्धा के बावजूद भी कभी यह साहस उदित नहीं हुआ कि गुरुपूर्णिमा के भी अवसर पर मैं कुछ पार्थिव राशि अर्पित कर सकूँ। इसलिए पूर्वाभ्यासवश जब कभी उनके चरणों में उपस्थित होने का अवसर मिलता है तो मैं काफी सोच विचार कर कोई न कोई जिज्ञासा ही समर्पित करता हूँ। मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि वे कुछ तरंगी प्रकृति के भी हैं—प्रसन्न हैं तो उनके शिशु-सुलभ सरल मानस-दशा से कुछ भी करा लीजिए, कुछ भी ले लीजिए, कुछ भी पूछ लीजिए, कुछ भी पा लीजिए, पर थोड़ा अन्यमनस्क हुए तो फिर जिस बात को हज़ार बार कह चुके हैं उसे भी न कहेंगे। परन्तु इस परवर्ती मनोदशा का सामना मुझे कभी नहीं करना पड़ा था। उनकी कृपा कई अवसरों पर मुझे मिल चुकी थी। इसलिए मैं थोड़ा धृष्ट भी हो गया था। मुझे वह अवसर भी याद है, जब रात्रि १०-११ बजे थे—'तन्त्रालोक' का पाठ चलने वाला था। पाठ शुरू होने से पहले कतिपय

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जिज्ञासाओं को बड़ी धृष्टता के स्वर में मैं प्रस्तुत करता जा रहा था कि श्री जगन्नाथ जी उपाध्याय ने मुझे रोकते हुए, स्वर में विनम्रता लाने को कहा। पर श्री कविराज जी प्रसन्नवदन थे। उन्हें धृष्ट और विनम्र स्वर से कुछ लेना देना नहीं था। हमने यह भी देखा है कि क्षण भर पूर्व किसी पर नाराज़ हुए तो इतना कि जिस पर नहीं नाराज़ हैं वह भी डरने लगता है। कई बार पाठ पढ़ाते समय नोट लेने वाले मुनि कोनकविजोय जी मोहराज पर इस प्रकार बरस पड़े हैं कि हम लोगों ने तीन-चार दिन बाद तक कलम-कागज साथ लाना ही छोड़ दिया। लेकिन पाठ खतम होते ही सारा क्रोध रफ़ूफ़ू। हँसते हुए भोले चेहरे से सदा की विनोदी मनोदशा से बोल पड़ते—"कहिए, मुनि कोनकविजोय जी मोहराज, यह पोथा किसके लिए तैयार करते हैं ?" झाड़-झिड़कियाँ कभी-कभी हम लोगों को सुनने को मिलती थीं। कविराज जी कह पड़ते—"राट लेने से कुछ नहीं होता, समझिये, हमसे सौ बार पूछिये—हम बतायेंगे। यह लड्डू नहीं है।" हम लोग कविराज जी की शतशः दुहराई हुई इस वाक्यावली को सुन कर एक दूसरे को देख कर मुसकराते और फिर पाठ अपने ढंग से चलने लगता।

कविराज जी के चरणों में उपस्थित हुआ तो वे कुछ गम्भीर और लगता था जैसे प्रसन्न मन नहीं हैं। फिर भी पहले लेटे हुए थे और जब स्वभावतः मेरा मस्तक उनके चरणों पर पड़ा तो वे सावधान होकर मना करने पर भी उठ बैठे। पूर्वाभ्यासवश मैंने प्रश्न पहले से सोच रखे थे। बैठते ही प्रश्न प्रस्तुत किये—"सहजयान बज्रयान से भिन्न बौद्धों की परवर्ती तान्त्रिक साधना है या बज्रयान के ही अन्तर्गत एक पद्धति-विशेष ?" कविराज जी मौन ही रहे। फिर दूसरा, तीसरा सम्बद्ध प्रश्न प्रस्तुत किया। लगा, जैसे आज कविराज जी कविराज जी हैं ही नहीं। कुछ अनमने और कुछ रुष्ट स्वर में कहा कि "उन दिनों को अब भूल जाइये जब आप कुछ पूछते थे और मैं बार-बार बताया करता था। आज कुछ कहने की इच्छा नहीं होती। जाइये, भजन कीजिये। अभी संसार में और बड़ी विपत्ति आने वाली है।" मैं हतप्रभ-सा रहा। डॉ० पाण्डेय का तो साहस ही नहीं हुआ कि वे कुछ पूछ सकें। फिर भी हम लोग चुपचाप बैठे रहे। कुछ लोग और आ गये। उनमें से कुछ बंगाली सज्जन भी थे। बंगाली सज्जन ने एक पूर्वगृहीत पुस्तक के पन्ने खोले और कुछ पूछा। कविराज जी का प्रवचन शुरू हुआ और चलता ही रहा। थोड़ी देर के बाद हम और पाण्डेय जी दोनों लौट आये। रास्ते में हम लोगों ने अपनी-अपनी कविराज के व्यवहार से उत्पन्न मानस-प्रतिक्रिया प्रकट की। पाण्डेय जी ने कहा—आज हम लोगों की कविराज जी से भेंट नहीं हुई। आज उनकी जगह कोई बंगाली बैठा हुआ था। दुःख तो मुझे भी था। मैंने हाँ में हाँ मिला दी और खिन्न मन घर चला आया और तय किया कि अब कविराज जी के पास जाना बेकार है।

पता नहीं पूज्य कविराज जी के भीतर वह कौन महाशक्ति निहित है जिसने मेरे ऊपर पड़ने वाली कमर-तोड़ विपत्ति के भयावह और शोक-संकुल दृश्य को उनकी आँखों के सामने चार-पाँच मास पूर्व ही रख दिया था। अक्टूबर की यह बात थी। ४ फरवरी के १०-११ बजे दिन भोजनालय में स्टोव फट पड़ा, आग फैल गयी, पत्नी आहत और दग्ध बेहोश पड़ गयी। उनके बचाने में मेरा भी केवल वामांग जला—दक्षिणांग में एक भी फफोला नहीं। यद्यपि जलते हुए गमछे को दोनों हाथों से छुड़ाकर फेंका था। पत्नी ने तो सदा के लिए साथ छोड़ दिया था, पर अकेले उनकी दाहावशिष्ट भस्मराशि और अस्थियाँ लेकर अर्ध-दग्ध स्वयं काशी लौटा। उन्हीं दिनों काशी में तान्त्रिक सम्मेलन चल रहा था। मैं भी निमन्त्रित था। फलतः शरीक होकर निबन्ध-पाठ भी किया। कहा जाता है कि दुःख की आग मनुष्य के हृदय के मल को दूर कर देती है। कविराज जी के प्रति जो अज्ञान-जन्य मल हृदय में आ गया था, जैसे जल गया और निर्मल हृदय से जब पाँच मास पूर्व कहे गये उनके वाक्य 'जाइये, भजन कीजिये, अभी संसार में और बड़ी विपत्ति आने वाली है। आज कुछ कहने का मन नहीं होता'—साकार हो उठे। मैंने उस महात्मा के प्रति मन में पैदा हुए मल के प्रति अपने को बार-बार कोसा और हृदय से क्षमा माँगता हुआ उनके चरणो में पुनः उपस्थित हुआ।

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उस स्थान पर पहले से ही डॉ० प्रेमलता शर्मा अपनी माता जी के साथ बैठी हुई थीं। पहुँचने पर मैंने पाँव छुए और एक कोने में बैठ रहा। प्रेमलता जी ने कविराज जी से कहा कि राममूर्ति जी पर तो बहुत बड़ी विपत्ति आ पड़ी। कविराज जी ने कहा कि वे तो सागर में हैं। प्रेमलता जी ने वताया कि वे ही तो ये सामने बैठे हुए हैं। कविराज जी ने और कुछ नहीं, मुझसे छूटते ही कहा, 'कहिये, कुछ पूछिए।' तब मैं पूछने के लिए तैयार होकर नहीं गया था। उनकी अतीत की भविष्यवाणी और वर्तमान के पूर्ववत् व्यवहार ने मेरा कण्ठावरोध कर दिया। मुझे लगा कि इस महात्मा पर मैंने पिछली बार अपनी अन्तरात्मा के मल का प्रक्षेप (कविराज जी की जगह आज हम लोग किसी बंगाली से मिले हैं) किया है, उसे पहले पश्चात्ताप की आग में जला कर आँसुओं से बहा दूँ और फिर अतीत की भविष्यवाणी को दुहरा दूँ। मैंने कण्ठ को सम्हाला और सबके समक्ष महाराज जी की वह भविष्यवाणी दुहराई। सब लोग आश्चर्यचकित थे। पर वे गम्भीर और मौन। उनके भीतर निहित महाशक्ति का दर्शन उनकी गम्भीरता और मौन के माध्यम से हो रहा था। इन्हीं शब्दों से उस महान् आत्मा के प्रति अपनी सम्मानांजलि देकर अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूँ।

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घने प्रेम तरु तले

लेखक

डा० भगवती प्रसाद सिंह, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय

महामहोपाध्याय पण्डित गोपीनाथ कविराज के अगाध पाण्डित्य की कथाएं काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय में अपने अध्ययन काल के प्रारम्भ, जुलाई १९४०, से ही सुनता आ रहा था, किन्तु उनके प्रत्यक्ष सम्पर्क में आने का सौभाग्य १७ वर्ष की तपस्या के बाद, सन् १९५७ ई० में प्राप्त हुआ। प्रतीक्षा की यह लम्बी अवधि उनके चरणों तक पहुँचने की पात्रता संजोने में बीती। संयोग कैसे गठित हुआ, इसकी एक अपनी कहानी है।

सन् १९५५ में आगरा विश्वविद्यालय से पी-एच० डी० करने के बाद रामभक्ति काव्य के अध्ययन को आगे बढ़ाने की वासना निरन्तर बलवती होती गई। बलरामपुर के सीमित वातावरण में उसकी पूर्ति सम्भव न देखकर, दो वर्षों के अनवरत मानसिक संघर्ष के पश्चात्, सितम्बर' ५६ में काशी जाने का संकल्प दृढ़ हो गया। कालेज के आचार्य पद से एक वर्ष का अवकाश मिला। पहली मंज़िल पूरी हुई।

काशी पहुँचने पर चिरपरिचित "आत्रेयनिवास" का द्वार उन्मुक्त मिला। डाक्टर भीखनलाल आत्रेय के स्नेह और "मास्टर साहब" की कार्य कुशलता से दो-तीन दिनों के भीतर ही भोजन वासादि का सारा प्रबन्ध हो गया, जिससे 'लंका" में रहते हुए भी मेरा रामभक्ति विषयक अनुसन्धान कार्य निर्विघ्न चल सकता था।

अब चिन्ता हुई विषय के निर्वाचन और उसकी रूपरेखा तैयार करने की। रामभक्ति के ऐतिहासिक विकास के साथ ही उसके मूल तत्त्वों के गम्भीर अध्ययन की इच्छा थी। इसलिए वैष्णव भक्तिशास्त्रों के किसी मर्मज्ञ विद्वान् से पथनिर्देश प्राप्त करना आवश्यक था। कुछ मित्रों ने विशिष्टाद्वैत दर्शन के लब्धप्रतिष्ठ विद्वान् पण्डित नीलमेघाचार्य से मिलने की सलाह दी। उनके घर दो बार गया। पता चला "बाहर गये हैं, नहीं मालूम कब लौटेंगे।" लाचार था, लौट आया।

निराशा के इस अन्धकार में कविराज जी का नाम बिजली की तरह बार-बार कौंध जाता। किन्तु उनके पास जाने में एक संकोच था। मेरे मित्र "माधव जी' (डाक्टर भुवनेश्वरनाथ मिश्र) पहले से ही "रामभक्ति साहित्य में मधुरोपासना' पर उन्हीं के निर्देशन में कार्य कर रहे थे। मैंने जो सामग्री एकत्र की थी वह इससे मिलती-जुलती थी। इसलिए यह डर था कि कहीं कविराज जी विषयसाम्य कह कर, पथप्रदर्शन करना अस्वीकार न कर दें। इससे भी अधिक भय था, माधव जी के नाराज़ हो जाने का। शोध-विषय की यह समानता अपने लिए भी हानिकार हो सकती थी। बड़े असमंजस में पड़ गया। आत्रेय जी ने सुझाव दिया—'सलाह ले लेने में क्या हर्ज़ है? कविराज जी सामग्री देखकर कोई न कोई रास्ता निकाल देंगे। उन्होंने इस मत के समर्थन में, योग वासिष्ठ पर हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय की डी० लिट्० उपाधि के लिए कार्य करने की उन्हें श्री चरणों द्वारा किस प्रकार प्रेरणा मिली थी, इसकी कथा विस्तार से सुनाई। मैं आश्वस्त हुआ।

साहस बटोर कर रथयात्रा की चौमुहानी पर पहुँचा। पूछने पर पान वाले ने अगली मोड़ के पास तिमंज़िली इमारत की ओर संकेत किया। लोहे का फाटक पार कर भीतर प्रवेश करते ही आश्रमवासी सीताराम जी से भेंट हुई। उनसे कविराज की उपस्थिति का समाचार पाकर फूला न समाया। मिलने का स्थान, समय तथा उपाय पूछने पर उन्होंने

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बताया कि "इस मकान के तीन भाग हैं। सबसे ऊपर वाले हिस्से में माता जी तथा पोते पोतियाँ रहती हैं, बीच का हिस्सा कविराज जी के पूजागृह, पुस्तकालय, अतिथि-कक्ष एवं निवास के रूप में प्रयुक्त होता है और नीचे (सीताराम जी) स्वयं सपरिवार रहते हैं।" परिचय पूछने पर उन्होंने कविराज जी की शरण में अपने आने का वृत्तान्त विस्तार से सुनाया। इसी प्रसंग में उन्होंने अपनी जन्मभूमि की भी चर्चा की, जो संयोगवश हमारे फार्म के पास ही निकली। यह भी बताया कि उन्होंने अपने बहनोई पण्डित बदरीनाथ से प्राप्त अयोध्या जी के महात्मा 'बनादास' की एक हस्तलिखित पुस्तक "विस्मरण संहार" कविराज जी को दी थी, जिसे देखकर वे अत्यन्त प्रसन्न हुए थे।

महात्मा 'बनादास' की कृतियों का विशेष अध्ययन मेरा पी-एच० डी० का विषय था। उनसे कविराज जी का पूर्व परिचय जान कर उसी सम्बन्ध से कुछ कहने की हिम्मत बांधी। सीताराम जी द्वारा निर्दिष्ट मार्ग से सीढ़ियाँ पार करता हुआ, पहली मंजिल पर पहुँचा। जूते जीने के पास उतार दिए। गली से जाने पर अन्तिम कमरे में ज़मीन पर बैठे कुछ व्यक्तियों से अध्यात्मचर्चा करते हुए श्रीचरणों के दर्शन हुए। संकेत पाकर एक ओर बैठ गया। सामग्री का बस्ता गली में ही रख आया था। थोड़ी देर के बाद आगन्तुक व्यक्तियों को बिदा करके परिचय के साथ मेरे आने का प्रयोजन पूछा गया। मैंने रामभक्ति-काव्य के अध्ययन में अपनी रुचि बताते हुए बस्ता लाकर पी-एच० डी० के प्रबन्ध के साथ ही कई प्राचीन हस्तलेख दिखाए, उनमें अधिकांश शृंगारी रामोपासना-विषयक थे। कविराज जी ने उन्हें थोड़ी देर तक देखा फिर बोले "इतनी ही सामग्री है या और कुछ"। मैंने उसी विषय के ३५० के लगभग अन्य हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों की एक अन्य सूची सामने रख दी। उसको आद्योपान्त पढ़कर कहा "तो फिर शृंगारी रामोपासना को ही अपने अध्ययन का विषय क्यों नहीं बना लेते?" मेरा निवेदन था—"माधुर्यभाव की रामोपासना पर मेरे एक मित्र माधव जी कार्य कर रहे हैं, यह आपको विदित ही है। इससे भय है कि कहीं पिष्टपेषण न हो जाए। क्योंकि दोनों के सामग्री-संकलन के स्रोत प्रायः एक ही हैं।" उत्तर मिला—"इसे देख लिया जायगा—पहले आप अपने मन से इसकी एक रूप-रेखा बना लीजिए। कल मेरे मौन रहने का दिन है, परसों सबेरे ९ बजे के बाद आइयेगा।"

आदेशानुसार तीसरे दिन निश्चित समय पर उपस्थित हुआ। रूपरेखा में कुछ काट-छाँट करने के पश्चात् विषय निश्चित हो गया—"रामभक्ति में रसिक सम्प्रदाय।" इसके बाद, सोमवार और बृहस्पति—दो दिनों, को छोड़ कर नित्य प्रायः ९ बजे से मध्याह्न १२ बजे तक नियमित रूप से कभी अपने, कभी समागत जिज्ञासुओं के हेतु आध्यात्मिक विषयों पर दिये गये प्रवचन सुनता और यथावश्यक उन्हें नोट करता रहा। समय मिलने पर नित्यप्रति उपस्थित होने वाली शंकाओं का समाधान भी होता रहा। यह क्रम निरन्तर १० महीने तक चला। छपाई का काम भी साथ-साथ होता रहा। मुद्रणार्थ भेजे जाने के पहले प्रत्येक अध्याय आचार्यपाद सरसरीतौर से देख लेते। ग्रन्थ समाप्त होने पर उसकी भूमिका लिखने का प्रस्ताव भी श्रीचरणों ने सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया। पहले बंगला में लिखा, फिर उसका हिन्दी रूपान्तर भी स्वयं ही किया। ग्रन्थ की मुद्रित प्रति सेवार्पित हुई। इस जन के प्रति अपनी स्नेह-भावना के उस मूर्त प्रतीक को देखकर श्रीमुख पर प्रसन्नता की एक हल्की लहर दौड़ गई। उनका दर्शन कर कृतकृत्य हो गया।

लगभग एक वर्ष के इस घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क में जिस बात ने मुझे सर्वाधिक प्रभावित किया वह उनका साधनापूर्ण जीवन। प्रातः सायं की नियमित पूजा, अपराह्न में गुरुधाम-व्यवस्था की देखभाल, निशीथ में भोजनोपरान्त गुह्यसाधना और सप्ताह में दो दिनों का मौन व्रत। इसके अतिरिक्त जो भी समय बचता वह देश-विदेश से आए हुए अनुसंधित्सुओं तथा जिज्ञासुओं के शंका-समाधान में बीतता। कभी-कभी उनकी वाग्धारा घंटों अनवरत रूप से प्रवाहित होती रहती। श्रोता मंत्रमुग्ध से बैठे रहते। उनकी भारती गूढ़तम विषय को भी जिज्ञासुओं को हृदयंगम कराके ही विश्राम लेती। मैंने देखा कि भारतीय संस्कृति, साधना और दर्शन के साथ ही विश्वदर्शन की प्रमुख चिन्ताधाराओं का ऐसा कोई अंग नहीं जो उनकी अन्तर्भेदिनी दृष्टि से अछूता बचा हो और जिसके अध्ययन में शाखा-विशेष के अधिकारी विद्वान् को भी

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उनसे कोई नवीन दृष्टिकोण न मिलता हो। इस तीर्थराज में महीनों तक "दरस परस मज्जन अरु पाना" का सुयोग पाकर, मेरे नश्वर जीवन के शतशः क्षण अविनश्वर बन गए।

ज्ञान की उत्कृष्ट स्थिति को प्राप्त करके भी उनकी भक्तसुलभ सरलता एवं निरभिमानता दर्शनीय है। मातृ-शक्ति की नियमित रूप से उपासना, अध्ययन एवं शयन कक्ष में स्थापित गुरु के चित्रपट को नित्य माला, सुगंध तथा भोग का अर्पण, भक्तों द्वारा प्रस्तुत वस्तुओं का, उन्हें स्वयं न ग्रहण करके गुरुचरणों में निवेदन, भक्ति तत्त्वों की व्याख्या तथा साम्प्रदायिक सिद्धान्तों के निरूपण में उनका सात्विक भावावेश मध्यकालीन वैष्णव आचार्यों के लोकपावन व्यक्तित्व की स्मृति दिलाता है। ऐसे महापुरुषों की उपस्थिति से ही तीर्थों का तीर्थत्व अक्षुण्ण रहता है।

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कविराज जी की महत्ता

लेखक

डा० योगेश पाण्डेय, सागर विश्वविद्यालय

परम श्रद्धेय कविराज जी के प्रातःस्मरणीय चरणकमलों के सम्पर्क का सौभाग्य मुझे लगभग १८ वर्ष पूर्व से प्राप्त है। तब से लेकर आज तक वे प्रत्यक्ष और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से संस्कृत वाङ्मय के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में मेरे ज्ञान की प्रेरणा के स्रोत बने हुए हैं। मुझे जब जब उनके पूज्य चरणों का सान्निध्य प्राप्त हुआ है तब तब मैंने अपने जीवन को धन्य समझा है और उनके गंभीर ज्ञान-भाण्डार से अनुपम लाभ उठाया है। उनसे मेरे परामर्श के प्रधान विषय रहे हैं---पी-एच० डी० सम्बन्धी अनुसन्धान से सम्बद्ध समस्याओं का समाधान, डी० लिट्० के लिए विषय का निर्धारण तथा उक्त विषय के अन्तर्गत भारतीय दर्शन में कर्मसिद्धान्त, पुनर्जन्म आदि विषयों पर विचार-विमर्श। अपने अनुसन्धानात्मक विषयों में उनसे अमूल्य परामर्श प्राप्तकर ही मैं अपने कार्य को आगे बढ़ाने में समर्थ हुआ हूँ। किन्तु उनके शुभदर्शनों से मैंने अपनी शंकाओं का समाधान ही प्राप्त नहीं किया अपितु मुझे उनके पावन सान्निध्य से एक ऐसा दिव्य आलोक प्राप्त हुआ है जिसके प्रकाश में सभी शंकाएं अपने आप विलीन होने लगती हैं और समस्याएं अपने आप सुलझने लगती हैं। मैं उनके सम्मुख कभी साधक के रूप में नहीं गया, तब भी उनके द्वारा किसी साधक को दिए गए साधना-सम्बन्धी उपदेश के प्रभाव से वंचित नहीं रहा सका।

पूज्य गुरुवर कविराज जी की शरण में ज्ञानार्जन के लिए जानेवाले जिज्ञासुओं या शिष्यों में से वास्तविक या मुख्य जिज्ञासु दो ही प्रकार के हैं---(१) संसारी जिज्ञासु और (२) साधक जिज्ञासु। इन दोनों के बीच में आनेवाले जिज्ञासुओं को संसारी साधक ही कहा जा सकता है। मैं सदैव संसारी जिज्ञासु के रूप में ही पूज्य कविराज जी के सम्मुख उपस्थित हुआ हूँ, किन्तु उनकी परम कृपा से मेरा प्रवेश संसारी जिज्ञासु की उस दूसरी अवस्था में भी हो गया है, जिसमें शास्त्रीय समस्याओं का समाधान कुछ न कुछ अपने आप होने लगता है।

कुछ अपवादों को छोड़कर, जब कभी मैं पूज्य कविराज जी के दर्शनार्थ गया हूँ, तब सदैव भवन के ऊपरी कक्ष में बैठे हुए अनेक जिज्ञासुओं के सम्मुख उन्हें प्रवचन करते हुए ही पाया है। वहाँ पर जिज्ञासुओं की श्रेणियों में कोई भेदभाव नहीं रहता, चाहे वे संसारी हों चाहे साधक जिज्ञासु। एक के प्रति दिये गये व्याख्यान से दूसरे भी लाभ उठाते हैं। मैं पूज्य कविराज जी की पावन कुटीर में अनेक बार ऐसे समय पहुँचा हूँ जब उनका प्रवचन वहाँ उपस्थित अन्य जिज्ञासुओं के प्रति चल रहा था। कभी कभी तो मुझे अपने प्रश्नों का समाधान प्राप्त करने के लिए वहाँ घंटों प्रतीक्षा करनी पड़ी है। किन्तु इससे मेरा कभी जी नहीं उकताया और पूज्य कविराज जी द्वारा दिए गए मधुर प्रवचन को सुनने में मैं कभी कभी इतना तल्लीन हो गया हूँ कि अपना प्रष्टव्य विषय ही भूल गया। मेरी तो यही इच्छा हुई है कि मैं उनके वचनामृत का पान निरन्तर करता ही रहूँ। ऐसे प्रवचनों के अवसर पर पूज्य कविराज जी के मुखारविन्द से कुछ ऐसे सारगर्भित वचन निकल पड़ते हैं जो सभी के लिए मंत्र अथवा महाकाव्य बन जाते हैं। एक समय जब पूज्य कविराज जी अपने सम्मुख उपस्थित विद्वानों के प्रति शाक्तदर्शन का प्रतिपादन कर रहे थे, उनके मुख से निकला कि "शक्तिमान् के लिए शक्ति अपेक्षित है; शक्ति के बिना शक्तिमान् (ईश्वर) नहीं बन सकता।" इसी प्रकार एक दूसरे अवसर पर सागर विश्वविद्यालय के डा० राममूर्त्ति त्रिपाठी के यह निवेदन करने पर कि 'वज्रयान तथा सहजयान का सूक्ष्म भेद स्पष्ट

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करने की कृपा करें, मेरी बुद्धि काम नहीं कर रही है' उन्होंने कहा कि "ऐसा पढ़ना लिखना व्यर्थ है जिसमें दूसरों से विचार उधार लेना पड़े; व्यर्थ के प्रपंच में मत पड़िए, साधना कीजिए जिससे बुद्धि स्वतः सूक्ष्म विचार-ग्रन्थियों को खोलने में समर्थ हो सके।"

मैं एक आध-बार उनके यहाँ लगभग १० बजे रात्रि में (सम्भवतः उनके विश्राम के समय) पहुँचा। मैंने देखा कि वे विश्राम करते हुए अपने विचार व्यक्त कर रहे हैं और विश्वमान्य पुस्तकालय के अध्यक्ष पण्डित पन्त जी नोट ले रहे हैं।

अगाध पाण्डित्य के अतिरिक्त पूज्य कविराज जी में अनेक ऐसे गुण हैं जिनका परिचय उनके दर्शनार्थियों को उनके प्रथम दर्शन से ही प्राप्त हो जाता है। उनकी स्मृति-शक्ति विलक्षण है। अनुसन्धान के विद्यार्थी आश्चर्य से चकित हो जाते हैं, जब वे उन्हें यह कहते हुए सुनते हैं कि अमुक विषय अनुसन्धान-पत्रिका (रिसर्च जर्नल) के अमुक पृष्ठ पर है। उनका सरल एवं मधुर स्वभाव एक साधारण विद्यार्थी को भी उनसे मिलने और निस्संकोच बात करने का अवसर प्रदान करता है। मैं जब सर्वप्रथम उनसे मिला तो उनके सरल स्वभाव एवं स्नेहपूर्ण व्यवहार ने मेरे लिए उनसे भविष्य में सदैव मिलते रहने का द्वार खोल दिया।

पूज्य कविराज जी की गुरुभक्ति सभी विद्यानुरागियों के लिए अनुकरणीय है। एक बार जब मैं काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय का छात्र था, गुरुपूर्णिमा के दिन गुरुवर पूज्य कविराज जी के दर्शनार्थ एक पुष्पमाला लेकर गया। मैं ज्योंही उन्हें माला पहिनाने लगा उन्होंने अपने हाथों से मुझे रोककर उसे पास ही रखे हुए अपने गुरु के चित्र पर समर्पित करने की आज्ञा दी। किसी शिष्य, जिज्ञासु या दर्शनार्थी को वे अपने चरण नहीं छूने देते।

श्रद्धेय कविराज जी भारत को ही नहीं अपितु विश्व की एक महान् विभूति हैं। वे एक महाविद्वान्, महायोगी, महान् दार्शनिक तथा महान् साधक हैं। वे संस्कृत वाङमय के प्रकाण्ड पण्डित हैं और समस्त शास्त्रों में निष्णात हैं। उनमें विद्या और साधना का अपूर्व समन्वय है। वस्तुतः अब उन्हें साधक न कहकर सिद्ध पुरुष कहना ही अधिक संगत है। उनके दर्शनमात्र से दर्शनार्थियों को शान्ति मिलती है और अपूर्व प्रेरणा प्राप्त होती है और उनकी दिव्य वाणी के श्रवणमात्र से अज्ञानान्धकार दूर हो जाता है। वाराणसी में स्थित उनका भवन तो एक प्रकार से विद्यापीठ या विश्वविद्यालय के समान है जहाँ दूर दूर से अनेक जिज्ञासु ज्ञानार्जन के लिए आया करते हैं। वह विद्यानुरागियों और साधकों का तीर्थस्थान है।

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SRADDHEYA KAVIRAJA JI--SOME MEMORIES

By

DR. ADITYA NATH JHA, LIEUT GOVERNOR, DELHI.

My first recollection of Guruvara Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Shri Gopi Nath Ji Kavirāja dates back to the time when I was only 7 years old and had gone to Banaras with my father who had just been appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College. Shriyut Kavirāja ji was then the Librarian of the Saraswati Bhavan Library. He very kindly gave me permission to use his office Devanāgari typewriter. My second recollection is that of the annoyance of one of my father's old pupils who thought that my father, before leaving for Allahabad to take over the Vice-Chancellorship of the Allahabad University, should have recommended him and not Kavirāja ji for appointment as his successor. My third recollection is that of the observation made a few years later by my father that the two most learned scholars of the 20th century that India had produced were Kavirāja ji and Pandit Ramāvtar Sharma. This was as far back as 1926 or 1927. It was only many years later in 1958 that I had the opportunity to pay my respects to Kavirāja ji. I had just been appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit Vishva-Vidyālaya and I went to his house to seek his blessings which he readily and generously gave to me.

2. It would be presumptuous on my part to say anything about the deep scholarship and profound learnings of Kavirāja ji. To do so would be to quote Kālidāsa. I shall content myself only with saying that he is a living example of simple living and high thinking. I hope that he will continue to be the shining exemplar that he is to all lovers of Sanskrit for many more years to come.

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अध्ययन कक्ष में कविराज जी (१९६६)

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GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

Reminiscences

By

Dr. Govind Gopal Mukhopadhyay, Burdwan University.

It was on a winter evening in 1944 in Vārānasī that I had the privilege of my first meeting with the great savant, of whom I had been hearing since my childhood. I had gone there with a research fellowship at the Hindu University. My revered father, who was a great friend and admirer of M. M. Kavirāj, insisted on my accepting the fellowship instead of going in for a teaching job as I shall have the rare privilege of sitting at the feet of such a savant and he added, if I could even pick up a few pebbles from the shore of this great ocean of learning my life would be worthwhile. It was with great trepidation that I entered his room. The room was strewn all over with books of various kinds and in the midst of them sat a shining figure who looked at me with his still more shining eyes. The vastness of his learning, the depth of his spiritual experiences had won for him the title of 'Sacala Viśvanātha'—a moving or living Viśvanātha. To have been in Vārāṇasī and not to have met Gopināth Kavirāj means that one has never been to the holy city of that name. I wondered what was the secret of his name and fame.

As I came to know him more intimately as years rolled on it was revealed to me that here was a man who had attained the dizzy heights of philosophical and spiritual wisdom and yet at the same time retained the faith and simplicity of a child. The world is wide and time is infinite. Scholars and savants are all over the world and more will come in the future. But I am sure there will be no second Gopīnāth Kavīrāj as this uniqueness of personality—the inconceivable combination of simpilicity and profundity—Nature has produced only once in him.

I was overwhelmed by his affection and kindness on the very first day of our meeting and I am sure this has been the experience of all who have even once been to him. I was still to decide about the subject of my research and to my amazement he immediately went on suggesting nearly fifty topics for research in one breath. The wide sweep of his learning simply took me off my feet and I felt completely bewildered.

Day after day I watched wondrously how a stream of people from all walks of life used to flock to him and he would go on untiringly distributing the wealth of his wisdom to each and every one of them. He would never distinguish between the academically qualified and non-qualified and so, among his students or listeners to his discourses, I used to find

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eminent University teachers and reputed scholars as well as almost unlettered commoners or spiritual aspirants. But all of them used to have their full. Nothing was withheld from any one. From the supreme heights the purest water of the Gangotrī would flow as it were on the heads of all who came near the stream without distinction.

Another remarkable aspect of his character is his simple faith or ready willingness to accept anything as true. This has proved an enigma to many and some are even inclined to take it as an inherent weakness of his character and lack of the critical faculty. I was also a little perplexed at first and could not reconcile how a man of such profound learning and wisdom could so readily believe or accept as true anything that was reported to him as a mystical experience. Later, however, as I came to know him intimately I realised that its root lies in the integral philosophy of his life. To him the entire world is 'Śivamaya'. The one Śiva has concealed himself by his Nigrahaśakti and appears to us as the world. But He has His Svātantryaśakti and so He is always free and if He so chooses He may reveal himself in toto whenever or wherever He may choose. So it is always wise to keep an open mind and accept readily whatever appears as a divine revelation and if it does not stand the test of time or close scrutiny of reason we could later dismiss it as nonsense. The real 'Āstikyabuddhi' that God is and can reveal himself, I have found thus embodied only in him.

As I used to sit at his feet taking lessons in Pātañjala Yoga Darśana I was amazed by the originality of his interpretations. This, I realised, was born of his own supreme intution. The meaning he used to reveal to us day after day could not be had by scanning the commentaries or by any critical analysis of the texts. He, of course, remembers with gratitude the new light and inspiration he received in the studies of Patañjali from a great Yogī and savant the late Śaśibhūshan Sanyal alias, 'Śivarāmkinkara Yogatrayānanda.'

Though the range of his scholarship is amazingly wide beginning from Veda, Tantra, Yoga down to poetics, iconography, etc. he finds himself in his own when he deals with the Āgamas. The Āgama Śāstra would have remained a sealed book to all if he had not come forward to interpret it. In the Āgamas he has found the consummation of all philosophies, the fulfilment of his supreme Advaitic vision. All philosophies are engaged in their own way in offering solutions to the crux of all problems. How the many is related to the One. But no solution is fully satisfying. Some have kept the two apart, some have denied the existence of either the one or the many but nowhere except in the Āgamas do we find that transcendent vision which reconciles the two as equally real and important aspects of the same one Supreme Reality.

Out of this transcendent vision is born his wide catholic outlook. He never decries any school of thought but assigns to each its own value and place in the comprehensive canvas of human speculations and grades of experience. He unerringly points out the shortcomings or drawbacks of certain systems of thought while at the same time he never fails to emphasise the true import of them, which has become blurred or distorted by later interpretations. For instance, in his exposition of the Āgamic integral vision I have heard him denouncing a thousand times the Śāṅkara Vedānta as a partial and onesided view of things but I have also

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heard him repeatedly pointing out that what Śaṅkara really meant to convey was this transcendent vision, which became distorted later in modern Vedānta. Similarly, in giving us lessons in Yoga philosophy he would point out the shortcomings of Kaivalya, the highest ideal of Yoga, but he would also suggest at the same time that there is a hint in one sūtra of Patañjali (sattvapuruṣayoḥ Śuddhisāmye Kaivalyam.) to that supreme Kaivalya in which Prakṛti also is regenerated and not simply alienated or cut off from Puruṣa. If Prakṛti also becomes as pure as puruṣa there can be no question of Puruṣa dissociating itself from Prakṛti which being triguṇātmikā is generally considered to be impure. So if Prakṛti becomes Cinmayī the state of Kaivalya becomes one of Sāmarasya as in the Āgama. In such thousand ways of daring original thinking he would show us the points of reconciliation and difference between the different systems of thought. All the levels of thought were open as it were before his wide vision simultaneously.

While listening to his discourses, when he becomes animated and inspired to a degree beyond our imagination, it becomes difficult at times to hold on to the thread of the original point of discussion. Being quite at home with all the systems of thought, Eastern as well as Western, he would draw parallels from other sources to make his original point clear and the listeners also are thus carried of as in a stream. While I used to be thus carried to the heights of his Himalayan wisdom, I felt like one listening to some classical piece of music by a great musician, who would display faultlessly subtle intricacies of different tunes to enrich his composition. Such was my feeling of being enraptured day after day whenever I went to sit at his feet.

Almost every day he would start his discourses even without taking his breakfast at about 9 a.m. in the morning immediately after his prayers and this would continue uninterruptedly till 1 P.M. or more and he would forget even taking his lunch inspite of being reminded by all of us that it was getting too late. To me it appeared that he considered these discourses as his sustenance more than the ordinary food and that is why, I have found him, though stricken with a mortal disease, never denying anybody the privilege of hearing him. His listeners too feel like uttering : bhūyaḥ Kathaya tṛptir hi śṛṇvato nāsti te amṛtam.

Physically down and out, now in his eightieth year, he would still exhibit the enthusiasm of a youth if you ask him any question relating to the ultimate problems of life. As I have never heard him denouncing any system of thought so I have never heard him speaking ill of anybody, which I consider to be another amazing phenomenon in this modern age of selfish strife and jealousy. He knows about the feelings and shortcomings of all who approach him but there is not a word of censure from him about anybody. He would visit any saint you would like to take him to and he will not come disappointed if the person visited has no saintliness in him, for the next day you will hear from him about some remarkable traits of his character which his eyes alone could discern.

Inspite of being a legendary figure now in the field of Indian wisdom, he considers himself to be as insignificant as a speck of dust. Such is his humility born of the true wisdom. Once when he came to Calcutta a few years back a lady introduced herself to him by saying

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that she had been very keen to meet him as she had heard much about him since long from me and to this he immediately replied : 'Then you must not have got a true picture about me as he (pointing out to me) must have painted me in high colours to you and not given you the right idea.'

Such is Gopinath Kaviraj, my reveared Ācārya whose debt I can never repay in my life. He has attained the perfection of wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā). Out of this Prajñāpāramitā has blossomed the Karuṇa-Puṇḍarīka and I am one of the insignificant souls who has been blessed by the torch of his flowing compassion.

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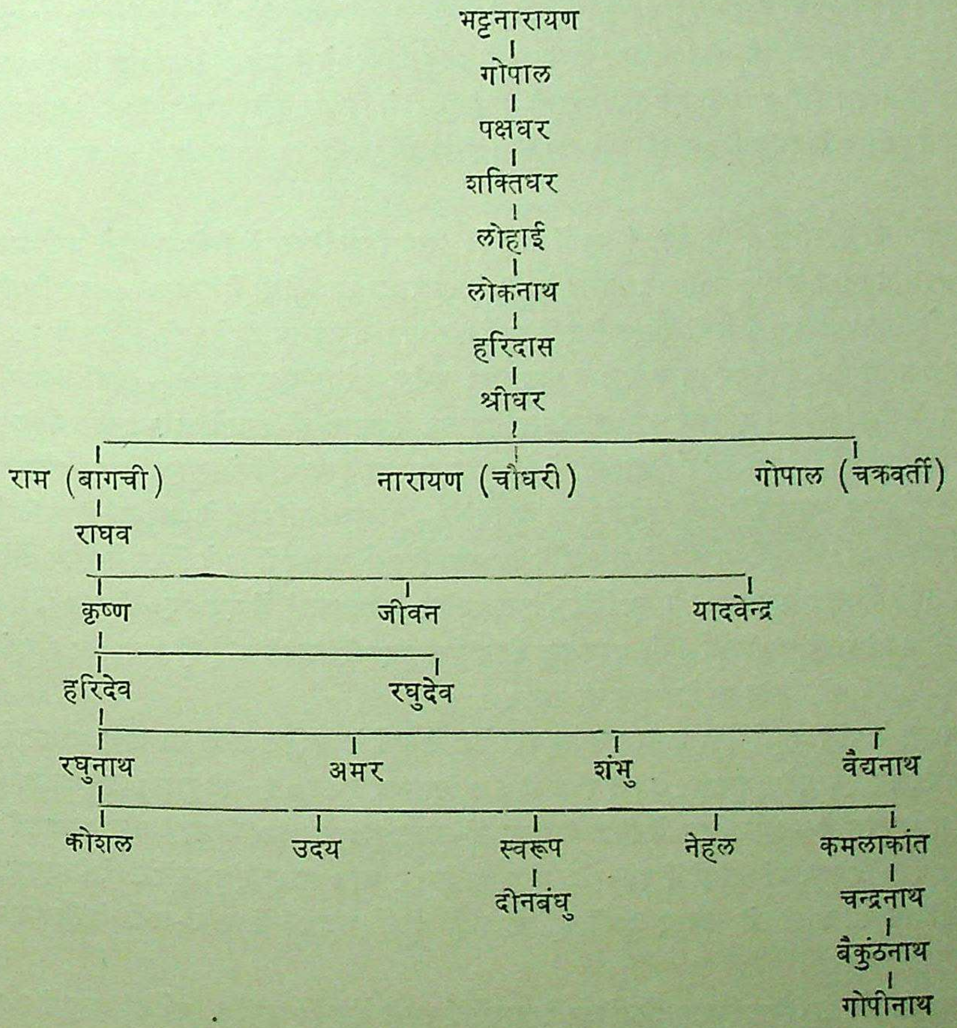
कविराज जी : जीवन और साधना

लेखक

डा० भगवती प्रसाद सिंह, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय

उत्तर गुप्त काल में ब्राह्मण धर्म का जो पुनरुत्थान हुआ, वंगभूमि में उसका व्यापक प्रभाव महाराज आदिशूर के शासनकाल में १०६३ ई० के आसपास दिखाई पड़ा। इसी समय मध्यदेश से पांच कुलीन ब्राह्मण बंगवास के लिये आमंत्रित हुए। इनमें शांडिल्यगोत्रीय भट्टनारायण अन्यतम थे। कालांतर में इन्हीं के एक वंशज गोपाल ने पूर्व बंग के मैमनसिंह जिले में स्थित गायनाकंदी नामक गाँव मे अपना स्थायी निवास बना लिया। उनके वंशज राम 'बागची' उपाधि से विभूषित किये गये। नवाबी शासन में जब इस कुल के कुछ विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों ने चिकित्सक वृत्ति अपना ली तो बागची वंश के अन्तर्गत ही उन्हें 'कविराज' पदवी प्राप्त हो गयी। गोपीनाथ जी का आविर्भाव वारीन्द्र श्रेणी के ब्राह्मणों की इसी शाखा में हुआ।



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इनके प्रपितामह कमलाकान्त के पूर्व ही गोपाल के कुछ वंशधर मैमनसिंह जिले की तंगइल तहसील के दन्या नामक गाँव में जा बसे थे। धीरे-धीरे उन्हें कई गाँव वृत्ति-रूप में प्राप्त हो गये। बड़ी हवेली, कई बाग और तालाब इस परिवार के सामन्ती वैभव के मूर्त प्रतीक थे। किन्तु इनकी यह सम्पन्नता एक आकस्मिक घटना से सहसा छिन्न-भिन्न हो गई। चन्द्रनाथ का साधारण बीमारी से असमय ही देहावसान हो गया। उनकी पत्नी पहले ही दिवंगत हो चुकी थीं। उस समय कविराज जी के पिता पं० बैकुठनाथ मुश्किल से छः सात वर्ष के थे। इस छोटी आयु में ही दैवयोग से वे पूर्ण निराश्रित हो गये। घर था, जमींदारी थी, किन्तु उसका प्रबंध करनेवाला कोई न था। ऐसी स्थिति में बालक बैकुंठनाथ को अकेले छोड़ना उचित न समझकर उनके मामा पं० कलाचंद सान्याल उन्हें अपने घर कांठालिया ले गये। यह दन्या से सत्रह-अठारह मील पूर्व में पड़ता था।

पं० कलाचंद की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत अच्छी थी। जमींदारी से उन्हें काफी आमदनी हो जाती थी। पास पड़ोस में उनकी प्रतिष्ठा भी थी। संयोगवश उनके कोई संतान न थी। उनका एकमात्र पुत्र बाल्यावस्था में ही परलोकवासी हो चुका था। अतः भानजे का लालन-पालन वे पुत्र की ही भाँति करने लगे।

उन्होंने तत्कालीन प्रथानुसार बाल्यावस्था में ही इनका विवाह धामराई के प्रसिद्ध मौलिक परिवार में १८७६ ई० में कर दिया। बैकुंठनाथजी की पत्नी सुखदासुंदरी देवी धामराई के यशोमाधव देव मंदिर के निर्माता रामजीवन राय के वंशज हरिश्चन्द्र मौलिक की पुत्री थी। मौलिक जी की पत्नी इनको जन्म देने के कुछ ही दिनों बाद दिवंगत हो गई थीं। अतः इनका पालन-पोषण उसी ग्राम की एक वृद्धा महिला वामासुंदरी ने किया। हरिश्चन्द्र राय का देहावसान हो जाने पर उन्होंने ही बैकुठनाथ से इनके विवाह की व्यवस्था की। इसके बाद धर्ममाता वामासुंदरी का घर ही इनका नैहर हो गया।

बैकुंठनाथ की प्राथमिक शिक्षा कांठालिया में ही हुई। माध्यमिक शिक्षा के लिये मामा ने उन्हें ढाका भेजा। वहाँ उन्होंने जगन्नाथ स्कूल से एन्ट्रेंस तथा ढाका कालेज से इंटर परीक्षा प्रथम श्रेणी में पास की। उच्च शिक्षा के लिए पं० कलाचन्द्र ने उन्हें कलकत्ता के प्रेसीडेंसी कालेज में भर्ती कराया। बैकुंठनाथ जी ने इसी कालेज से १८८५ ई० में बी० ए० परीक्षा प्रथम श्रेणी में प्रथम स्थान के साथ पास की। दर्शन, अंग्रेजी तथा संस्कृत--तीनों विषयों में उन्हें विशेष योग्यता के अंक मिले थे। इसी वर्ष कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में आनर्स की कक्षायें प्रारम्भ हुईं। बैकुंठनाथ इसके प्रथम बैच के विद्यार्थी बने। उनके मित्रों तथा सतीर्थों में नरेन्द्रनाथ दत्त (स्वामी विवेकानन्द), सर ब्रजेन्द्रनाथ सील, सतीशचन्द्र मुखर्जी (प्रथम राष्ट्रपति बा० राजेन्द्रप्रसाद के गुरु)--ऐसी उन्नीसवीं शती के उत्तरार्द्ध में आविर्भूत बंगाल की विशिष्ट प्रतिभाएँ थीं। आनर्स परीक्षा में भी उन्होंने कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय में अपने विषय में प्रथम श्रेणी के साथ सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त किया। इसके बाद वे गवर्नमेंट संस्कृत कालेज (कलकत्ता) में एम० ए० (प्रथमवर्ष) में प्रविष्ट हुए। दैवयोग से वार्षिक परीक्षा के पूर्व ही वे अकस्मात् रोगाक्रान्त हुए और उनके थोड़े ही दिन बीमार रहने के बाद ३० अप्रैल, १८८७ ई० को उनका परलोकवास हो गया।

इस घटना के पांच महीने बाद माता सुखदासुंदरी देवी के गर्भ से कविराज जी का जन्म, धामराई में नानी वामासुंदरी के घर पर २२ सौर, बुधवार सं० १९४४ वि० ७ सितम्बर १८८७ ई० को हुआ। इस अनाथ बालक के लिए अब दो आश्रयस्थल थे--काँठालिया में पिता के मामा पं० कलाचन्द सान्याल के यहाँ और धामराई में नानी वामासुंदरी का घर। इन दोनों गाँवों में १७-१८ मील का अन्तर था। माता सुखदासुंदरी देवी एकमात्र आशा की किरण गोपीनाथ को छाती से लगाए अपने दुर्दिन इन्हीं दोनों स्थानों में बारी-बारी से निवास करते हुए काटने लगीं।

गोपीनाथजी की प्रारंभिक शिक्षा काँठालिया के प्राइमरी स्कूल में हुई। यहीं ९ वर्ष की आयु में १८ फरवरी

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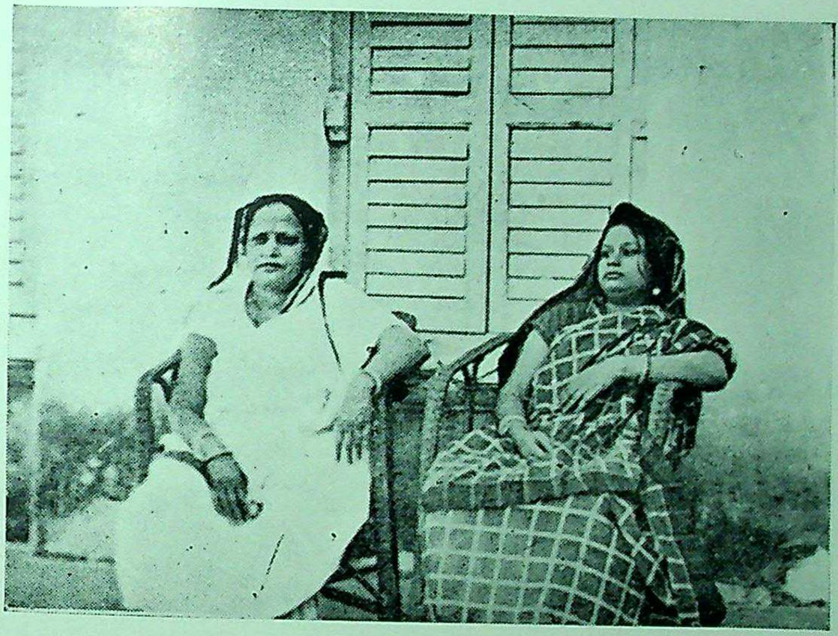
पत्नी और पुत्रवधू



बायें—श्रीमती कुसुम कामिनी देवी धर्मपत्नी। (सफेद साड़ी में)
दाहिने—श्रीमती वीणापाणि देवी पुत्रवधू। (चेकदार साड़ी में)

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माता सुखदा सुन्दरी

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१८९६ ई० को इनका उपनयन संस्कार हुआ। १८९८ ई० तक ये काँठालिया में ही बंगला, संस्कृत और अंग्रेजी पढ़ते रहे। इसी समय धामराई में एक नया अंग्रेजी स्कूल खुला। अतः १८९८ ई० की जुलाई में माताजी उक्त स्कूल में इनका नाम लिखाने के उद्देश्य से इन्हें लेकर काँठालिया से धामराई चली आयीं। नये अंग्रेजी स्कूल की तीसरी कक्षा में इनका प्रवेश हुआ। प्रधानाचार्य राजेन्द्रलाल वसक के प्रयत्न से इसमें आठवीं कक्षा तक की पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था हो गयी। इस विद्यालय में संस्कृत के अध्ययन में इन्हें पं० हाराणचन्द्र चक्रवर्ती तथा पं० प्रसन्नकुमार चक्रवर्ती ऐसे सुयोग्य अध्यापकों का निर्देशन प्राप्त हुआ। संस्कृत भाषा तथा साहित्य के प्रति कविराज जी के हृदय में निष्ठा उत्पन्न करने का श्रेय इन्हीं आदि गुरुओं को है।

तेरह वर्ष की छोटी आयु में ही पं० कलाचन्द ने सं० १९०० में गोपीनाथ जी का विवाह कर दिया। इनकी धर्मपत्नी कुसुमकामिनी देवी के पिता पं० व्रजशंकर अर्द्धकाली वंश से सम्बद्ध थे और निकटवर्ती ग्राम हालाडीहा के निवासी थे। इनके छोटे भाई पंडित कार्तिकशंकर तर्कालंकार उस इलाके के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् थे। वे कुशाग्रबुद्धि गोपीनाथ पर बहुत स्नेह रखते थे।

धामराई में रहते अभी तीन वर्ष भी नहीं पूरे हुए थे कि इनके अन्यतम अभिभावक पं० कलाचंद सान्याल की १९०१ ई० में ८ जुलाई को अकस्मात धनुषटंकार (टिटेनस) रोग से मृत्यु हो गई। उनके पास पर्याप्त ज़मीन-जायदाद, पशुधन और नकद रुपया था और वह सब गोपीनाथ जी को देने का वे संकल्प भी कर चुके थे परन्तु कालदण्ड के सहसा प्रहार के कारण वे उसके विधिक हस्तान्तरण की व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाये थे। पट्टीदारों ने उनकी आँख मुंदते ही घर में ताला लगा दिया और सारी जायदाद पर क़ब्जा कर लिया। विधवा माता सुखदासुंदरी देवी का यह दूसरा नीड़ भी उजड़ गया। वे पुनः निराश्रित हो गयीं।

कलाचन्द जी की मृत्यु का समाचार पाकर पं० कार्तिकशंकर ने कविराज जी की माता को हालाडीहा बुला लिया। परन्तु ये धामराई में ही वामासुंदरी जी के यहाँ पढ़ते रहे। आठवीं कक्षा पास करने के बाद उच्च माध्यमिक शिक्षा के लिए बाहर जाने की समस्या उपस्थित हुई। उस समय काँठालिया के दो बालक ढाका में पढ़ते थे—अविनाशचन्द्र सरकार और यदुनाथ सान्याल। इनमें दूसरे कलाचंद जी के सगोत्री, चंद्रनाथ सान्याल के पुत्र थे। इन दोनों छात्रों ने गोपीनाथ जी को ढाका चलने की प्रेरणा दी। अविनाशचन्द्र सरकार ने इनके भोजन तथा निवास की व्यवस्था करने का भार लिया। ढाका में इनके एक और परिचित व्यक्ति थे—अनाथबंधु मौलिक। वे जगन्नाथ कालेज तथा स्कूल के अधीक्षक थे और धामराई के ही निवासी थे। वे बालब्रह्मचारी थे। मौलिकजी के आध्यात्मिक पथप्रदर्शक बारदी के महात्मा लोकनाथ योगिराज थे, जिनकी आयु १६० वर्ष की बताई जाती थी। इन लोगों के प्रयत्न से गोपीनाथ जी का प्रवेश के० एल० जुबली स्कूल की तीसरी कक्षा में हो गया। मौलिक जी ने स्कूल से शुल्कमुक्ति की सुविधा दिला दी। अविनाशचन्द्र ने जिन्दबहरलेन के एक मेस में भोजन का प्रबन्ध करा दिया। कुछ दिनों बाद उसे छोड़कर ये अरमनी टोला के यूनियन मेडिकल मेस में भोजन करने लगे और वहीं माध्यमिक शिक्षा की समाप्ति तक रहे।

भोजन और शुल्क की व्यवस्था हो जाने के बाद भी किताब, कापी तथा अन्य आवश्यक खर्चों के लिए धनाभाव से परेशानी बनी रही। कार्तिक शंकर जी जो थोड़ी-बहुत सहायता कर देते थे, उससे काम पूरा नहीं पड़ता था। पढ़ाई में इससे बाधा पड़ती थी।

इन्हीं दिनों इनकी पितृभूमि दन्या के निकट आलीशाकंदा गाँव में शाह भैरवनाथ राय नाम के एक प्रतिष्ठित व्यापारी रहते थे। उनकी पं० कलाचन्द से बड़ी मित्रता थी। शाह जी दीन छात्रों को बराबर सहायता दिया करते थे। कहने पर गोपीनाथ जी की भी वे अवश्य सहायता कर देंगे, इस विश्वास के साथ पं० कार्तिकशंकर तर्कालंकार इन्हें अपने साथ लेकर शाह जी के घर गये। गोपीनाथ जी का परिचय प्राप्त कर वे बहुत प्रसन्न हुए और दस रुपया मासिक

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वृत्ति देना सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया। इसके अतिरिक्त मेस के खर्चे के लिये भी चार रुपया प्रतिमास देने का वचन दिया। चलते समय उन्होंने पं० कार्तिकशंकर से कहा कि, इस बालक के निमित्त पं० कलाचंद छः हजार रुपये बिना किसी लिखा-पढ़ी के मेरे पास रख गये हैं। कार्तिकशंकर उनकी इस ईमानदारी को देखकर स्तब्ध रह गये।

इस प्रकार आर्थिक चिंता से मुक्त हो गोपीनाथ जी ढाका के जुबली स्कूल में दत्तचित्त होकर पढ़ने लगे। इस समय उस विद्यालय के प्रधानाचार्य थे विश्वेश्वर बनर्जी और उनके प्रथम सहायक थे बाबू मथुरामोहन चक्रवर्ती, जिन्होंने आगे चलकर ढाका में 'शक्ति-औषधालय' की स्थापना की। ये लोकनाथ ब्रह्मचारी (योगिराज) के शिष्य और धार्मिक प्रकृति के व्यक्ति थे। छात्रों के नैतिक तथा आध्यात्मिक उत्थान के लिये ये विद्यालय में नियमित रूप से प्रवचन करते थे। गोपीनाथ जी के बालजीवन पर इनका बहुत प्रभाव पड़ा। इस विद्यालय में इन्होंने संस्कृत, पहले वामाचरण विद्यालंकार से पढ़ी, बाद में पं० रजनीकांत अमीन से। अमीन जी की पाणिनि-व्याकरण में अद्भुत गति थी। अंग्रेजी व्याकरण के शिक्षक पं० नवकांत चट्टोपाध्याय बड़े विद्याव्यसनी थे। उनका अपना एक विशाल पुस्तकालय था। मेधावी छात्रों को वे उसमें से पुस्तकें पढ़ने के लिये दिया करते थे। वे ब्रह्मसमाजी थे। बंगाल के लोकविश्रुत राजनीतिक नेता विपिन चन्द्र पाल ब्रह्मसमाज के उत्सवों में कभी-कभी ढाका आया करते थे। उनसे गोपीनाथ जी का परिचय अमीन महाशय ने ही कराया था।

ढाका में उन दिनों बड़ी धार्मिक जागृति थी। सभी धर्मों के अनुयायियों में पारस्परिक सौहार्द्र था। सामाजिक जीवन में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम भेद न था। गोपीनाथ जी प्रति रविवार को ब्रह्मसमाज मंदिर में जाते और भजन-कीर्तन सुनते थे। बंगला के प्रसिद्ध पत्र 'बांधव' के संपादक रायबहादुर कालीप्रसन्न घोष से उनकी सर्वप्रथम भेंट यहीं हुई। बंकिम बाबू की 'बंगदर्शन' पत्रिका के बाद, प्रचार की दृष्टि से, 'बांधव' का ही स्थान था। कालीप्रसन्न बाबू जयदेवपुर राज्य के मैनेजर थे, किन्तु अपने समय में वे प्रशासक से अधिक साहित्यिक के रूप में ख्यात थे। उनकी लिखी हुई 'निशीथ चिंता,' 'निवृत्त चिंता', 'प्रभात चिंता', 'भक्तिरजय' आदि पुस्तकों की तत्कालीन धार्मिक समाज में बड़ी धूम थी। उनके भतीजे सुबोधचन्द्र गुहा गोपीनाथ जी के सहपाठी थे। उन्हीं के द्वारा घोष बाबू से इनका परिचय हुआ था। अपने निजी पुस्तकालय में उन्हें हजारों पुस्तकों से घिरे बैठे हुए देखकर ये बहुत प्रभावित हुए थे। घोष बाबू ने इनकी छात्रावस्था में लिखी गई किताबें 'बांधव' में छाप कर इन्हें प्रोत्साहित किया था।

ढाका में शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के समय एक और व्यक्ति ने इनके मानसिक विकास में पर्याप्त योग दिया। वे थे वहाँ के सर्वाधिक प्रतिष्ठित वकील आनंदराय। बंगाल में स्वदेशी आंदोलन के अन्यतम प्रवर्तक गोविन्दराय इनके बड़े भाई थे। इनके दौहित्र ज्योतीन्द्र चौधरी गोपीनाथ जी के सहपाठी थे। इनका अरमनी टोला में अपना एक बहुत बड़ा मकान था। ज्योतीन्द्र के संबंध से ये उनके घर बराबर जाया करते थे। आनंदराय का एक निजी पुस्तकलाय था, जिससे इन्हें पढ़ने के लिये पुस्तकें आसानी से मिल जाती थीं। डायरी लिखने की आदत धामराई में ही पड़ गई थी जो ढाका में भी बनी रही।

संस्कृत पढ़ने की इनकी विशेष अभिरुचि अध्ययन-काल के आरंभ से ही थी। काँठालिया में पिताजी द्वारा संगृहीत संस्कृत ग्रंथों का विशाल कोष इन्हें रिक्थ रूप में मिला था। इनके मन पर अध्ययन का संस्कार इन्हीं पुस्तकों से पड़ा। कांठालिया की प्राथमिक पाठशाला में शिक्षा प्राप्त करते हुये इनकी इच्छा सिद्धांत कौमुदी पढ़ने की हुई। यह ग्रन्थ पिताजी के पुस्तकालय में तारानाथ तर्कवाचस्पति की टीकासहित मिल गया। उसी के साथ रमानाथ सरस्वती कृत 'छात्रबोध व्याकरण' की भी एक प्रति हाथ लगी। इसी समय इन्होंने सैकड़ों 'उद्भट श्लोक' संग्रहीत करके कंठस्थ कर लिये। धामराई में संस्कृत व्याकरण की शिक्षा पं० कन्हईलाल गोस्वामी से ग्रहण की। इस संबंध में एक स्थानीय विद्वान्—पं० अक्षयकुमार दत्त से भी इनको पर्याप्त सहायता मिली। ढाका के छात्रजीवन में पं० रजनीकांत

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ढाका में छात्र-जीवन के साथी, १९०५ ई०

खड़े हुए (पंक्ति से बाहर के व्यक्ति को छोड़कर)—१. इन्दु चटर्जी, २. नृत्य भट्टाचार्य, ३. अक्षयकुमार सेन, ४. सत्य मुकर्जी।
बैठे हुए—१. गोपीनाथ कविराज, २. कृष्णपद बनर्जी, ३. पंच गुप्त, ४. आशा भट्टाचार्य, ५. रवीन्द्र सेन, ६. ब्रज भट्टाचार्य, ७. अनन्त मुकर्जी, ८. मंजु भट्टाचार्य।

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तथा पंडित विधुभूषण गोस्वामी के सान्निध्य में पाणिनीय व्याकरण का गंभीर अध्ययन करने का सुअवसर प्राप्त हुआ। गोस्वामी जी ढाका कालेज के वरिष्ठ संस्कृत अध्यापक थे। पं० बैकुंठनाथ के मित्र तथा सहपाठी होने के नाते वे इनसे विशेष स्नेह रखते थे। इन विद्वानों के संपर्क में आकर गोपीनाथ जी की पाणिनि व्याकरण की सांगोपांग अध्ययन की साध पूरी हो गयी।

अंग्रेजी साहित्य के अध्ययन की रुचि भी ढाका में ही जाग्रत हुई। इसका श्रेय जगन्नाथ कालेज के तत्कालीन प्रिंसिपल हेरम्बचन्द्र मैत्र को है। वे अंग्रेजी में एम० ए० थे और इमर्सन तथा वर्ड्सवर्थ के विशेषज्ञ के रूप में ख्यात थे। इनकी प्रेरणा से एंट्रेंस कक्षा में ही गोपीनाथ जी ने अंग्रेजी के प्रसिद्ध कवियों—शेक्सपियर, मिल्टन, बाइरन, वर्ड्सवर्थ तथा इमर्सन की सारी कृतियाँ पढ़ डालीं। रिचर्ड्सन द्वारा संपादित अंग्रेजी काव्य संग्रह सदैव इनके पास रहता था। मैत्र जी के बाद हरिनाथ डे महोदय इस कालेज के प्रिंसिपल नियुक्त हुये। इन विद्वानों की छत्रछाया में अध्ययनरत रहकर इन्होंने ढाका कालेज से १९०५ ई० में एण्ट्रेन्स की परीक्षा प्रथम श्रेणी में पास की।

परीक्षा समाप्त होते ही ये ढाका से घर चले आए। यहाँ सहसा मलेरिया से पीड़ित हुए और महीनों चारपाई पर पड़े रहे। इससे १९०६ ई० के जुलाई मास से आरंभ होनेवाले शिक्षा-सत्र में ये इण्टर कक्षा में प्रवेश न ले सके। एक वर्ष पढ़ाई स्थगित रही। रोगमुक्त होने पर डाक्टरों की सलाह से वायु-परिवर्तन के उद्देश्य से पहले मधुपुर गये किंतु कुछ असुविधाओं के कारण वहाँ से देवघर चले आए और वैद्यनाथ मंदिर के पास एक पंडे के यहाँ ठहरे। खर्च की तंगी थी, इसलिये एक बंगाली महाजन के लड़के का ट्यूशन कर लिया। संयोगवश कलकत्ता के प्रसिद्ध अंग्रेजी दैनिक 'अमृत बाजार पत्रिका' के संस्थापक तथा 'हिन्दू स्पिरिचुअल मैगज़ीन' के संपादक बाबू शिशिरकुमार घोष भी इस समय देवघर वास कर रहे थे। ये बंगाल में परलोक संबंधी आलोचना के युगप्रवर्तक महापुरुष माने जाते थे। कविराज जी कभी कभी इनसे मिलकर अध्यात्म चर्चा करते थे। देवघर प्रवास से स्वास्थ्य में संतोषजनक प्रगति हुई। डेढ़ महीने के बाद ये घर चले आए और वर्ष का अवशिष्ट काल वहीं बिताया। इस बीच इनकी भेंट अपने पिता के मित्र तथा सहपाठी रामदयाल मजूमदार महाशय से हुई। वे टंगइर के प्रमथमन्मथ इंटर कालेज के प्रिंसिपल थे और उस क्षेत्र में अनुष्ठानिक तथा भावुक धर्माचार्य के रूप में प्रसिद्ध थे। मजूमदार जी ने एफ० ए० की पढ़ाई के लिए इन्हें बनारस जाने की सलाह दी और वहाँ अपने साले नोनीलाल राय चौधरी के द्वारा पूरी व्यवस्था करा देने का आश्वासन दिया। किंतु अनेक कारणों से इनका अध्ययन के लिये तत्काल काशी जाना संभव न हो सका।

जुलाई के आरंभ में ही एफ० ए० में भरती होना था। इसके लिए अब निकटवर्ती शिक्षाकेन्द्रों—ढाका तथा कलकत्ता में से ही कोई एक चुना जा सकता था। बहुत सोच विचार के बाद कलकत्ता जाना निश्चित हुआ। जून के अंतिम सप्ताह में द्रव्य की थोड़ी-बहुत व्यवस्था हो जाने पर ये कलकत्ता गये। वहाँ अपने पुराने मित्र सतीशचन्द्र मल्लिक के पास ठहरे। मल्लिक जी धामराई के ही निवासी और स्थानीय अंग्रेजी स्कूल के हेडमास्टर सुरेशचन्द्र मल्लिक के छोटे भाई थे। उनसे परामर्श करने के बाद पहले इनका विचार रियन कलेज में प्रवेश लेने का हुआ। उक्त कालेज के प्रिन्सिपल रामेन्द्रसुन्दर त्रिवेदी ने सहायता का आश्वासन भी दिया परन्तु इन्होंने प्रवेश नहीं लिया। इसके दो कारण थे—कलकत्ता में पढ़ाई चलाने के लिये अपेक्षित आर्थिक स्रोत का अभाव तथा मलेरिया का भय। इन्हीं बाधाओं के कारण नवप्रतिष्ठित नेशनल कालेज में भी, जिसके प्रिंसिपल कुछ ही दिनों बाद अरविंद घोष बनाये गये, मित्रों के अनुरोध के बावजूद इन्होंने अपनी भर्ती नहीं करायी।

इन्हीं दिनों बंगाल में स्वदेशी आंदोलन बड़े ज़ोरों से चला; देशप्रेम की लहर प्रांत भर में एक छोर से दूसरे छोर तक दौड़ गयी। वीरभूमि राजस्थान तथा महाराष्ट्र के प्रति वहाँ की जनता के हृदय में अगाध श्रद्धा उमड़ पड़ी। गोपीनाथ जी उससे अप्रभावित न रह सके। इन्हीं दिनों धर्मानन्द महाभारती का 'बांधव' में जयपुर पर एक लेख निकला।

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उसमें वहाँ नगर-नियोजक विद्याधर चक्रवर्ती तथा प्रधानमंत्री संसारचन्द्र सेन का उल्लेख था। इन प्रभावशाली बंगाली महाशयों का नाम देखकर इन्हें आशा बंधी कि जयपुर जाने पर वहाँ इनकी पढ़ाई का कोई-न-कोई प्रबन्ध अवश्य हो जायगा। यह सोचकर १७ वर्ष की छोटी आयु में ही इस निराश्रित बालक ने जयपुर जाने का इरादा पक्का कर लिया। संकोच केवल एक बात का था और वह बात थी, हिन्दी प्रदेश में जाकर अध्ययन करने की इच्छा रखते हुए भी वहाँ की भाषा बोलने और समझने में अपनी असमर्थता। सोचा, कुछ दिन अंग्रेजी से काम चलायेंगे तब तक हिंदी सीख लेंगे। इस ऊहापोह में जून बीत गया।

जुलाई १९०६ ई० में जयपुर यात्रा की तैयारी करके ये घर से कलकत्ते आए और अपने मित्र सतीश के यहाँ ठहरे। उन्हें साथ लेकर हावड़ा गये और वहाँ से १६ जुलाई १९०६ ई० को एक ऐसे अपरिचित प्रदेश के लिए प्रस्थान किया जहाँ अपना कहलाने वाला कोई न था। साथ में किताबों से भरा एक बक्स था। उसे गार्ड के डिब्बे में रख दिया। बिस्तरे का बंडल अपने पास लेकर बैठे। रास्ता अनजान था। इसलिए चलते समय एक रेलवे टाइम टेबल स्टेशन पर ही खरीद लिया था। दिन भर मार्ग में पड़ने वाले खेत, बाग, नगर, नद-नदी कौतूहल पूर्वक देखते रहे। रात में सो गये। दूसरे दिन फर्रुखाबाद में एक बलिष्ठ सज्जन इनके डिब्बे मे चढ़े। वे देखने में फौजी से लगते थे। उनके साथ एक लड़का था, वह अंग्रेजी जानता था। पूछने पर ज्ञात हुआ कि साथ वाले सज्जन उसके बड़े भाई हैं, जो उसे जयपुर के महाराजा कालेज में नाम लिखाने के लिए ले जा रहे हैं। जयपुर जानेवाले साथी पाकर ये बहुत प्रसन्न हुए। थोड़ी ही देर में घनिष्ठता हो गई। तीनों यात्री साथ ही आगरे में गाड़ी से उतरे। शहर में जाकर एक मारवाड़ी बासा में भोजन किया, कुछ देर तक घूमने के बाद स्टेशन चले आये। अपराह्न में जयपुर जाने वाली गाड़ी में बैठे। बाँदोकुई होते हुये रात में जयपुर पहुँच गये। सामान स्टेशन पर रख दिया। उक्त सज्जन के साथ नगर गये और वहाँ एक सराय में ठहरे। सबेरे मित्र के साथ कालेज में प्रवेश तथा निवास की व्यवस्था के लिये निकले। सड़क के दोनों ओर गुलाबी रंग के पंक्तिबद्ध भवनों को देखकर नगरयोजक विद्याधर चक्रवर्ती की कलात्मक निपुणता की मन ही मन प्रशंसा करते हुए हवाई महल पहुँचे। साथी सज्जन के एक परिचित इसी के पास रहते थे। उन्हीं के घर तीनों ठहर गये। भोजन का प्रबंध बाजार में कर लिया।

दूसरे दिन महाराजा कालेज गये। प्रिंसिपल संजीवन गांगुली से मिलकर अपने आने का उद्देश्य बताया। वे इन्हें इतनी दूर से आया हुआ जानकर आश्चर्य में पड़ गये। बोले 'हमारे यहाँ हास्टल नहीं है। तुम्हें असुविधा होगी। रहने का प्रबन्ध स्वयं करना पड़ेगा।' ये बातें अंग्रेजी में हो रही थीं किन्तु इनकी प्रगल्भता देख कर प्रिंसिपल के पास बैठे हुए एक अन्य बंगाली महाशय मातृभाषा में अपने विचार प्रकट करने का लोभ संवरण न कर सके। कहा 'पूर्व बंग में रहते हो। वहाँ बाढ़ बहुत आती है। नौका द्वारा एक से दूसरी जगह जाना होता है। कहीं-कहीं पड़ोसी के घर जाने के लिए भी नौका ही एकमात्र साधन रहती हैं।' गोपीनाथ जी ने अपने तत्सम्बन्धी अनुभव बताये। उसे सुनकर वे बहुत प्रसन्न हुए। इसके बाद उन्होंने जयपुर में इनके ठहरने का स्थान पूछा। उत्तर मिला, 'कोई निश्चित ठिकाना नहीं है।' 'कहाँ भोजन करते हो?' इन्होंने कहा 'बाजार में।' ये प्रश्नकर्त्ता सज्जन कालेज के उपाचार्य और महामहोपाध्याय पं० हरप्रसाद शास्त्री के सबसे छोटे भाई, मेघनाद भट्टाचार्य थे। प्रिंसिपल के कमरे से जब ये बाहर निकलने लगे तो वे बोले, 'बाहर रुके रहना, मेरे साथ घर चलना, वहीं बातें होंगी।'

कालेज में छुट्टी होने पर गोपीनाथ जी मेघनाद बाबू के साथ उनके घर गये। घर कालेज के पास ही था। तिमंजिली कोठी थी। उसमें मेघनाद जी के साथ उनके तीन लड़के और एक भतीजा (म० म० पं० हरप्रसादशास्त्री का पुत्र) रहता था। मेघनाद जी ने परिवार के सभी लोगों को एकत्र कर इनका परिचय कराया। सबने स्वागत किया।

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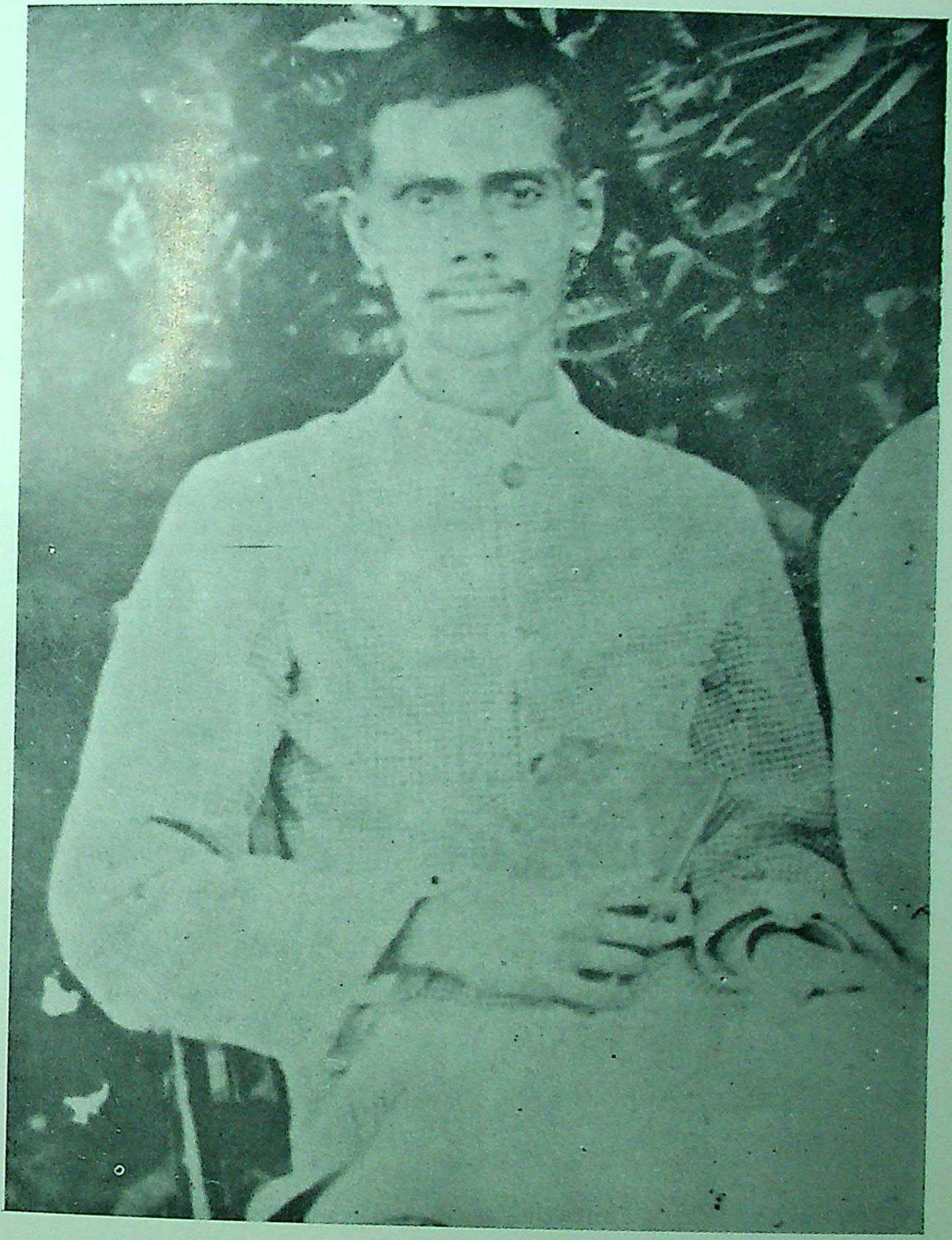

छात्र जीवन में कविराज जी (१९०७)

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अध्ययन कक्ष में देर तक बातें होती रहीं। वे इनकी साहित्यिक योग्यता तथा धार्मिक प्रवृत्ति को देखकर बहुत प्रभावित हुए। चलते समय कहा 'जब तक कहीं स्थायी प्रबन्ध न हो जाय, यहीं भोजन करना।'

निवासस्थान की चिंता तब भी बनी रही। प्रातःकाल प्रधानमंत्री से मिलने की योजना बनायी। उनकी कोठी का पता लगाने में बड़ी बड़ी परेशानी हुई। इसका मुख्य कारण था इनका बंगाली उच्चारण 'शंशार बाबू'। दोपहर तक भटकते रहे, कहीं पता न चला। कालेज गये। मिलनेवाले छात्रों के सामने अपनी कठिनाई रखी। जानकार विद्यार्थियों को निदान खोजने में देर नहीं लगी। बताया तुम्हें 'सेन बाबू', प्रधानमंत्री या 'बाबू संसारचन्द्र सेन' कहना चाहिये था। उन्हें यहाँ कौन नहीं जानता। इसके बाद उन लोगों ने कोठी का पता बता दिया। निर्दिष्ट मार्ग में थोड़ी ही देर में ये संसार बाबू के बंगले पर पहुँच गये। वह नगर के बाहर था। दरबान ने पूछने पर बताया 'अभी आराम कर रहे हैं, संध्या को मिलेंगे। निराश होकर डेरे पर लौट आये। संध्या को बताये हुए समय पर पुनः उपस्थित हुए कोठी के सामने लान पर कुर्सियाँ लगी थीं। प्रधानमंत्री के साथ प्रिंसिपल गांगुली और कुछ सरकारी अफ़सर बैठे थे। इन्होंने चपरासी के द्वारा अपने आने की सूचना भेजी। तत्काल ही बुला लिये गये। संसार बाबू ने आने का प्रयोजन पूछा। इन्होंने रहने के स्थान का प्रबन्ध कर देने की प्रार्थना की। इतने में गांगुली महाशय बोल उठे 'इस लड़के ने पढ़ने के लिए इतनी दूर आकर बड़ी मूर्खता की है।' संसार बाबू ने इसका प्रतिकार करते हुए कहा,'यह कोई नई बात नहीं है। मैं भी ऐसे ही आया था और रमेशचन्द्र दत्त भी। दोनो कहाँ से कहाँ पहुँच गये।' फिर इनकी ओर मुड़कर बोले 'तुम नियमित रूप से संध्या को यहाँ भोजन किया करो। मेरा लड़का अविनाश चन्द्र सेन महाराजा का निजी उप सचिव है। उससे मिलकर मेरा संदेश कह देना, रहने की व्यवस्था कर देगा,।' गोपीनाथ जी दूसरे दिन अविनाश बाबू से मिले। अपना परिचय और प्रधानमंत्री का संदेशा कहा। उन्होंने पूछा 'कोई राजनीतिक संसर्ग तो नहीं है ?' इन्होंने नकारात्मक उत्तर दिया। वे बोले 'तो मेरे ही घर पर रहो। मेरा एक छोटा भाई है और दो लड़के—ये तीनों तुम्हारी संरक्षकता में पढ़ेंगे। किंतु इसके पूर्व तुम्हें कलकत्ता से किसी प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्ति का संस्तुत्यात्मक पत्र मंगाना पड़ेगा। बात पक्की तभी होगी।' गोपीनाथ जी ने कलकत्ते पत्र भेज दिया।

इसके कुछ दिनों बाद स्टेशन से नगर की ओर आते समय इनकी भेंट अपने पूर्व परिचित बाबू कालीपद चटर्जी से हो गयी। वे इन्हें अपने निवास पर ले गये। विशाल भवन था। पूछने पर पता चला कि वह जयपुर के भूतपूर्व प्रधान-मंत्री कान्तिचन्द्र मुखर्जी का घर है। कालीपद जी के अनुरोध से इन्होंने वहाँ दो चार दिन भोजन किया। इतने में कलकत्ता से पत्र आ गया। उसे लेकर अविनाश बाबू से मिले। अनुमति मिल जाने पर स्टेशन से सामान ले आये और स्थायी रूप से वहीं रहने लगे।

कालेज में फ़ीस नहीं लगती थी। एफ० ए० कक्षा में प्रवेश हो गया। संसार बाबू के घर से कालेज दो मील दूर पड़ता था। उनके लड़कों के साथ बैल के रथ पर बैठकर जाने की सुविधा प्राप्त थी। इसलिये आने-जाने में कोई कष्ट नहीं होता था। कालेज में अंग्रेजी के प्रोफ़ेसर नवकृष्ण राय, देशप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् सर ब्रजेन्द्रनाथ सील के प्रिय शिष्य थे। एक दिन उन्होंने कक्षा में वर्ड्सवर्थ की 'दि वर्ल्ड इज़ टू मच विद अस' शीर्षक कविता व्याख्या के लिए दी। कापियां देखते समय गोपीनाथ जी द्वारा की गयी व्याख्या उन्हें पसंद आयी। उसकी प्रशंसा में उनके मुंह से सहसा निकल गया 'आई थिंक आई उड नाट हैव रिटेन बेटर' बाद में इनकी आर्थिक विपन्नता का समाचार पाकर उन्होंने कालेज से १५ रु० मासिक छात्रवृत्ति का प्रबंध करा दिया। इस व्यवस्था से ये बाहरी खर्चों से निश्चिन्त हो गये। इस प्रकार भोजन, निवास, सवारी, कापी, पुस्तकों तथा अन्य आवश्यक खर्चों की चिंता से मुक्त होकर ये एकनिष्ठ भाव से अध्ययन में जुट गये।

उधर बंगाल में पं० कलाचंद के देहावसान के बाद १९०१ ई० से ही माता और पत्नी इनकी ससुराल

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हालाडीहा में रह रहीं थीं। यह दोनों कुलों के लिये अशोभनीय था। इसलिये इनके ससुर पं० ब्रजशंकर ने भैरवनाथ राय से मिलकर गोपीनाथ जी के निमित्त रखी हुई धरोहर में से उनकी पितृभूमि दन्या में एक छोटा सा मकान बनवा देने का अनुरोध किया। शाह जी ने उनका प्रस्ताव स्वीकार कर लिया। दो-तीन महीने में मकान तैयार हो गया। माताजी बहू को साथ लेकर दन्या चली गईं। १९१४ तक ये सब वहीं रहीं। घर का खर्चा इनके पिता के एक मित्र और कलाचंद सान्याल के भतीजे ब्रजेन्द्र मोहन सान्याल स्नेहपूर्वक चलाते रहे। जयपुर में इन्हें साधारणतया सहायता की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ती थी। फिर भी सान्याल जी कपड़े आदि के लिये यदा-कदा दस-बीस रुपया भेज दिया करते थे।

इन्हीं दिनों 'बंगभंग' का आन्दोलन चला। १९०६ में अरविन्द घोष बड़ौदा से कलकत्ता आये और नेशनल कालेज के प्रिंसिपल बनाये गये। उनके द्वारा संचालित 'वंदे मातरम्' पत्र से उक्त आंदोलन को बहुत बल मिला। गोपीनाथ जी इस पत्र को बराबर पढ़ते और मित्रों के साथ अल्बर्ट म्यूज़ियम के मैदान में बैठकर राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं पर विचार-विमर्श किया करते थे। देशबंधु चित्तरंजन दास तथा विपिनचन्द्र पाल के लेखों और वक्तृताओं ने भी इनकी राष्ट्रीय भावना के विकास में पर्याप्त योग दिया। १९०६ के दिसम्बर में कांग्रेस का कलकत्ता अधिवेशन हुआ। इसके अध्यक्ष दादाभाई नौरोजी थे। गोपीनाथ जी राजस्थान के प्रतिनिधि मंडल के सदस्य-रूप में इसमें सम्मिलित होने के लिए कलकत्ता गये और अपने मित्र सतीशचन्द्र मल्लिक के यहाँ ठहरे। इस अधिवेशन में दादाभाई नौरोजी, बालगंगाधर तिलक, अरविंद घोष, विपिनचन्द्र पाल, देशबंधु चित्तरंजन दास, लालमोहन घोष, सुरेन्द्रनाथ बनर्जी, लाला लाजपत राय ऐसी विभूतियों का एक साथ दर्शन कर तथा उनके व्याख्यानों को सुनकर इनकी चिर आकांक्षा पूरी हुई।

अधिवेशन समाप्त होने पर जयपुर लौट आये और पढ़ाई पूर्ववत् चलने लगी। स्थानीय पब्लिक लाइब्रेरी के अतिरिक्त कांति बाबू तथा संसारचन्द्र जी के निजी पुस्तकालय से पुस्तकें लेकर पढ़ते रहे। डायरी में इनका सारांश नोट कर लिया करते थे। मन ऊबने पर कभी-कभी आमेर अथवा गलता चले जाते थे।

जयपुर के प्रवासकाल में मेघनाद बाबू के परिवार से कविराज जी का कुटुम्बवत् संबंध स्थापित हो गया। उन्हें ये 'गुरू जी' कहा करते थे। उनका घर नयी हट्टी बंकिम बाबू के निवासस्थल हुबली से एक फर्लांग दूर था। दोनों स्थानों के बीच गंगा बहती थी। छात्रावस्था में ये काफ़ी दिनों उनके संपर्क में रह चुके थे। उनके साथ बैठकर इन्होंने कई ग्रंथों का श्रुतलेखन किया था। ये बंकिम बाबू के जीवन की अनेक कथायें सुनाया करते थे। राजस्थान में वैष्णव धर्म के विकास के इतिहास से ये पूर्ण परिचित थे और चैतन्य मत के विशेषज्ञों में गिने जाते थे। जयपुर का गोविन्द-मंदिर इसी संप्रदाय का था। उसके पुजारी बंगाली होते थे। गोविन्द जी की यह मूर्ति महाराज मानसिंह ने बंगाल से लाकर स्थापित की थी।

जयपुर में इन्हें पाठ्यपुस्तकों के अतिरिक्त भारतीय धर्म एवं दर्शन, पुरातत्व और यूरोप के विभिन्न देशों के प्राचीन तथा मध्ययुगीन साहित्य के गंभीर अध्ययन का अवसर मिला। फ्रेंच, स्पेनिश, इटैलियन, जर्मन तथा रूसी साहित्य का अनुशीलन उनके अंग्रेजी अनुवादों द्वारा हुआ। अंग्रेजी साहित्य में चॉसर से लेकर उन्नीसवीं शदी तक के कवियों तथा आलोचकों की शायद ही कोई ऐसी प्रमुख कृति हो जो इनकी आँखों से न गुजरी हो। इनके विशेष प्रिय कवि थेव—ईसवर्थ, बाइरन, टेनीसन, ब्राउनिंग और कार्लाइल (अंग्रेजी), गेटे और शिरर (जर्मन) ताल्स्ताय (रूसी), मोलियर, वाल्टायर और रूसो (फ्रेंच)। इसके साथ ही बौद्ध धर्म तथा वेदान्त विषयक ग्रंथों का भी अनुशीलन चलता रहा। बनारस संस्कृत कालेज के तत्कालीन प्रिंसिपल डा० आर्थर बैनिस द्वारा अनूदित 'वेदान्तसिद्धान्तमुक्तावली' तथा 'वेदान्तपरिभाषा' को पढ़कर उस विदेशी विद्वान् के प्रति इनके हृदय में तभी से श्रद्धा हो गई थी।

जयपुर में पढ़ते हुए ही ये गुलेरी परिवार के संपर्क में आये। पं० चन्द्रधर शर्मा गुलेरी पहले जयपुर कालेज

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महाराजा कालेज, जयपुर की मित्रमण्डली

पीछे की पंक्ति—१. चारुशशि वन्द्योपाध्याय, ३. रामदास वकील।
बीच की पंक्ति—१. वृन्दावन भट्टाचार्य, २. हरिहर शास्त्री,
३. गोपीनाथ कविराज, ४. हाराण चन्द्र शास्त्री।
आगे की पंक्ति—१. जीव भट्टाचार्य, ३. ब्रजगोपाल भट्टाचार्य।

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के विद्यार्थी रह चुके थे और अब मेयो कालेज, अजमेर में संस्कृत के अध्यापक थे। उनका परिवार जयपुर में रहता था, इसीलिये वे छुट्टियों में बराबर आया करते थे। उनके पिता पं० शिवराम अच्छे साधक थे। पं० चन्द्रधर से गोपीनाथ जी की घनिष्ठता थी। वे बंगला भी जानते थे। चन्द्रनाथ बसु के 'हिन्दुत्व' तथा 'शकुन्तलातत्व' नामक ग्रंथों का उन्होंने हिन्दी-रूपान्तर किया था। उन्हीं के माध्यम से गोपीनाथ जी का रा० बा० पं गौरीशंकर हीराचंद ओझा से परिचय हुआ था।

इस प्रकार १९६० से लेकर १९१० तक महाराजा कालेज जयपुर में इनका अध्ययन चलता रहा। १९१० के अप्रैल में बी० ए० (फाइनल) की परीक्षा देने इलाहाबाद गये। परीक्षा समाप्त होने पर जयपुर वापस आये। एक महीने के बाद, ग्रीष्मावकाश के आरंभ में ही, स्नेही जनों तथा मित्रों से मिलकर इन्होंने कलकत्ता के लिये प्रस्थान किया। संसार बाबू का देहान्त एक वर्ष पहले हो चुका था, मेघनाद जी के भी अवकाश ग्रहण का समय निकट था। आते समय अंग्रेजी के प्रोफेसर नवकृष्ण राय ने इन्हें सर ब्रजेन्द्र नाथ सील से मिलने के लिए एक परिचय-पत्र दिया। 'कलकत्ता रिव्यू' में सील महाशय के प्रकाशित लेखों को देखकर उनसे मिलने की इच्छा कविराज जी के मन मे बहुत दिनों से थी। नवकृष्ण बाबू द्वारा प्राप्त उनकी कृति 'नियो रोमान्टिक मूवमेंट इन बंगाली लिटरेचर' पढ़कर उनकी उत्कंठा और बलवती हो गयी थी।

कलकत्ता पहुंच कर ये सतीश के पास ठहरे। दूसरे दिन दोनों साथ ही सील महोदय से मिलने गये। वे १५, राममोहन स्ट्रीट में रहते थे। दोपहर का समय था। सतीश को बाहर बरामदे में बैठाकर गोपीनाथ जी अंदर गये। कमरे में प्रवेश करते ही देखा चौकी पर मसनद लगाए एक वृद्ध महाशय बैठे हैं, दाढ़ी सफ़ेद है और मुद्रा गंभीर। उनसे कहा 'डा० सील से मिलना है, सूचना भेज दें'। वृद्ध महाशय ने पूछा 'कहां से आये हो ?' अब इन्हें आभास हो गया कि सील महोदय यही हैं; उत्तर दिया 'जयपुर से'—यह कहकर इन्होंने पत्र बढ़ा दिया। उसे देखते ही वे बोले 'यह तो नवकृष्ण के हाथ का लिखा है।' नवकृष्ण बाबू ने अपने पत्र में परिचयार्थ कविराज जीके पिता वैकुंठनाथ जी का नाम लिखा था। वे गद्गद् होगये। बोले 'तुम वैकुंठ के लड़के हो फिर नवकृष्ण की चिट्ठी की क्या आवश्यकता ?' इसके बाद उन्होंने इन्हें निकट बैठाकर इनके पिता के छात्रजीवन से संबद्ध अपने कई संस्मरण सुनाए और बताया कि 'वे इनसे केवल एक साल छोटे थे।' उन्हें यह नहीं मालूम था कि वैकुंठनाथ की कोई संतान भी थी। गोपीनाथ जी ने निवेदन किया 'पिता जी की मृत्यु के पांच महीने बाद मेरा जन्म हुआ था। इसीलिये उनके घनिष्ठ मित्र और संबंधी भी मुझे नहीं पहचानते।' इसके अनंतर सील महोदय ने वैकुंठनाथ के सहपाठी, रिपन कालेज के प्रोफेसर, जानकी नाथ भट्टाचार्य के लिए एक पत्र देकर कहा 'वे तुम्हें देखकर बहुत प्रसन्न होंगे। जरूर मिल लेना।'

सील महोदय से विदा होने के पूर्व इन्होंने उनसे कुछ तत्वों के विषय में अपनी शंकाओं का समाधान कर लेना आवश्यक समझा।

उद दिनों 'संजीवनी' के संपादक बाबू कृष्णकुमार की पुत्री कुमुदिनी बोस एक मासिक पत्र निकालती थीं। कृष्णकुमार जी कविराज जी की पितृभूमि दन्या के निकटस्थ बाघिल नामक गाँव के निवासी थे। इस संबंध से उनके परिवार से इनकी घनिष्ठता हो गयी थी। कुमुदिनी बोस द्वारा संपादित पत्रिका इनके पास बराबर आती थी। इसके १९०८ ई० के एक अंक में अरविंद घोष का एक 'कारा-काहिनी' (स्टोरी ऑव दि अलीपुर जेल) शीर्षक लेख निकलता था, जिसमें लेखक ने अपने प्रथम वासुदेव-दर्शन का विवरण दिया था। कविराज जी ने डा० सील से जिज्ञासा की 'अरविंद घोष के संबंध में आपका क्या विचार है ?' सील महोदय का उत्तर था 'ही इज़ ए प्वैट, मिस्टिक ऐण्ड प्राफेट'। अरविंद के प्रति उनकी अगाध श्रद्धा देखकर गोपीनाथ जी ने डा० सील का ध्यान अरविंद के उक्त लेख की ओर आकृष्ट करते हुए पूछा—'क्या आप कृष्ण को ऐतिहासिक पुरुष मानते हैं ?' डा० सील ने स्वीकारात्मक उत्तर दिया।

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डा० सील ब्रह्म-समाजी थे अतः वे कृष्णावतार में आस्था नहीं रखते होंगे, अपनी इस धारणा को पुष्ट करने के लिए इन्होंने पुनः प्रश्न किया, 'क्या आप अरविंद के कारागार में वासुदेव-दर्शन और उपदेश में विश्वास करते हैं?'

सील महोदय का स्वर गंभीर हो गया, बोले 'इसका क्या तात्पर्य है। कृष्ण पृथ्वी पर रहे हों या नहीं उससे कृष्ण-दर्शन से क्या संबंध? दोनों पृथक् वस्तुएं हैं। क्राइस्ट की ऐतिहासिकता पर भी लोगों को संदेह है किंतु सेंट थेरेसा तथा विभिन्न देश और विभिन्न काल के अनेक ईसाई महात्माओं ने उनके दर्शन का उल्लेख किया है। पृथ्वी पर अवतरित होकर शरीर धारण न करते हुए भी उनकी आत्मा तो दर्शन दे ही सकती है। ऐतिहासिक कृष्ण तथा तत्वरूपी कृष्ण का पृथक् अस्तित्व नितांत संभव है। उनके प्रति जिसकी जैसी भावना होगी वे उसे तदनुरूप प्राप्त हो जायंगे। विश्व का आध्यात्मिक साहित्य इसके उदाहरणों से भरा पड़ा है। सभी संत झूठे नहीं हो सकते। ध्याता के भावानुसार परमशक्ति स्वयं ही तदाकार होकर प्रत्यक्ष हो जाती है। यह तथ्य है। ऐतिहासिकता से इसका कोई सरोकार नहीं?'

कविराज जी ने दूसरा प्रश्न किया 'परलोकगत आत्मा की स्थिति के संबंध में आपका क्या विचार है?' सील महोदय का उत्तर था 'संसार के विभिन्न देशों के विद्वानों ने गंभीरता पूर्वक विचार करके शरीरांत के अनन्तर आत्मा के अस्तित्व की पुष्टि की है, जन्मान्तर संबंधी कथाओं के विवरण दिये हैं, छानबीनकर के उसकी सत्यता का पता लगाया है और संबंद्ध व्यक्तियों के फोटो भी लिये हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त मैं अपने निजी अनुभव के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ कि व्यक्ति की मृत्यु के बाद भी उसकी आत्मा जीवित रहती है। कुछ वर्ष पहले मेरी स्त्री का देहान्त हो गया था। वे ही घर का सारा कामकाज देखतीं थीं। जमींदारी तथा संपत्ति संबंधी कागजात भी वे ही रखती थीं। मैं स्वयं निस्पृह था। वे सहसा बीमार पड़ीं और दो-तीन दिन के भीतर ही दिवंगत हो गईं। इस घटना के कुछ समय बाद मुझे कुछ दस्तावेजों की ज़रूरत एक मुकदमे के सिलसिले में पड़ी। मैं दिन भर ढूंढ़ता रहा। सारी आलमारियां और बक्स छान डाले—कहीं पता न चला। इसी परेशानी में सो गया। रात में स्त्री का स्वप्न दर्शन हुआ। बोली 'इतने चिंताग्रस्त क्यों हो?' उन्होंने आलमारी ही नहीं, वह खाना भी बता दिया जिसमे दस्तावेज़ रखा था। मैं ने उसी समय उठकर इस तथ्य को एक कागज़ पर नोट कर लिया। इसी आधार पर प्रातः उस कागज को ढूंढ़ निकाला। मेरे दुःखातिशय को देखकर पतिपरायणा स्त्री की आत्मा प्रकट हो गयी।'

इसके बाद उन्होंने इनको छात्रावस्था में ब्राउनिंग के अनुकरण में लिखी गयी अपनी कुछ कवितायें दिखायीं और 'नियो रोमाण्टिक मूवमेण्ट इन बंगाली लिटरेचर' तथा 'जॉन कीट्स—हिज माइण्ड ऐण्ड आर्ट' नामक अंग्रेजी की अपनी लिखी दो आलोचमात्मक पुस्तकें भेंट की।

कविराज जी ने भी ब्राउनिंग की कविता के प्रति अपनी रुचि व्यक्त की। डा० सील ने इन्हें डा० बर्डो कृत 'ब्राउनिंग इन्साइक्लोपीडिया' पढ़ने का सुझाव दिया। चलते समय कलकत्ता में ही रहकर इन्हें पाली से एम० ए० करने की सलाह देते हुए उन्होंने कहा 'इसमें अनुसंधान का विस्तृत क्षेत्र है। सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण से कह दूँगा, तुम्हारी मदद कर देंगे।' इन्होंने पत्र द्वारा सील महोदय के साथ हुई इस भेंट का विवरण नवकृष्ण बाबू के पास जयपुर भेज दिया।

दो-चार दिन कलकत्ता रहकर ये दन्या चले गये। जून (१९१०) समाप्त हो रहा था। जुलाई से एम० ए० में प्रवेश लेना था, अतः उसके लिए स्थान निश्चित करना आवश्यक था। चार वर्ष पूर्व रामदयाल मजूमदार ने इन्हें काशी जाने की प्रेरणा दी थी और वहां निवासादि की व्यवस्था करा देने का भी आश्वासन दिया था। उस समय ये भावुकतावश जयपुर चले गये थे। किंतु अब किसी ओर से सहायता न पाते हुए भी इनका मन काशी के अतिरिक्त कहीं अन्यत्र जाने को कर ही नहीं रहा था। कलकत्ता में मलेरिया का भय था। बनारस के जलवायु में उससे मुक्त रहने

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की पूरी संभावना थी। इसके अतिरिक्त जयपुर में अध्ययन करते हुए ये बनारस संस्कृत कालेज के तत्कालीन प्रिंसिपल डा० वेनिस की कृतियों को पढ़कर उनके प्रति आकृष्ट हुये थे। इन कारणों से कलकत्ता की अपेक्षा काशी जाना इन्हें अधिक श्रेयस्कर प्रतीत हुआ। पता लगाने पर ज्ञात हुआ कि इनके प्रपितामह पं० कमलाकांत के एक भतीजे पं० दीनबंधु कविराज काशीवास कर रहे हैं। उनकी उम्र उस समय ८५ वर्ष की थी। वे पहले ताहिरपुर के राजा के यहाँ द्वार-पंडित थे। उक्त राजा साहेब का एक मकान केदारघाट पर था, उसीमें रहते थे। राज्य से उन्हें १५ रू० मासिक वृत्ति मिलती थी। वे भारत-धर्म-महामंडल के संस्थापकों में से थे। गोपीनाथ जी ने इन्हीं के साथ ठहरने का निश्चय किया। उनके पास इस आशय का एक पत्र भेजा, तत्काल उत्तर आया 'चले आओ'। जुलाई (१९१०) के आरंभ में इन्होंने अकेले ही काशी के लिए प्रस्थान किया।

काशी आकर दादाजी के पास केदार घाट पर ठहरे। मकान की दूसरी मंज़िल पर एक खाली कमरा मिल गया, उसी में रहने लगे। एक वृद्धा वंगीय महिला रसोई बनाती थी, नौकर भी था। इससे अध्ययन के लिये पूरी सुविधा मिल गयी। अब कालेज में भर्ती होने की चिंता हुई। क्वीन्स कालेज में उस समय दो विभाग थे—एक अंग्रेजी का और दूसरा संस्कृत का। अंग्रेजी विभाग में एम० ए०, एम० एस-सी० की पढ़ाई होती थी और संस्कृत विभाग में प्राचीन परिपाटी से आचार्य तक की शिक्षा दी जाती थी। इन दोनों विभागों की कक्षायें एक ही भवन में लगती थीं। संस्कृत कालेज का समय प्रातः ६.३० से १०.३० बजे तक था और अंग्रेजी विभाग का १०.३० से ४.३० बजे सायंकाल तक। संस्कृत की कक्षाओं में अध्यापकों के लिए गद्दा, मसनद तथा छात्रों के लिए दरी की व्यवस्था थी, अंग्रेजी कक्षाओं में मेज़ कुर्सी की। कालेज के हाल में पुस्तकालय था।

ये समय से कुछ पहले पहुँच गये थे, इसलिये प्रिंसिपल से उनके बंगले पर ही मिल लेना उचित समझा। चपरासी द्वारा अपने आने की सूचना भेजी। वेनिस साहब अध्ययन कक्ष में बैठे कुछ लिख रहे थे। उसे बंद करके उन्होंने तुरन्त ही इन्हें बुला लिया। पूछा 'किस कक्षा में प्रवेश चाहते हो।' इन्होंने कहा, 'पंचम वर्षय में'। 'बी० ए० कहां से पास किया है ?' 'महाराजा कालेज जयपुर से'। 'वहां संजीवन बाबू प्रिंसिपल है; फिर यहां क्यों चले आए ?' 'आपके नाम से आकृष्ट होकर'। 'मुझे कैसे जाना ?' इन्होंने बताया 'सेकरेड बुक्स आव दि ईस्ट' में डा० थिबो ने 'ब्रह्म-सूत्रभाष्य' के अनुवाद की भूमिका में आपके द्वारा प्राप्त सहायता के लिए आभार-प्रदर्शन किया है।' यह ग्रथ मैंने पढ़ा है। एप्पीग्राफिया इंडिका में असम के एक शिलालेख पर आपके खोजपूर्ण निबंध के अतिरिक्त 'वेदान्तसिद्धान्तमुक्तावली तथा 'सिद्धान्तलेश' के अंग्रेजी अनुवाद भी मैंने देखे हैं। वेनिस साहब संस्कृत तथा पुरातत्व विषयक इनकी व्यापक जानकारी से बहुत प्रभावित हुए। उन्होंने एम० ए० (प्रथम वर्ष) में प्रविष्ट होने की सहर्ष अनुमति दे दी। उन दिनों स्वदेशी आन्दोलन चल रहा था, इसलिये गवर्नमेंट कालेज की उच्च कक्षाओं में प्रवेश बहुत छानबीन के बाद ही मिलता था। विषय-निर्वाचन के संबंध में वेनिस साहब के पूछने पर इन्होंने संस्कृत, प्राकृत और दर्शन में अपनी विशेष रुचि बतायी। वे बोले 'प्रथम वर्ष में तो सब कुछ पढ़ना है, द्वितीय वर्ष में ग्रूपिंग (वर्ग-विभाजन) है।' उस समय 'डी' ग्रूप ले लेना। उसमें भारतीय इतिहास एवं संस्कृति, पुरा लेखशास्त्र, मुद्राविज्ञान तथा पुरालिपि विद्या पढ़ायी जाती है। इन विषयों का अध्यापन मैं ही करता हूँ। दर्शन लेने की जरूरत नहीं है, अंग्रेजी की भी नहीं। उन्होंने आगे कहा, 'मेरी इच्छा है कि इन विषयों के साथ ही तुम प्राचीन परिपाटी से भी संस्कृत का अध्ययन करो। इस समय हमारे यहां महामहोपाध्याय पं० कैलाशचन्द्र शिरोमणि के सबसे योग्य शिष्य पं० वामाचरण न्यायाचार्य हैं, उनसे न्याय दर्शन पढ़ो ? कल मुझसे कालेज में मिलना।' प्रिंसिपल के आदेशानुसार ये दूसरे दिन कालेज में मिले। उन्होंने पं० वामाचरण को बुलाकर इन्हें सौंप दिया। पंडित जी ने न्यायशास्त्र का ग्रंथ 'तर्कभाषः' कक्षा में पढ़ाना प्रारंभ किया। 'भामती।' स्वयं पढ़ लेने का आदेश दिया ? डा० वेनिस पुरालेख शास्त्र पढ़ाने लगे।

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उस समय भारतीय पुरातत्व विभाग के संचालक सर जॉन मार्शल थे। वे वेनिस साहब के मित्र थे। खोज में प्राप्त नये शिलालेखों के प्रतिचित्र वे पाठोद्धार तथा आलोचना के निमित्त वेनिस साहब के पास बराबर भेजते रहते थे। वेनिस साहब कक्षा में अपने विद्यार्थियों के साथ उन पर विचार विमर्श किया करते थे। यह कक्षा प्रातः लगती थी। अपराह्न में प्रोफेसर नार्मन पाली-प्राकृत पढ़ाते थे। इससे इन्हें दो बार कालेज आना जाना पड़ता था। केदारघाट से क्वीन्स कालेज आने-जाने में इन्हें प्रतिदिन ८ मील पैदल चलना पड़ता था। इनका दुर्बल शरीर यह परिश्रम सहन न कर सका। ये अस्वस्थ रहने लगे। परीक्षा का समय निकट आ गया।

१९११ के मार्च में पंचम वर्ष की परीक्षा देने इलाहाबाद गये। बिहारीलाल की धर्मशाला में सामान रखकर उपयुक्त स्थान की तलाश में निकले। संयोगवश जयपुर के एक पुराने साथी गंगाप्रताप गुप्त से भेंट हो गयी थी। वे कटरा के पास 'लॉ हास्टल' में रहते थे। उन्होंने अपने यहाँ ठहरने का प्रस्ताव किया, किंतु अध्ययन में बाधा की संभावना देखकर इन्होंने उसे स्वीकार नहीं किया। तब गुप्त जी ने इन्हें कटरा के पास ही रहनेवाले अपने एक मित्र के साथ ठहरा दिया। वे मित्र (आचार्य) नरेन्द्रदेव थे। उन्होंने गोपीनाथ जी के रहने और भोजन की समुचित व्यवस्था करा दी। संयोगवश परीक्षाकाल में ही ये मलेरिया-ग्रस्त हो गये। नरेन्द्रदेव ने बड़ी तत्परता से चिकित्सा करायी, जिससे परीक्षा सकुशल समाप्त हो गयी। उनकी आत्मीयता, औदार्य और सेवाभाव से ये बहुत प्रभावित हुए। प्रथम परिचय में ही आचार्य जी से इनकी घनिष्ठता हो गयी जो उत्तरोत्तर पुष्ट होती गयी।

परीक्षा समाप्त होने पर ये काशी आये। बीमारी से अभी तक पूर्णतया मुक्ति नहीं मिली थी। अतः ग्रीष्मावकाश में घर (बंगाल) चले गये। वहाँ भी शारीरिक स्थिति में कोई विशेष सुधार नहीं हुआ। छुट्टी बीतने पर १९११ की जुलाई में पुनः बनारस लौटकर एम० ए० के द्वितीय वर्ष में प्रवेश लिया। किंतु स्वास्थ्य दिन पर दिन गिरता ही गया। हृदय रोग जोर पकड़ता गया। वेनिस साहब को इसकी सूचना मिली। उन्होंने इनको एक वर्ष तक पढ़ाई स्थगित करके और कलकत्ता जाकर दवा कराने की सलाह दी। वे इनकी आर्थिक स्थिति से भलीभाँति परिचित थे। अतः अपने विशेषाधिकार से पढ़ाई स्थगित करने पर भी छात्रवृत्ति मिलने की व्यवस्था करा दी। कलकत्ता जाकर इन्होंने हृदयरोग के विशेषज्ञ डाक्टर एस० के० मल्लिक तथा डा० आर० एल० दत्त से तीन महीने तक चिकित्सा करायी। साथ में माता सुखदा सुंदरी देवी भी थीं। कुछ स्वस्थ होने पर डाक्टरी सलाह से वायु-परिवर्तन के लिये १९११ के अक्तूबर महीने में पुरी गये। परिचर्या के लिये दन्या के ही निवासी जानकीनाथ राय के पुत्र सुरेन्द्रनाथ राय और राजेन्द्रमोहन सान्याल (ब्रजेन्द्र मोहन सान्याल के पुत्र) साथ गये। इस समय इनकी माता के मामा नवकुमार विश्वास, जो विजयकृष्ण गोस्वामी के शिष्य थे, पुरी में ही, लोटिया बाबा की समाधि के पास रहते थे। उन्होंने इनको स्वर्गद्वार मुहल्ले में समुद्रतट पर हरिदास साधु की समाधि से संलग्न एक मकान किराये पर दिला दिया। वहाँ की जलवायु से एक सप्ताह के भीतर ही इनका स्वास्थ्य बिल्कुल ठीक हो गया। ये पुरी से घर चले गये। वहाँ दो महीने के लगभग रहकर जनवरी, १९१२ ई० में पुनः काशी आ गये।

इस बीच पं० दीनबंधु कविराज केदारघाट का मकान छोड़कर ५३, देवनाथपुरा में रहने लगे थे। गोपीनाथ जी वहीं ठहरे। कुछ दिन बाद इनके एक मित्र नृपेशचन्द्र गुहा ने हरद्वार चलने का प्रस्ताव किया। नृपेश, बारीसाल के स्वदेशी आन्दोलन के नेता, अश्विनीकुमार दत्त के निकट संबंधी थे। कविराज जी स्वयं भी किसी स्वास्थ्य प्रद पर्वतीय प्रदेश की यात्रा करना चाहते थे। अतः तैयार हो गये। दोनों साथ ही हरद्वार गये। दो ढाई महीने कनखल, ऋषिकेश लक्ष्मणझूला, हरद्वार, मंसूरी और देहरादून की सैर करते रहे। अप्रैल बीतते-बीतते काशी लौट आये। इसके बाद कालेज में ग्रीष्मावकाश हो गया। ये दन्या चले गये।

१९१२ की जुलाई में इनका एम० ए० (द्वितीय वर्ष) में पुनः प्रवेश हुआ। जो छात्र इनके एक वर्ष पीछे

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थे अत्र सहपाठी हो गये। इनमें नरेन्द्र देव और हरिराम दिवेकर भी थे। ये तीनों डा० वेनिस के निर्देशन में पुरातत्व पढ़ने लगे। इस कक्षा में ब्राह्मी, कुषाण तथा गुप्तलिपि के ऐतिहासिक क्रमविकास का अध्ययन एवं आलोचन होता था। पाली-प्राकृत कक्षा में एक सहपाठी और थे——महामहोपाध्याय पं० गंगाधरशास्त्री के छोटेभाई पं० लक्ष्मणशास्त्री तैलंग। ये व्यक्तिगत छात्र के रूप में केवल इसी कक्षा में बैठते थे। ये लोग प्रोफेसर नार्मन से पाली-प्राकृत के अतिरिक्त अंत में फ्रेंच और जर्मन भी पढ़ते थे। पं० वामाचरण के छोटे भाई ताराचरण भट्टाचार्य भी सहपाठी हुए।

देवनाथपुरा से कालेज आने-जाने में कृशकाय गोपीनाथ जी को कष्ट होता था। आर्थिक चिंता का भार इसके ऊपर से था। ब्रजेन्द्र मोहन सान्याल कुछ न कुछ भेजते रहते थे। किंतु उससे खर्च पूरा नहीं पड़ता था। इस परेशानी को दूर करने के लिए इन्होंने औरंगाबाद में एक प्राइवेट ट्यूशन कर लिया। वेनिस साहब को जब इसका पता लगा तो उन्होंने इन्हें दो छात्रवृत्तियाँ दिला दी——"शेक्सपियर' स्कालरशिप तथा 'साधोलाल ट्रस्ट' स्कालरशिप। इसके साथ ही कालेज के छात्रावास में एक कमरा भी दे दिया। छात्रावास कालेज से सटा हुआ था। नरेन्द्र देव उसी में रहते थे। गोपीनाथ जी पहले दिन उन्हीं के मेहमान रहे। दूसरे दिन १० अगस्त १९१२ को कमरा मिल गया। इसी से संलग्न कमरे में इंडियन प्रेस के अध्यक्ष बाबू चिंतामणि घोष के दामाद नलिनीमोहन वसु रहते थे। वे गणित से एम० ए० कर रहे थे और डा० गणेशप्रसाद के विद्यार्थी थे। इनके अन्य समकालीन छात्रों में मुरलीधर ठक्कुर, बलदेव मिश्र, गंगाधर मिश्र, गिरीशचन्द्र अवस्थी, रामेश्वर देव, ललिताप्रसाद, मनसाराम, कालिकाप्रसाद, और जानकीशरण विशेष उल्लेखनीय हैं।

१९१३ के अप्रैल में नरेन्द्रदेव के साथ एम० ए० द्वितीय वर्ष की परीक्षा देने ये इलाहाबाद गये। मौखिक परीक्षा लेने के लिए पूना से डाक्टर डी० आर० भंडारकर आये थे। वे जर्मन, फ्रेंच आदि भाषाओं में प्रकाशित पुरातत्व संबन्धी नवीन खोजों के विवरणों से इनका परिचय देखकर बहुत प्रभावित हुए।

इसी महीने (अप्रैल १९१३) में प्रोफेसर नार्मन की अचानक मृत्यु हो गई। उन्होंने आत्महत्या कर ली थी। नार्मन साहब का गोपीनाथ जी पर बहुत स्नेह था। इस घटना से इनके हृदय पर बड़ा आघात पहुँचा। मलेरिया का पुनः आक्रमण हो गया। तत्परता से दवा करने पर कुछ राहत मिली किंतु पूर्ण स्वास्थ्य लाभ नहीं हुआ। वेनिस साहब ने इन्हें स्वास्थ्य-लाभ के उद्देश्य से पहाड़ पर जाने की सलाह दी। वे उन दिनों शिक्षा संचालक के पद पर स्थानापन्न रूप में कार्य कर रहे थे। अपने मित्र ज्ञानेन्द्रनाथ चक्रवर्ती से उन्होंने नैनीताल में इनके रहने के लिये व्यवस्था कराने का अनुरोध किया। चक्रवर्ती जी के दामाद जगदीशचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय कश्मीर राज्य में अनुसंधान-विभाग के संचालक थे। इन्होंने 'काश्मीर-शैव-ग्रंथमाला' की स्थापना की थी, जिसके अन्तर्गत अनेक बहुमूल्य ग्रंथ प्रकाशित हुए। इनके मित्र अतुलचन्द्र चटर्जी इंगलैंड में भारत के हाई कमिश्नर थे। वे कलकत्ता की 'डान सोसाइटी' के प्रतिष्ठापक और 'डान मैगज़ीन' के अधिष्ठाता सुप्रसिद्ध मनीषी सतीशचन्द्र मुखोपाध्याय के शिष्य थे। चटर्जी महोदय गर्मी के दिनों में प्रायः नैनीताल के ताराकाटेज में रहा करते थे। बड़े ही सज्जन तथा उदार प्रकृति के व्यक्ति थे। चक्रवर्ती की प्रेरणा से उन्होंने गोपीनाथ जी के लिए पुराने गवर्नमेंट हाउस में ठहरने का प्रबंध करा दिया। वेनिस साहब ने इसकी सूचना कविराज जी को दे दी।

दिल्ली में कश्मीरी गेट के पास कविराज जी के अन्यतम स्नेही मेघनाद भट्टाचार्य के मित्र अक्षयकुमार मुकर्जी रहते थे। उन्हीं के पास मेघनाद जी के पुत्र नृत्यगोपाल ठहरे हुए थे। कविराज जी ग्रीष्मावकाश में उनसे मिलने दिल्ली गये। छुट्टी होने के कारण उन दिनों जयपुर से नृत्यगोपाल के छोटे भाई ब्रजगोपाल भी आये हुए थे। अक्षय कुमार जी का पुत्र नगेन्द्रनाथ इनका समवयस्क था। इन सब ने मिलकर गोपीनाथ जी के साथ नैनीताल जाने का निश्चय किया। अतः जब नैनीताल जाने लगे तो ब्रजगोपाल और नगेन्द्रनाथ भी साथ हो लिये। तीनों पूर्वनिश्चित स्थान——पुराने गवर्नमेंट हाउस में ठहरे।

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चटर्जी महाशय ने गवर्नमेण्ट हाउस के एक चपरासी को इन लोगों की यथावसर सहायता करने का आदेश दे रखा था। इससे कोई तकलीफ नहीं हुई। जून समाप्त हो रहा था। गोपीनाथ जी बड़ी उत्सुकता से परीक्षाफल की प्रतीक्षा करने लगे। समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित होने से पूर्व ही वेनिस साहब को उसका पता चल गया था, किन्तु बताया उन्होंने प्रकाशित होने के बाद ही। कविराज जी ने इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय की एम० ए० परीक्षा प्रथम श्रेणी में उत्तीर्ण की और कक्षा में प्रथम स्थान प्राप्त किया। वेनिस साहब ने बताया कि उक्त विश्वविद्यालय में इसके पूर्व उस परीक्षा में किसी छात्र ने इतने अंक नहीं प्राप्त किये थे। उन दिनों राजा माधोलाल, जिनके द्वारा स्थापित 'माधोलाल न्यास' से इन्हें छात्रवृत्ति मिल रही थी नैनीताल में ही 'चीना पीक' पर ठहरे हुए थे। डा० वेनिस ने इन्हें कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन के लिए उनसे मिल लेने की प्रेरणा दी। गोपीनाथ जी ने राजा साहब से मिलकर अपने परीक्षा-फल की सूचना दी। वे इनकी असाधारण सफलता का संवाद पाकर बहुत प्रसन्न हुए और भविष्य में भी यथेष्ट सहायता के लिए आश्वासन दिया।

एक दो दिन के बाद वेनिस साहब ने इन्हें बताया कि उनके पास इनकी नियुक्ति के लिए दो स्थानों से तार आये हैं—एक लाहौर कालेज के प्रिंसिपल ए० सी० बुलनर का; दूसरा मेयो कालेज, अजमेर के संस्कृत प्रोफेसर के स्थान के लिए जयपुर के प्रिंसिपल संजीवन बाबू का। गोपीनाथ जी ने एतद्विषयक निर्णय उन्हीं पर छोड़ा। डा० वेनिस ने इस संबंध में पहले ही निश्चय कर लिया था, बोले 'यदि हमारी सलाह मानों तो इनमें से कोई पद स्वीकार न करो।' इनकी भी इच्छा, आर्थिक विपन्नता के बावजूद, धनोपार्जन की अपेक्षा ज्ञानोपार्जन की अधिक थी। अपने उद्देश्य को स्पष्ट करते हुए वेनिस महोदय ने आगे कहा 'अभी कुछ दिनों उत्तर स्नातकीय छात्रवृत्ति लेकर अनुसंधान करो, पीछे सब ठीक हो जायगा।' गोपीनाथ जी ने उनके आदेशानुसार उक्त दोनों संस्थाओं को अस्वीकृति का पत्र भेज दिया। वेनिस साहब का विचार हुआ कि अजमेर कालेज में नरेन्द्रदेव की नियुक्ति करा दें। इस हेतु उन्होंने कविराज जी को उनके पास पत्र लिखने को कहा। इन्होंने ११ जुलाई १९१३ ई० को इस आशय का एक पत्र फ़ैज़ाबाद भेजा। १६ जुलाई को इन्हें उत्तर मिला कि नरेन्द्रदेव पिता की इच्छानुसार ला पढ़ने इलाहाबाद चले गये हैं। कविराज जी ने यह सूचना वेनिस साहब को दे दी।

विद्यार्थी-जीवन में स्थापित नरेन्द्रदेव जी से इनका मैत्री भाव क्रमशः दृढ़ होता गया। काशी विद्यापीठ की प्रतिष्ठा के बाद जब से वहाँ के आचार्य होकर आये और 'विद्यापीठ-पत्रिका' का संपादन करने लगे तो उनकी प्रेरणा से कविराज जी ने कई लेख लिखे। इसके अनंतर हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति पद पर कार्य करते हुए भी आचार्य जी ने इनसे प्रत्यक्ष संपर्क बनाये रखा। 'बौद्ध धर्म दर्शन' समाप्त करने के पश्चात् उन्होंने इनके सामने उसकी भूमिका लिखने का प्रस्ताव रखते हुए उसके अंतर्गत आगम और तंत्र विषयक सामग्री पर विशेष प्रकाश डालने का अनुरोध किया। कविराज जी उनकी इस इच्छा की पूर्ति कर एक प्रकार से मित्र-ऋण से मुक्त हुए।

१९१३ ई० की जुलाई में ये नैनीताल से काशी लौट आए। शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल ने पुरानी दुर्गाबाड़ी में एक मकान किराये पर तै करा दिया। उसी में कुछ दिन रहे। इसके बाद वेनिस साहब ने कालेज के छात्रावास में इनके आवास की व्यवस्था कर दी। ये स्नातकोत्तर अनुसंधानक के रूप में वहीं रहने लगे। वेनिस साहब ने अशोक के शिलालेखों पर एक जनरंजक पुस्तक तैयार करने का निर्देश दिया। इस कार्य में इन्हें एक वर्ष लग गया। इसके अतिरिक्त जो समय बचता उसे वे रहस्यवादी साहित्य के अध्ययन में लगाते। इस विषय पर जयपुर प्रवास के समय इन्होंने कई ग्रन्थ पढ़े थे, किंतु उस समय इनकी रुचि साहित्यिक ग्रंथों के अध्ययन की ओर अधिक थी। अब उससे विरक्ति हो चली थी। इस बीच इन्होंने यूरोपीय, मध्य एशियाई तथा भारतीय रहस्यवादी एवं गुह्य विद्या का गंभीर अध्ययन किया।

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थियोसाफिकल सोसाइटी का एतत्संबंधी साहित्य तथा डा० भगवान दास का 'साइंस आफ पीस' और 'प्रणववाद' विशेष प्रेरणाप्रद सिद्ध हुए।

१९१४ ई० के फरवरी महीने में सरस्वती भवन बनकर तैयार हो गया। क्वीन्स कालेज का पुस्तकालय इसमें स्थानांतरित कर दिया गया। इसके लिए अधीक्षक का एक नया पद स्वीकृत हुआ। डा० वेनिस ने इस पद पर इनकी नियुक्ति करा दी। यह कार्य करते हुए इन्हें अनुसंधान एवं अध्ययन की भी सुविधा प्रदान कर दी गयी। वेतन १३५) रु० मासिक निश्चित हुआ। ४ अप्रैल १९१४ को इन्होंने उक्त पद का कार्यभार संभाल लिया। जब इन्होंने छात्रावास छोड़ दिया और तेलिया बाग में किराये का मकान लेकर सपरिवार रहने लगे। इसके कुछ महीने बाद वेनिस साहब ने अवकाश ग्रहण कर लिया।

गवर्नमेंट संस्कृत कालेज के प्रिंसिपल पद से निवृत्त होने के अनन्तर सरकार ने इन्हें संयुक्त प्रान्त (वर्तमान उत्तर प्रदेश) में संस्कृत शिक्षा का अधीक्षक बना दिया। इन्होंने प्रिंसिपल का बंगला छोड़ दिया और पुस्तकालय भवन में ही दो कमरे लेकर रहने लगे। इसके साथ ही १९१५ ई० की जनवरी से वे इलाहबाद विश्वविद्यालय में पोस्ट वैदिक स्टडीज (उत्तरवैदिक साहित्यानुशीलन) के प्रोफेसर का भी कार्य करने लगे। ईस्टर की छुट्टियों के बाद उन्होंने इनको अपने विभाग में २०० रु० मासिक पर रीडर के पद पर नियुक्त करा दिया। इलाहाबाद न जाकर इन्हें अपनी इच्छानुसार संस्कृत कालेज में रहकर ही शोध-निर्देशन की सुविधा प्राप्त हो गई। यह पद तीन वर्ष के लिए स्वीकृत हुआ था। वेनिस साहब भी काशी में ही रहते थे। उन्हें महीने में कुछ दिन इलाहाबाद जाकर लेक्चर देना पड़ता था। कविराज जी को दो अनुसंधान सहायक मिले थे—पं० श्यासुन्दर शर्मा और पं० रामलभय गोस्वामी। शर्मा जी जयपुर कालेज के पं० वीरेश्वर शास्त्री द्रविड़ के विद्यार्थी रह चुके थे और गोस्वामी जी लाहौर से वुलनर साहब द्वारा भेजे गये थे। शर्मा जी का शोध विषय था-'एडिटिंग आव दि वोकाबुलरी आव पोस्ट अशोकन एण्ड प्रीगुप्ता इन्सिक्रिप्शन्स' और गोस्वामी जी का 'ए क्रिटिकल स्टडी ऑव द रामायण आन दि बेसिस आव द कतक भाष्य।' कुछ दिनों बाद एक और शोध-छात्र आये। ये थे पं० बदरीनाथ शास्त्री, जो जयपुर कालेज में गोपीनाथ जी के गुरु रह चुके थे। उन्हें न्यायशास्त्र पर शोधकार्य दिया गया।

सरस्वती भवन में संग्रहीत दुर्लभ हस्तलेखों के प्रकाशन के लिए वेनिस साहब ने एक योजना बनायी। 'प्रिन्स आव वेल्स सीरीज़' की स्थापना इसी उद्देश्य से की गयी थी। इस ग्रन्थ-माला के दो भाग थे। प्रथम के अन्तर्गत ग्रन्थों के मूलपाठ (टेक्स्ट) और द्वितीय में उनके आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन सम्बन्धी सामग्री (स्टडीज़) प्रकाशित होती थी। इसके अन्तर्गत न्याय, वेदान्त, धर्मशास्त्र, तंत्र, भौतिकशास्त्र, मीमांसा, पांचरात्र, आगम, गणित आदि विभिन्न विषयों पर जो अनेक महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ प्रकाशित हुए उनकी अधिकांश सामग्री कविराज द्वारा ही प्रस्तुत की गयी थी।

कार्यकाल के अंतिम दिनों में डा० वेनिस अपने प्रिय विषय पुरालेख को छोड़कर न्यायवैशेषिक पर एक ग्रंथ लिख रहे थे। अभी वह पूरा नहीं हुआ था कि वे अचानक बीमार पड़े और ४ अप्रैल, १९१८ को अपनी कर्मभूमि काशी में ही उनका निधन हो गया। न्याय वाले उनके अधूरे कार्य को पूरा करने के लिए एक रूसी विद्वान् चारवास्काय की नियुक्ति हुई किंतु वे कृतकार्य न हो सके। उनके बीच में ही छोड़कर चले जाने से वह ग्रंथ वैसे ही पड़ा रह गया।

वेनिस साहब के दिवंगत होने पर कुछ दिनों तक स्थायी प्रिंसिपल के रूप में संस्कृत पाठशालाओं के वरिष्ठ निरीक्षक पं० ठाकुरदत्त शर्मा ने काम चलाया। फिर डा० गंगानाथ झा की नियुक्ति हुई। ये भी डा० वेनिस के शिष्य रह चुके थे। अतः गोपीनाथ जी के साथ गुरुभाई जैसा व्यवहार करते रहे। डा० झा के समय में ही कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के उपकुलपति सर आशुतोष मुकर्जी कविराज जी को अपने यहाँ ले जाने के उद्देश्य से काशी आये। उन्होंने अधिक वेतन तथा अन्य सुविधायें प्रदान करने का प्रस्ताव किया किंतु ये राजी न हुए। इसी वर्ष (१९१८) इन्होंने दीक्षा ली थी।

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गुरुदेव अधिकतर काशी में ही रहते थे ; उनके चरणों के सामीप्य से वंचित होना किसी भी मूल्य पर इन्हें स्वीकार न था। इसी कारण से लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय के उपकुलपति ज्ञानेन्द्रनाथ चक्रवर्ती महोदय के अनुरोध करने पर भी काशी छोड़कर लखनऊ जाने में इन्होंने अपनी असमर्थता व्यक्त की।

इस बीच इनकी रुचि एवं अध्ययन की दिशा में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन हुए। धीरे-धीरे भक्ति और दर्शन की ओर इनका झुकाव अधिक होता गया। भारतीय आस्तिकवाद, गोरखपंथ, वीरशैवमत, तांत्रिक दर्शन, मध्यकालीन भक्ति संप्रदाय-मुख्यतया गौड़ीय वैष्णव धर्म——इनके विशेष अध्ययन के विषय हो गये। इन पर हिन्दी, अंग्रेजी तथा बंगला की शोध एवं साहित्यिक पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में इनके लेख समय-समय पर निकलते रहे।

१९२४ ई० में डा० गंगानाथ झा के गवर्नमेंट संस्कृत कालेज के प्रिंसिपल के पद से कार्य-निवृत्त होने पर उनके स्थान पर पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज की नियुक्ति हुई। इस पद के प्रत्याशियों में दर्शनशास्त्र के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् डाक्टर एस० एन० दासगुप्त भी थे। किंतु निर्वाचन-समिति के सदस्यों——श्री ए० बी० ध्रुव और डा० गंगानाथ झा ने कविराज जी को ही उनके अगाध पांडित्य और संस्कृत कालेज के प्रति की गई सेवाओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए, वरीयता दी। प्रिंसिपल होने के बाद भी कुछ समय तक ये रजिस्ट्रार तथा परीक्षायोजक का कार्य संभालते रहे। इन दोनों पदों पर पृथक्-पृथक् नियुक्तियां बाद को हुईं। इस प्रकार इनके ग्यारह वर्ष तक पूर्ण निष्ठा से संस्कृत कालेज का कार्य करते रहने के बाद १९३७ ई० में इन्हें 'बेरी बेरी' की बीमारी हुई। उसके भीषण प्रकोप से शरीर जर्जर हो गया। डाक्टरों ने पूर्ण विश्राम की सलाह दी। इसके अतिरिक्त, दीक्षा के बाद आध्यात्मिक साधनों में इनके निरंतर लीन रहने के कारण इनका मन उत्तरोत्तर सांसारिक कार्यों से विरत हो रहा था। प्रिंसिपल के पद पर कार्य करते हुए व्यवस्था, अनुशासन आदि में काफी समय निकल जाता था। यह व्यावहारिक जीवन-पद्धति इनकी अंतर्मुखी वृत्ति के प्रतिकूल पड़ती थी। बीमारी ने इस भावना को और उद्दीप्त कर दिया। १९३७ में ही इन्होंने कालपूर्व कार्य-निवृत्ति के लिये आवेदन-पत्र दे दिया। प्रान्तीय शिक्षा-विभाग ने रोगमुक्ति के हेतु लंबा अवकाश देकर इनकी सेवावृत्ति को सुरक्षित रखने का प्रयत्न किया किंतु ये पहले ही पदत्याग का संकल्प कर चुके थे। उस पर दृढ़ रहे। ऐसी स्थिति में सरकार को विवश होकर इन्हें १३ मार्च, १९३७ ई० को कार्य-मुक्त करना पड़ा। इस पद से निवृत्त होकर ये एकनिष्ठ भाव से स्वाध्याय एवं साधना में निरत रहने लगे।

बनारस संस्कृत कालेज में नौकरी करने के आरंभिक काल, सन् १९१४ ई० से लेकर, कार्य-निवृत्ति होने के समय, १९३७ ई० तक कविराज जी किराये के मकान में रहे। तेईस वर्षों की इस लंबी अवधि में इन्हें काशी के कई मुहल्लों का चक्कर लगाना पड़ा। यह क्रम तेलियाबाग से आरंभ होकर विक्टोरिया पार्क, कोदई चौकी, अगस्त्य कुंड, पिशाच मोचन, मलदहिया, कबीर चौरा, हौज कटोरा, बड़ादेव होता हुआ ध्रुवेश्वर में समाप्त हुआ। सेवावृत्ति से विरत होने के पूर्व ही इन्होंने काशी में आजीवन निवास का निश्चय कर लिया था और तभी सिगरा पर दाऊजी के मंदिर के पास भूमि खरीद कर मकान बनवाना आरंभ कर दिया था। १९३७ ई० में वह पूरा हो गया। अतः अवकाशग्रहण के बाद शीघ्र ही किराये का मकान छोड़कर ये अपने इस नये घर में चले आये।

कविराज जी के दो संतानें हुईं-एक पुत्री सुधारानी और एक पुत्र जितेन्द्रनाथ। इन दोनों का जन्म धन्या में ही हुआ था। स्नेहमूर्ति नानी वामासुंदरी जी का निधन १३ नवम्बर, १९१२ ई० को धामराई में हो चुका था। उनकी पुत्री स्वर्णमयी और दामाद कैलाशचन्द्र नियोगी उन्हीं के घर पर रहते थे। १९१४ ई० में जब इन की नियुक्ति क्वीन्स कालेज में हो गयी तो अपने परिवार के साथ मौसी और मौसा को भी काशी ले आये। उन्हें एक किराये के मकान में ठहरा दिया। उनका सारा खर्चा यही देते थे। १९१८ ई० में मौसा (कैलाशचन्द्र नियोगी) का देहान्त हो गया। इसके बाद इन्होंने मौसी की इच्छानुसार उनके रहने की व्यवस्था गंगा तट पर कर दी। कुछ दिन तपोमय जीवन व्यतीत

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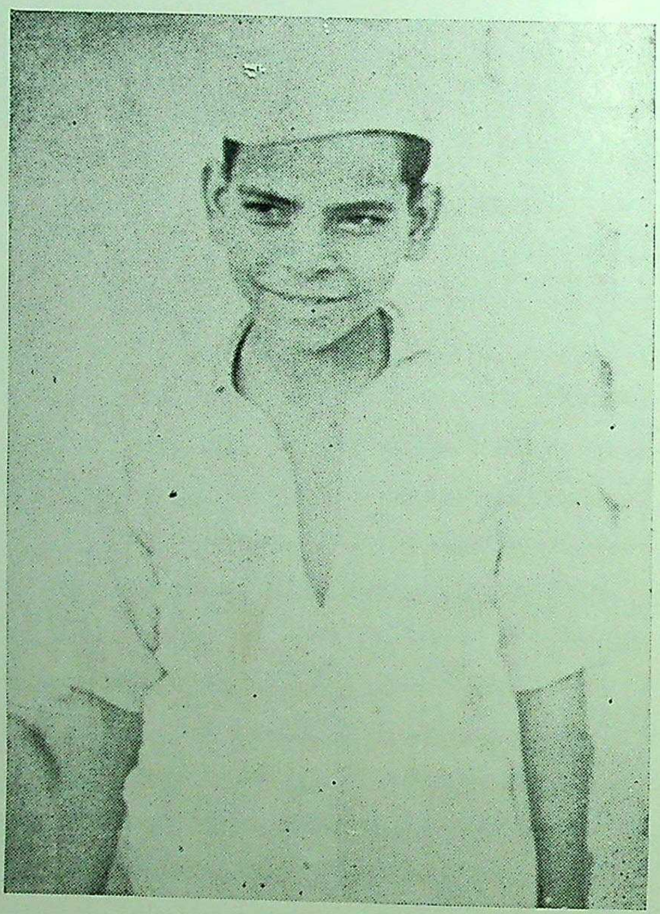

बालक सीताराम

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करने के पश्चात् वे रोगग्रस्त हुईं। उन दिनों कविराज जी बड़ादेव में रहते थे। ये उन्हें सेवा-सुश्रूषा के लिये अपने घर ले आये। यहीं उनका देहान्त हो गया। इसी के आसपास १० अप्रैल, १९२५ ई० को माता सुखदा सुंदरी देवी भी परलोक-वासिनी हुईं। १९२५ ई० में ही सुधारानी का विवाह ढाका जिलें की मानिकगंज तहसील के निवासी कुमुदबंधु राय के पुत्र सुशीलनाथ के साथ सम्पन्न हुआ। देश के विभाजन के बाद उनका परिवार पश्चिमी बंगाल चला आया और दमदम में बस गया। सुशीलनाथ जी का गतवर्ष देहान्त हो गया। अब सुधारानी अपने दो पुत्रों के साथ दमदम में ही स्थायी रूप से रहती हैं। उनकी दो पुत्रियों का विवाह हो चुका है। बड़ा लड़का नौकरी करता है, छोटा पढ़ता है।

जितेन्द्रनाथ ने इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय से बी० एस-सी० पास करके एल० एल० बी० किया। १९३३ ई० में उनका विवाह हुआ। इसके बाद उनकी भारत बैंक में सहायक मैनेजर के पद पर नियुक्ति हो गयी। उक्त बैंक का पंजाब नेशनल बैंक में विलय हो जाने पर ये उत्तर प्रदेशीय शासन के राशनिंग-विभाग में सीनियर मार्केटिंग इन्स्पेक्टर हो गये। इनके दो पुत्रियां और एक पुत्र हुआ। इन्स्पेक्टर के पद पर कार्य करते चार वर्ष भी नहीं बीते थे कि एक दिन आफिस से लौटने के बाद रात को ९ बजे के लगभग उनकी तबीयत एकाएक खराब हो गयी। उस समय कविराज जी से कोई वैद्य मिलने आये थे। उन्हें दिखाकर दवा मंगाई गयी। इससे कुछ आराम हो गया। किंतु रात को तीन बजे के लगभग इन्हें फिर बेचैनी हुई, अपना अंतिम समय निकट जानकर उन्होंने माताजी को बुलाया और कहा 'मां! कहो कि मैंने तुम्हें क्षमा किया।' माता जी पुत्र के ये शब्द सुनकर घबड़ा गयीं। रोती हुई बोलीं 'बेटा क्या बात है? ऐसा क्यों कह रहे हो?' जितेन्द्र ने हठ किया 'बस इतना ही कह दो कि मैंने क्षमा किया।' माता ने सिसकते हुए पुत्र द्वारा कहे गये वाक्य के अंतिम शब्द दोहरा दिये। इसके बाद जितेन्द्र ने उन्हीं के द्वारा पिता जी को बुलवाया और उनसे भी वे ही शब्द कहने का अनुरोध किया। कविराज जी उन्हें धैर्य बंधाते हुए बोले 'ऐसा क्यों कह रहे हो। पुत्र का ऐसा कौन सा अपराध है, जिसे पिता क्षमा नहीं कर सकता?' जितेन्द्र की परेशानी बढ़ती देखकर इन्होंने भी 'क्षमा कर दिया' की आवृत्ति की। इसके आधा घंटे बाद प्रातः चार बजे के करीब दो पुत्री, एक पुत्र, पत्नी तथा माता-पिता को शोकमग्न छोड़कर जितेन्द्र ने शरीर छोड़ दिया। एकलौते पुत्र की महायात्रा पिता की आंखों के सामने हुई। सारे घर में कुहराम मच गया। किंतु कविराज जी की आँखों में आँसू नहीं थे। वहीं आंखें जो 'श्यामा-संगीत' की गोष्ठियों में जल--प्रवाह रोकना ही नहीं जानतीं थीं; आज सूखी थीं। शिष्यों, स्नेहियों और सम्बन्धियों ने शवयात्रा की तैयारी की। वे ही अंत्येष्टि क्रिया के लिए उसे गंगातट पर ले गये। कविराज जी थोड़ी देर तक मौन रहकर पुनः अध्यात्म-चर्या में लग गये। इस असामयिक वज्रपात के दो घंटे बाद इनके घर पर जो लोग संवेदना प्रकट करने आये इनकी विदेह-वृत्ति देखकर आवाक् हो गये। गरल पान कर इनका शिवत्व और निखर उठा।

अवकाश ग्रहण के पश्चात् कविराज जी का स्वास्थ्य साधारणतया संतोषजनक रहा, यद्यपि ये अध्यात्म-साधना और आगत जिज्ञासुओं एवं साधकों से बातचीत करने में अत्यन्त व्यस्तता के कारण उनके मूलाधार भोजन तथा विश्राम की निरंतर अवहेलना करते रहे। १९६१ ई० में इन्हें पेचिश की शिकायत हुई। उसकी चिकित्सा हुई; किंतु कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। इसी बीच माता आनंदमयी इन्हें देखने आयीं। इनके गिरते हुए स्वास्थ्य को देखकर उन्होंने डाक्टरी परीक्षा कराने की सलाह दी। उनके अनुरोध को ये टाल न सके। माता जी इन्हें अपने साथ दिल्ली ले गयीं। डा० सेन के नर्सिंग होम में 'चेक अप' हुआ। रिपोर्ट में कैन्सर की संभावना का उल्लेख था। डाक्टर सेन ने बम्बई के टाटा मेमोरियल कैन्सर इंस्टीट्यूट में ले जा कर अविलम्ब आपरेशन कराने का परामर्श दिया। माता जी इन्हें बम्बई ले गयीं। आपरेशन की व्यवस्था में महाराष्ट्र के तत्कालीन राज्यपाल, बाबू श्री प्रकाश एवं ग्वालियर की महारानी विजय राजे सिंधिया ने विशेष सहायता की। कैंसर के विश्व-प्रसिद्ध विशेषज्ञ डा० बर्जेस ने आपरेशन किया। पांच घंटे के बाद ये आपरेशन-कक्ष से बाहर लाये गये। इस दिन माता जी ने अपने बम्बई तथा पूना आश्रमों में अखंड संकीर्तन का आयोजन कराया

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और उनके प्रिय शिष्य कमल ब्रह्मचारी ने २४ घंटे का निराहार व्रत रखा। आपरेशन की सफलता के उपलक्ष में माता जी ने अस्पताल के समस्त कर्मचारियों तथा रोगियों में प्रसाद-वितरण कराया। तेईस दिन अस्पताल में रहकर डाक्टर की अनुमति प्राप्त करके ये पूना चले आये। यहां श्री प्रकाश जी ने गवर्नमेंट हाउस में इनके ठहरने का प्रबन्ध कर रखा था; परंतु उनसे पूछकर योगिराज अरविंद के प्रधान शिष्य दिलीपकुमार राय ने सेवा के लिये इन्हें अपने यहां रोक लिया। वे इनको नित्य प्रातः ५ से ५.३० बजे तक भक्ति-संगीत सुनाते थे। भोजन की व्यवस्था माताजी के आश्रय की ओर से थी। पूर्ण स्वास्थ्य लाभ करने पर ये पूना से काशी चले आये। आपरेशन से रोग निर्मूल हो चुका था। अतः उसका फिर प्रकोप नहीं हुआ।

कविराज जी का यह वृत्त उनके अनन्य सेवक सीताराम पांडे के परिचय बिना अधूरा ही रहेगा। ये श्रीचरणों में एक निराश्रित बालक के रूप में शिक्षा में सहायता प्राप्ति के उद्देश्य से १९३५ के प्रारंभ में उपस्थित हुये थे। इनका जन्म बस्ती जिले के कठेलाबाजार में हुआ था। पिता की मृत्यु के बाद ये विधवा माता के साथ अपने बहनोई पं० बदरीनाथ त्रिपाठी के यहां चले गये। वे ही इस परिवार को अपने साथ काशी ले आये और पंडिताई वृत्ति से जीविकोपार्जन करने लगे। दुर्भाग्यवश उनके काशी आने के दो साल बाद उनका भी शरीरान्त हो गया। निराश्रित सीताराम इसी परिस्थिति में कविराज जी की शरण में आये। उस समय ये क्वीन्स कालेज में प्रिंसिपल थे। कविराज जी ने इस बालक का नाम स्थानीय जयनारायण हाई स्कूल में लिखा दिया। सीताराम इन्हीं के साथ रहने लगे। इनकी माता के भरण-पोषण के लिए इसी समय से कविराज जी ने ३० रु० मासिक बंधान कर दिया जो अब तक चला आता है। बहन-बहनोई की मृत्यु के अनंतर उनके पुत्र-पुत्री के निर्वाह का भार सीताराम पर ही पड़ा। 'बाबूजी' से आज्ञा लेकर इन्होंने पढ़ाई बंद करके १९४२ ई० में लोहे की एक छोटी-सी दुकान कर ली। इस कार्य के लिए अपेक्षित तीन हजार रुपये की पूंजी भी इन्हें श्रीचरणों से ही प्राप्त हुई। १९५२ में 'बाबूजी' ने इनका विवाह करा दिया और अपनी कोठी की नीचेवाली मंजिल आवास के लिए दे दी। इनकी संतानों को 'दादू' का अगाध स्नेह प्राप्त है। सीताराम जी जीविकोपार्जन के लिए थोड़ा समय निकाल कर अहर्निश सेवा में लगे रहते हैं। यात्राओं में भोजनादि की व्यवस्था के लिये ये निरंतर साथ रहते हैं। 'बाबू जी' के साथ रहकर इन्होंने आध्यात्मिक जगत् की प्रसिद्ध विभूतियों—मेहरबाबा, श्रीराम ठाकुर, सीताराम दास, ओंकारनाथ, ताराचरण साधु प्रभृति संतों के दर्शन एवं सत्संग का सुयोग प्राप्त किया है। इस महामानव की छत्रछाया में अर्थ और परमार्थ दोनों की एक साथ उपलब्धि से ये कृतार्थ हो गये।

कविराज जी की लोकोत्तर प्रतिभा, साधनापुष्ट पांडित्य तथा साहित्यिक सेवाओं के प्रस्वीकरण स्वरूप केन्द्रीय शासन, विश्वविद्यालयों तथा गण्यमान्य साहित्यिक संस्थाओं ने इन्हें सम्मानक उपाधियाँ प्रदान कर अपने को गौरवान्वित किया है। इनके उपलक्ष में आयोजित वितरणोत्सवों में ये कभी सम्मिलित नहीं हुए। 'आप्तकामस्य का स्पृहा' की सत्यता इनके आचरण से सतत चरितार्थ होती रही।

कविराज जी द्वारा अद्यावधि उपलब्ध सम्मानसूचक पद, पुरस्कार, तथा उपाधियों का विवरण कालक्रम से नीचे दिया जाता है:—

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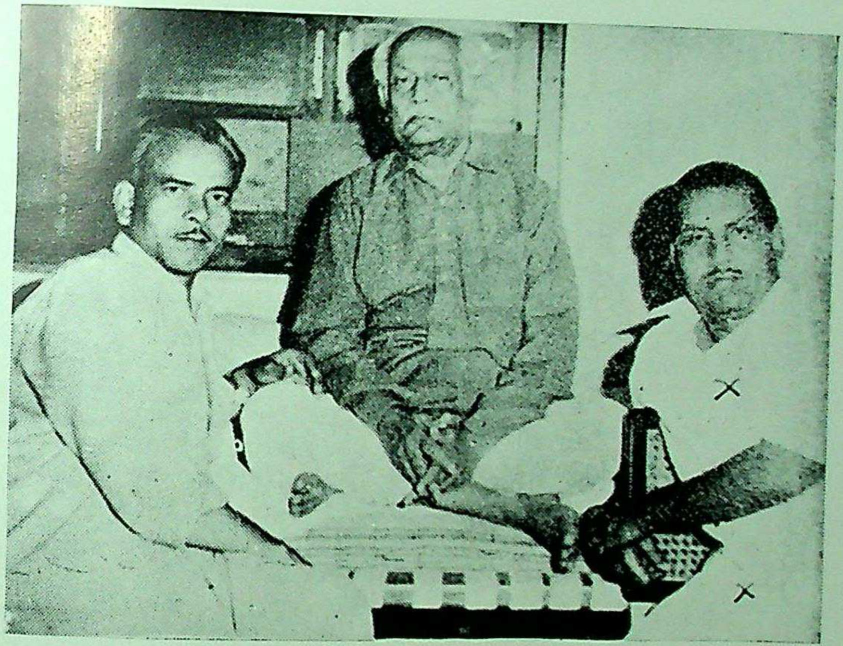

कविराज जी श्री सीताराम पाण्डेय के साथ

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अध्यक्ष-पद	—	गंगानाथ झा इन्स्टीट्यूट, दरभंगा, १९६४ ई०
साहित्य वाचस्पति	—	हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग, १९६५ ई०

उत्तर प्रदेश के वर्तमान राज्यपाल महामहिम श्री विश्वनाथ दास के व्यक्तिगत अनुरोध से इस वर्ष कविराज जी ने वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय के तत्वावधान में तंत्र-योग विषय पर अनुसंधान-निर्देशन का सम्मानक कार्य स्वीकार कर लिया है। इस विभाग से संबद्ध शोधार्थी, प्रवक्ता तथा अनुसंधान सहायक इनके घर पर ही आकर पथ-निर्देश प्राप्त करते हैं। काम रुचि के अनुकूल है, वैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व एवं व्यवस्था का झमेला नहीं है, कहीं आना-जाना नहीं पड़ता जिससे अपनी दिनचर्या बाधित होती हो, इसीलिये निभाए जा रहे हैं। लोग आश्चर्य करेंगे कि जिस व्यक्ति ने छः वर्ष पूर्व उक्त विश्वविद्यालय का उसी प्रशासन द्वारा सानुरोध प्रस्तावित उपकुलपति पद यह कह कर अस्वीकार कर दिया था कि 'अब वह बहुत पीछे छूट गया है' वही इस बार, लौकिक दृष्टि से अपेक्षाकृत न्यूनतर, शोध-निर्देशक का पद स्वीकार करने को कैसे राजी हो गया। किन्तु जो कविराज जी के जीवन की अन्तर्धारा से परिचित हैं, उनकी दृष्टि से यह तथ्य ओझल नहीं होगा कि ये आजीवन अखंड अक्षर-साधक रहे हैं। इसलिए इनके अपने दृष्टिकोण से बुद्धिजीवी के लिए अध्यापन-कार्य किसी भी प्रशासकीय पद की अपेक्षा अधिक अभिनंदनीय है। भगवद्भाव से परिभावित इस अखंड-ज्ञान-यज्ञ-रत महामानव की लोकयात्रा का प्रत्येक क्षण तथा प्रत्येक पदविन्यास इसका साक्षी है।

अध्यात्मचर्या

कविराज जी के व्यक्तित्व में आध्यात्मिकता के जो तत्त्व संस्कार रूप में विद्यमान थे, बाल्यावस्था में उनके विकास के लिए अभिभावकों ने उपयुक्त वातावरण प्रस्तुत किया। इनकी जन्मभूमि धामराई की माधव-बाड़ी में नित्य भजन-कीर्तन होता था। ये मौसी स्वर्णमयी के साथ उसमें बड़ी रुचि के साथ सम्मिलित होते थे। उत्सवों में वहां वैष्णव गोस्वामी 'भागवत' के दशमस्कंध की कथा वाद्य एवं संगीत के साथ भाव-विभोर होकर कहते थे। इनमें कृष्ण लीला के अतिरिक्त रामायण-गान भी होता था और भक्ति-ज्ञान संबंधी पद भी गाये जाते थे। गोपीनाथ जी उन्हें तन्मय होकर सुनते थे। जब ये धामराई से आकर कलाचंद के पास कांठालिया में रहने लगे तो यहां भी इन्हें घर में होनेवाले नित्य कीर्तन के अतिरिक्त जन्माष्टमी तथा दुर्गाष्टमी के अवसर पर विशेष धार्मिक समारोहों में सम्मिलित होने का सुयोग मिलता रहा। माता सुखदा सुंदरी देवी इनमें धार्मिक रुचि उत्पन्न करने की ओर स्वयं विशेष रूप से सचेष्ट रहीं। उपनयन के बाद वे इनसे वैदिक संध्या नियमपूर्वक कराती थीं। संध्यावंदन किये बिना भोजन न देने का उन्होंने नियम सा बना दिया था।

कुछ बड़े होने पर इन्हें अपने पिता पं० वैकुण्ठनाथ की पुस्तकों में तत्कालीन प्रसिद्ध धर्मोपदेशक पं० शशधर तर्कचूड़ामणि का 'धर्मव्याख्या' नामक एक ग्रंथ मिला। इसे पढ़कर ये बहुत प्रभावित हुए। ढाका में अध्ययन करते समय इन्हें उस क्षेत्र के प्रतिष्ठित धर्मतत्त्ववेत्ता रामदयाल मजूमदार के संपर्क में आने का अवसर मिला। मजूमदार जी का आदर्श था प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को ब्रह्मभाव से भावित करना। उनकी 'गीता' पर लिखी हुई विशद व्याख्या का अनुशीलन करने पर जीवन के प्रति इनकी दृष्टि ही बदल गयी। इस समय से ये अपने एक मित्र ज्योतीन्द्र के साथ साधु-संन्यासियों की जीवनियों के अध्ययन, दर्शन तथा सत्संग लाभ में विशेष रूप से प्रवृत्त रहने लगे। इन्हीं दिनों धामराई के निवासी

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जानकीनाथ गोप का, जो किसी प्राइमरी पाठशाला के प्रधानाध्यापक थे, शरीरान्त हो गया। वे बड़े विद्याव्यसनी और पुस्तक-संग्रही थे। उनके मरने के बाद उत्तराधिकारियों ने पुस्तकें बेंच डाली। उन में से कुछ गोपीनाथ जी ने भी खरीदीं। इन पुस्तकों में तैलंग स्वामी तथा भास्करानंद स्वामी के जीवन-वृत्तों के अतिरिक्त 'आर्यशास्त्र-प्रदीप' नाम का एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ प्राप्त हुआ, जो रचयिता के उल्लेखानुसार उसके द्वारा निर्मित एक विशाल दार्शनिक ग्रंथ की प्रस्तावना मात्र था। उस पुस्तक में कहीं लेखक का नाम नहीं दिया गया था। वह अध्यात्म-विद्या का विश्वकोश सा था। उसके अध्ययन से इनका मानसिक क्षितिज अत्यंत विस्तृत हो गया। कविराज जी उसकी तत्त्व-विवेचन शैली पर मुग्ध हो गये। बहुत प्रयत्न करने पर भी उसके प्रणेता का संधान न मिल सका। किंतु ये हताश न हुये।

जयपुर में अध्ययन करते हुए एक दिन ये राज्य के महालेखा-परीक्षक सत्येन्द्रनाथ मुखर्जी से मिलने गये। वे बाबा प्रेमनंद भारती के भाई और सात्विक वृत्ति के व्यक्ति थे। अध्यात्म-चर्चा के क्रम में कर्मतत्त्व-संबंधी उनकी कुछ मौलिक स्थापनाओं को सुनकर वे आश्चर्यचकित रह गये। इन्होंने जिज्ञासा की "ये विचार आपको कहां से मिले?" मुखर्जी ने बताया "एक गृहस्थ महापुरुष से। वे बड़े ज्ञानी हैं। किसी से कुछ मांगते नहीं। जीविकोपार्जन के लिये कोई प्रयत्न नहीं करते। सदैव तत्त्वानुसंधान में लीन रहते हैं। उनके गृहस्थ जीवन का नाम शशिभूषण सान्याल है। महात्मा शिवरामानंद उनके गुरु हैं। अतः वे अपने को शिवराम-किंकर कहते हैं। उन्होंने 'आर्यशास्त्र-प्रदीप' नामक एक महान् ग्रन्थ की रचना की है।" इतना पता लग जाने पर भी उक्त महापुरुष से साक्षात्कार न हो सका। मुखर्जी बाबू को उनके तात्कालिक निवास-स्थान की सूचना नहीं थी। कविराज जी की दर्शन की अभिलाषा और बलवती हो गई।

बनारस आने पर जब ये क्वीन्स कालेज में एम० ए० के विद्यार्थी हुए, इनका परिचय प्रसिद्ध क्रांतिकारी नेता शचीन्द्र नाथ सान्याल से हुआ। उस समय वे सेन्ट्रल हिन्दू कालेज की एफ० ए० कक्षा में पढ़ रहे थे। उनके चाचा पं० हरिकेशव सान्याल क्वीन्स कालेज में तर्कशास्त्र के प्रोफेसर थे। कविराज जी उनके स्नेहभाजन थे। इस नाते शचीन्द्र से इनकी घनिष्ठता हो गई। दोनों मित्र दशाश्वमेघ घाट की सीढ़ियों पर बैठकर प्रायः घंटों धार्मिक चर्चा किया करते थे। सान्याल जी का विचार था कि भारत का उद्धार धार्मिक उत्थान से ही हो सकता है। इसी प्रसंग में एक दिन उन्होंने अपने परिचित एक तत्वज्ञ महापुरुष का उल्लेख किया, जिनका पुत्र इन्दुभूषण सान्याल उनका सहपाठी था। वे महानुभाव शशिभूषण सान्याल ही थे। कविराज जी को अकस्मात् अभीष्टप्राप्ति से अपार आनंद हुआ। इन्होंने उनका दर्शन करने की इच्छा प्रकट की। शचीन्द्र ने कहा 'यों वे सामान्य लोगो से नहीं मिलते। एक बार तो उन्होंने द्वार पर दर्शनार्थ उपस्थित कश्मीर के महाराज हरीसिंह को लौटा दिया था। किंतु इंदुभूषण के माध्यम से संभव है हमें सफलता मिल जाय।' दो दिनों के बाद शचीन्द्र ने सूचना दी 'मिलने का समय निश्चित हो गया है। कल संध्या को चार बजे इन्दु के घर पहुंच जाना है।'

शिवराम किंकर योगत्रयानंद महाशय सोनारपुरा में रहते थे। मकान के दूसरे तल्ले में एक बड़ा कमरा था। उसी में उनका आसन था। जिस समय कविराज जी शचीन्द्र के साथ वहां पहुंचे, पहले से ही कई लोग मिलने की प्रतीक्षा में बैठे थे। किंतु शिवराम किंकर जी ने इंदु भूषण द्वारा इन लोगों के समय से आने की सूचना पाकर उन्हें तत्काल ही बुला लिया। कई कमरे पार करते हुए ये दोनों केन्द्रीय हाल में पहुँचे। देखा कि पुस्तकों से घिरे लम्बी जटा रखाये, गले में रुद्राक्ष की माला धारण किये प्रसन्न वदन, साक्षात् शिव की भांति तेजपूर्ण मुखमंडल वाले एक गौरवर्ण वृद्ध महापुरुष बैठे हैं। प्रणाम कर ये लोग एक किनारे बैठ गये। शचीन्द्र ने इनसे पहले ही कह दिया था 'बातें तुम्हीं करना। मैं पीछे बैठा रहूँगा।' वैसा ही हुआ। कविराज जी आगे बैठे और शचीन्द्र कुछ फासले पर पीछे। महापुरुष ने परिचय पूछने के बाद जिज्ञासा-निवृत्ति के लिये प्रश्न करने का आदेश दिया। गोपीनाथ जी ने निवेदन किया 'आये तो थे केवल दर्शनार्थ किंतु यदि आज्ञा हो तो एकाध शंका सेवा में प्रस्तुत करूं।' इसके बाद उन्होंने निम्नांकित श्लोक पढ़ा —

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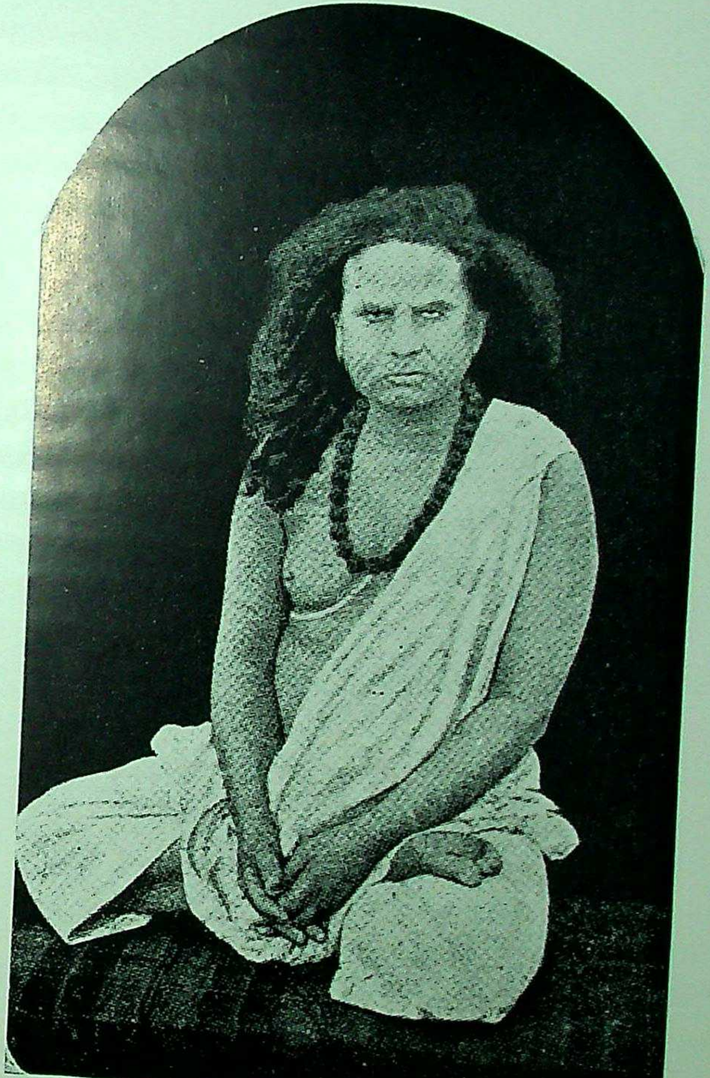

श्री शिवरामकिङ्कर योगत्रयानन्द स्वामी

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वेदाः विभिन्ना स्मृतयो विभिन्ना नासौ मुनिः यस्य मतो न भिन्नः।
धर्मस्य तत्वं निहितं गुहायां महाजनो येन गतः स पंथाः॥

और निवेदन किया कि क्या तत्वज्ञानी मुनियों में भी, जो पूर्ण सत्व के साक्षात् स्वरूप ही होते हैं, मतभेद संभव है? महात्मा जी इनकी बुद्धिमत्ता की प्रशंसा करते हुए बोले 'मुनिवर्ग मन को लेकर शास्त्रों की व्याख्या करता है। प्रत्येक मुनि की प्रकृति भिन्न होती है। अतः उनके मतों में विभिन्नता स्वाभाविक है। मुनि मात्र ही मन के अनुगामी हैं। तत्त्व का साक्षात्कार मन को अतिक्रम करके होता है। मन का निरोध किये बिना गंभीर एवं रहस्यपूर्ण धर्मतत्त्व में प्रवेश नहीं हो सकता। तत्व का दर्शन जिस अवस्था में होता है वहां मन नहीं रहता, वह निर्विकल्प स्थिति है। परंतु तत्त्व का उपदेश होता है वाक्यों से, जिसकी पृष्ठभूमि में मन की क्रिया अनिवार्यतः विद्यमान रहती है। मननशील होने से मुनि भी विकल्प रहित नहीं होते। महापुरुष निर्विकल्प समाधि की अवस्था में हृदय-गुहा में प्रविष्ट होकर धर्म तत्त्व का अन्वेषण करते हैं। जन-साधारण के लिये यह क्रिया संभव नहीं है। अतः उनके हेतु तत्त्वग्रहण का एकमात्र उपाय है महापुरुषों के द्वारा निर्दिष्ट मार्ग का अनुसरण'।

संध्या हो जाने पर उनकी आज्ञा प्राप्त करके जब ये चलने लगे तो उन्होंने कहा 'जब इच्छा हो आ जाना।' इस प्रकार भविष्य में विचार-विनिमय का मार्ग खुल गया। शिवराम किंकर महाशय सोनारपुरा से राजघाट जाकर अपने एक शिष्य द्वारा प्रदत्त मकान में रहने लगे। कविराज जी यहां भी इनका सत्संग-लाभ नियमपूर्वक करते रहे। अपने सेवक सतीशचन्द्रपाल को इन्होंने आज्ञा दे रखी थी कि 'गोपीनाथ जिस समय भी आयें मेरे पास पहुँचा देना।'

कविराज जी के व्यक्तित्व के निर्माण में इन महाशय की योगसिद्धि, स्वच्छंद-प्रवृत्ति, अनन्य रामभक्ति और अगाध-ज्ञान का विशेष योग है। उनके विद्यार्थियों में स्वामी अभेदानंद ऐसे अनेक तत्वज्ञ महापुरुष थे।[१] कविराज जी इनके संपर्क में सात वर्ष (१९११ से १९१७ ई० तक) रहे। उन्होंने एक बार भगवदाश्रम की महिमा बताते हुये अपने जीवन की एक घटना सुनाई "मैं किसी से कभी कुछ मांगता नहीं और न मेरे पास कोई निजी संपत्ति या वृत्ति ही है। फिर भी काम चलता रहता है। आराध्य की ऐसी ही इच्छा है। एक दिन जब मैं अभेदानंद को वेदांत पढ़ा रहा था। डाकिये ने आकर एक बीमाकृत लिफाफा दिया। मैंने उसे खोला, भीतर तीन सौ रुपये के नोटों के साथ एक पत्र था। उसे पढ़ कर मेरी आंखों में आंसू आ गये। अभेदानंद को यह दृश्य देखकर आश्चर्य हुआ। पूछा 'क्या बात है महाराज'। मैंने बताया कि प्रमदादास मित्र नामक व्यक्ति ने ये ३००रु० भेजे हैं, और लिखा है कि "मुझे तीन दिन हुए भगवान् शंकर ने स्वप्न में दर्शन देकर कहा 'मैं भूखा हूं। कुछ खाने को दो। मेरा परमभक्त शिवराम किंकर तीन दिन से बिल्व-पत्र मात्र खा कर रहता है। स्वप्न में ही उन्होंने आपका पता लिखा दिया। उसी आधार पर ये ३०० रु० सेवार्पित हैं।" शिवराम किंकर महाशय ने इसी प्रसंग में आगे कहा 'निराहार रहने की बात मेरे निकटतम व्यक्ति भी नहीं जानते थे। भगवान् का अपने आश्रित के प्रति यह करुणा भाव देखकर मेरे नेत्र सजल हो गये थे।' इन महानुभाव की अनासक्ति की चर्चा करते हुए आश्रमवासियों ने कविराज जी को बताया था कि अपने वयस्क पुत्र के आकस्मिक देहावसान से वे रंचमात्र भी विचलित नहीं हुए थे।[२] इतना ही नहीं उसके शव को वे गंगातट पर कीर्तन करते हुए ले गये थे।

शिवराम किंकर महाशय से इनका संबंध उत्तरोत्तर घनिष्ठ होता गया। उनकी लिखी 'परलोक', 'मानव-तत्व', 'भूत और शक्ति' आदि पुस्तकें पढ़कर इनकी इच्छा इनसे मंत्र दीक्षा लेने की हुई; किंतु कुछ कारणों से इसकी व्यवस्था न हो सकी। फिर भी इनके आत्मिक विकास के लिये वे निरंतर प्रयत्नशील रहे। उनकी छत्र-छाया में विद्यार्थी जीवन में ही भगवान् की शरणागत-वत्सलता में कविराज जी का अगाध विश्वास हो गया। अध्ययन के साथ ही ज्ञान, भक्ति, और योग संबंधी ग्रंथों का परिशीलन, सत्संग तथा साधु-दर्शन में इनकी रुचि बढ़ती गयी।

गुरु-दीक्षा का सुयोग इसके छः वर्ष बाद जनवरी १९१८ में संघटित हुआ। एक दिन काशी में ही हरद्वार

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के भोलागिरि मठ से संबद्ध एक ब्रह्मचारी से इनकी अचानक भेंट हो गयी। उन्होंने इनसे तिब्बत से आये हुए एक सिद्ध महात्मा का दर्शन करने के लिए अपने साथ चलने का अनुरोध किया। उनकी योगशक्ति की चर्चा करते हुए ब्रह्मचारी जी ने बताया कि वे अपने तथा समागत जिज्ञासुओं के शरीर से मनचाही सुगंध पैदा कर देते हैं। महात्माजी हनुमानघाट पर ठहरे हुए थे। उक्त ब्रह्मचारी के साथ कविराज जी उनके निवास स्थान पर ४ बजे अपराह्ण में पहुँचे। मकान तिमंजिला था। निचली मंजिल में शिष्य रहते थे। दूसरे तल्ले में एक बड़ा कमरा था जिसकी बैठक का दरवाजा सड़क की ओर खुलता था। तीसरे तल्ले में एक छोटा कमरा पूजा-गृह के रूप में प्रयुक्त होता था। उसके निकट रसोई घर था। महात्मा जी दो तल्ले में ही दर्शनार्थियों से मिलते थे। ब्रह्मचारी के साथ जब ये उनकी बैठक में प्रविष्ट हुए तो १०-१५ व्यक्ति बैठे थे, जिनमें हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के कुछ अध्यापक और नगर के सभ्रांत लोग थे। बाबाजी का आसन उत्तर ओर एक पलंग पर था। उस पलंग के ऊपर व्याघ्र-चर्म बिछा था। वे जोगिया रंग का वस्त्र धारण किये हुए थे और देखने में लगभग ६० वर्ष के लगते थे। उनके मुख-मंडल की दिव्य आभा को देखकर इनके मन में अपार श्रद्धा उत्पन्न हो गयी। कविराज जी संकेत पाकर पलंग के पास बैठ गये। उस समय बाबाजी रहस्य-साधना के केन्द्र 'ज्ञानगंज' की चर्चा कर रहे थे। प्रसंग को आगे बढ़ाते हुए बोले 'यह गुप्त योगाश्रम तिब्बत में स्थित है। जलंधर (पंजाब) से होकर जाना पड़ता है। कश्मीर से भी रास्ता गया है। यहां योग की शिक्षा दी जाती है। यह नालंदा जैसा ही विशाल आध्यात्मिक शिक्षा-केन्द्र है। जब मैं १४-१५ वर्ष का था पगले कुत्ते ने काट लिया। उन दिनों इसकी चिकित्सा की व्यवस्था नहीं थी। इस प्रकार के घटनाग्रस्त व्यक्ति प्रायः पागल होकर मर जाते थे। अपनी मृत्यु निश्चित जानकर मैंने आत्महत्या करने का निश्चय किया और इसी उदेश्य से हुगली के निकट गंगातट पर गया। वहां जाकर मैंने देखा कि गंगा के गर्भ से एक महात्मा डुबकी लगाकर ऊपर उठ रहे हैं। जल उनके साथ ही स्तंभ की भांति ऊपर उठता है और डुबकी लगाने पर गिर जाता है। यह दृश्य देखकर मैं आश्चर्यचकित रह गया। स्नान करने के बाद वे महापुरुष मेरे पास आये और पूछा—'क्या तुम डूबने आये हो?' मैंने अपना वृत्तान्त सुनाकर निवेदन किया 'आजीवन कष्ट भोगने से मैं गंगा में डूब कर प्राणान्त करना अच्छा समझता हूं।' उन्होंने मेरे मस्तक पर अपना हाथ रखा। उनके स्पर्शमात्र से मेरा सारा शरीर शीतल हो गया। इसके बाद वे बोले 'घर जाओ, पेशाब होगा, उसके साथ ही तुम्हारे शरीर का सारा विष बह जायगा।' मैंने प्रार्थना की 'आपने लौकिक जीवन की रक्षा की है, परमार्थ का पथ भी बताइये।' महात्मा जी ने कहा 'मैं तुम्हारा गुरु नहीं हूँ, फिर भी यदि तुम्हारी इच्छा है तो गुरु के स्थान तक पहुंचा सकता हूं। किंतु इसके लिये तुम्हें अपनी माता से अनुमति प्राप्त करनी पड़ेगी।' मैंने घर आकर माता जी को सारी कथा कह सुनायी। मेरी जीवन-रक्षा का समाचार पाकर वे बहुत प्रसन्न हुई। इसके कुछ दिनों बाद महात्मा जी आये और मां की स्वीकृति प्राप्त कर मैंने उनका अनुगमन किया। वे पहले मुझे आकाश मार्ग से अष्टभुजा ले गये। वहां एक सप्ताह तक निर्जन स्थान में रहा। इसके अनंतर वे मुझे हिमालय में विज्ञान एवं योग शिक्षा के केन्द्र ज्ञानगंज आश्रम ले गये। यहां सात दिन तक रहा। महात्मा जी फिर आये और उनके साथ मैं राजराजेश्वरी आश्रम को गया। यहीं मेरी मंत्र-दीक्षा मुझे साथ लेकर आनेवाले स्वामी नीमानंद के गुरुदेव परमहंस भृगुराज द्वारा सम्पन्न हुई और पितृ-प्रदत्त नाम भोलानाथ के स्थान पर विशुद्धानंद संज्ञा मिली। महात्मा नीमानंद मुझे लेकर पुनः ज्ञानगंज लौट आये। यहीं पर मेरी विधिवत् विज्ञान तथा प्रायोगिक योग की शिक्षा हुई। अध्ययन का क्रम १४ वर्ष तक चला। बीच-बीच में आकर माता जी का दर्शन कर जाता था। शिक्षा समाप्त होने पर गुरु-निर्देश प्राप्त कर पुनः लोकालय में चला आया और शान्ति निकेतन के पास गुश्कला नामक स्थान पर रहने लगा। यहां चिकित्सक-वृत्ति से जीविकोपार्जन करता था। इसके बाद गुरु की आज्ञा लेकर मैंने गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश किया। विवाह हुआ, किंतु थोड़े ही समय के बाद स्त्री का देहान्त हो गया। मैंने सांसारिक संबंध-सूत्रों को तिलाञ्जलि देकर संन्यास धारण किया और अब परमहंस की स्थिति में हूं।' यह सत्संग-वार्ता घंटों चलती रही।

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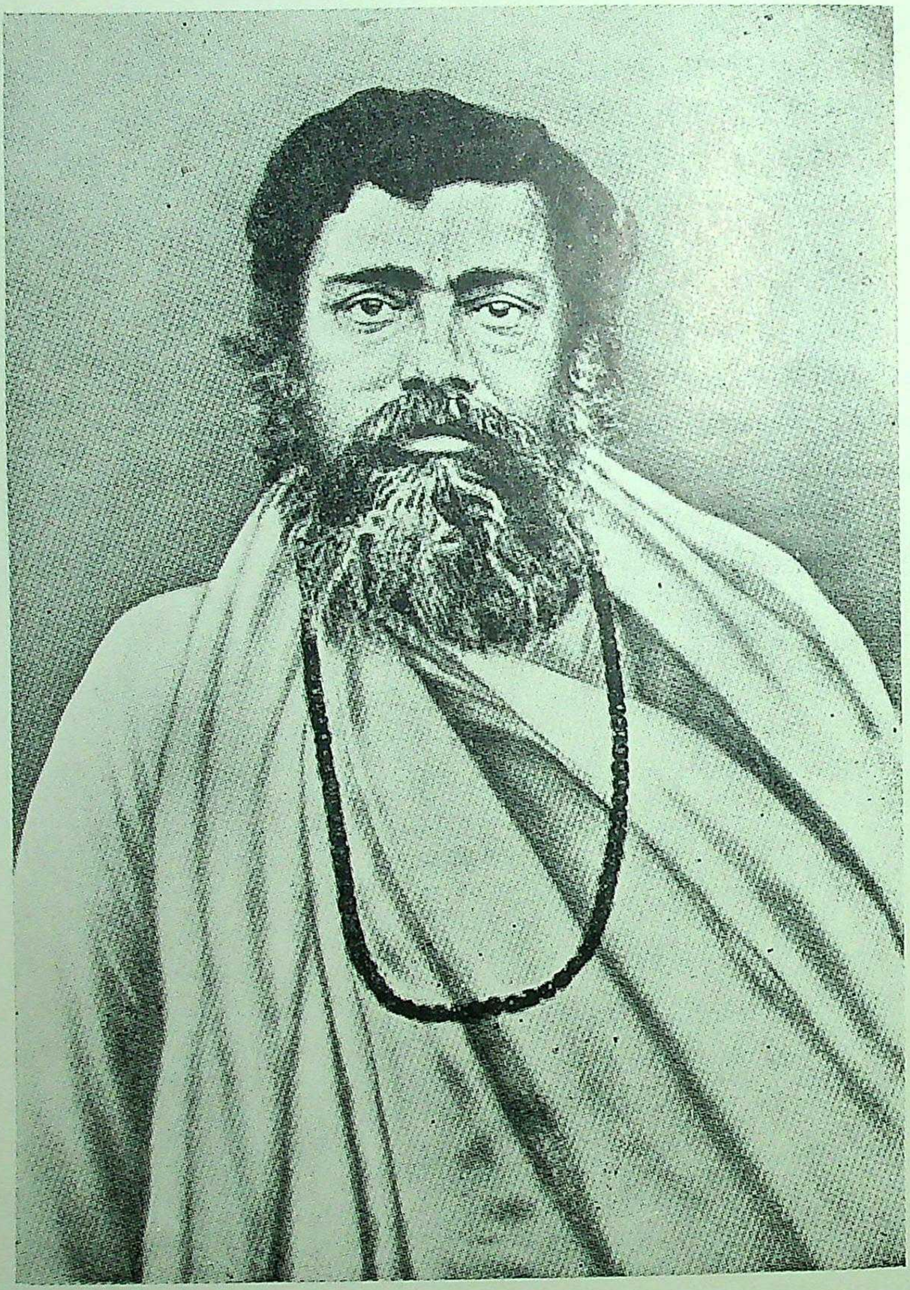

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उपर्युक्त तथ्यों के अतिरिक्त कविराज जी को दो बातें और ज्ञात हुई—परमहंस जी की जन्म भूमि वर्दवान जिले में है और उनके मस्तिष्क में शिवलिंग है, जिसे लेकर उन्होंने कई महत्वपूर्ण क्रियायें सिद्ध की हैं। बाद को इस शिवलिंग की स्थापना उन्होंने अपने काशीवाले आश्रम में कर दी थी।

स्वामी विशुद्धानंद में अलौकिक योगशक्ति थी। उनके पास दर्शनार्थियों की सदा भीड़ लगी रहती थी। कोई 'ज्ञानगंज' की विभूतियों का वर्णन सुनाने के लिये अनुरोध करता, कोई अपनी मनचाही सुगंधों को सूंघने का। बाबा जी हाथ रगड़ कर अपने शरीर से अभीप्सित सुगंध उत्पन्न कर देते थे। कविराज जी कुछ दिनों तक यह सब देखते रहे। एक दिन इनसे नहीं रहा गया, प्रश्न कर बैठे 'स्वामी जी, योग की इन सब विभूतियों का अध्यात्म-साधना से क्या संबंध है? इसे लेकर हम क्या करेंगे? योग क्या है और उससे किस प्रकार हमारा आत्मिक विकास हो सकता है। यह बताइये।' बाबा जी बोले 'तुम्हारा शास्त्र योग की क्या परिभाषा देता है?' कविराज जी ने निवेदन किया 'चित्तवृत्तियों का निरोध। किंतु इसके द्वारा जीवात्मा का परमात्मा से संयोग कैसे स्थापित हो सकता है? यह समझ में नहीं आता। इस संदर्भ में योग की उपादेयता पर प्रकाश डालिये।'

स्वामी जी बोले 'योग बड़ी दुर्लभ अवस्था है। वह ऐसी स्थिति है, जिसे प्राप्त कर मनुष्य जो चाहे सो कर सकता है।' कविराज जी ने कहा—'यह हमारी बुद्धि में नहीं आता। क्या योग असंभव को भी संभव कर सकता है?' बाबा जी का उत्तर था 'योगी के लिये कुछ भी असंभव नहीं है। वह ईश्वर से अभिन्न है। माया ईश्वर की भांति योगी की भी शक्ति है। जो ईश्वर का जितना आदर्श प्राप्त कर सके, वह उतना ही बड़ा योगी है। जब तक वह माया को नियंत्रित नहीं कर पाता तब तक साधक रहता है। उसे स्ववश कर लेने पर योगी हो जाता है। यथार्थ उपासक ईश्वर है, उपास्य है, महाशक्ति है।' कविराज जी ने शंका व्यक्त की 'क्या ईश्वर और शक्ति एक नहीं है?' बाबा जी ने एक दृष्टान्त देकर इस गूढ़ तत्व को समझाते हुए कहा 'आग में लोहे का टुकड़ा डाल दीजिये। एक घंटे में वह तपकर लाल हो जायगा। इस तप्त लोहे से यदि कपड़े का संपर्क हो जाये तो वह अग्नि के प्रभाव से तत्काल भस्म हो जायगा, किंतु वही लोहा जब ठंढा हो जायगा तो यह कार्य नहीं कर सकेगा। यहां लोहा ईश्वर है और अग्नि है महाशक्ति। ये दोनों तत्त्व नित्य संयुक्त रहते हैं। मनुष्य महाशक्ति रूपी शुद्ध अग्नितत्व की उपासना नहीं कर सकता उससे युक्त ईश्वर की कर सकता है। ईश्वर को प्राप्त किये बिना महाशक्ति तक उसकी पहुंच असंभव है।' कविराज जी ने आगे प्रश्न किया 'बताइये असंभव संभव कैसे हो सकता है?' बाबाजी ने बड़े सरल भाव से समझाते हुए कहा, 'योगी के लिये कुछ भी असंभव नहीं, किंतु ऐसे योगी हैं कहां? जिन्हें आप गेरुआ वस्त्र धारण किये मठों में निवास करते हुए देखते हैं, वे साधकमात्र हैं। योगी अत्यन्त दुर्लभ हैं। यह कहते हुए उन्होंने अपने गले में पड़ी हुई माला से एक फूल निकाला और पूछा—कौन फूल है?' कविराज जी ने कहा—'गुलाब'। इनके देखते-देखते कुछ ही क्षणों में वह 'जवापुष्प' हो गया, फिर थोड़ी देर बाद कपूर बन गया। बाबा जी बोले 'इस गुलाब में ही विश्व ब्रह्माण्ड की सारी वस्तुओं के उपादान अंतर्निहित हैं। इससे जो चाहो बना लो। सिद्धान्त है 'सर्वं सर्वात्मकं'। 'क' में ही 'ख' है। 'क' नाम इसलिये है कि उसमें वही तत्व प्रधान है, शेष अप्रधान हैं, दबे हुए हैं। देवता में भी पशुत्व रहता है, प्रच्छन्न रूप में। जगत् में योगी प्रायः दिखाई नहीं देते इसलिये इन तथ्यों पर विश्वास नहीं होता। योगी होना अत्यंत कष्टकर है। उनका स्थान तिब्बत है।'

योग की इस व्याख्या से कविराज जी की मूल शंका का पूर्ण समाधान नहीं हुआ। उसे पुनः प्रस्तुत करते हुये बोले 'इस चमत्कारमूलक योग से जीव का पारमार्थिक कल्याण कैसे हो सकता है?' बाबा जी ने अपने मंतव्य को स्पष्ट करते हुये कहा 'कर्म ही मंथन है, उसीसे ज्ञान होता है। चैतन्य रूप ज्ञान से भक्ति, भक्ति से प्रेम और प्रेम से साक्षात्कार, यही अध्यात्मसाधना की योगियों द्वारा अनुभूत परिपाटी है। सबके मूल में है, कर्म। वह योग-साधना का प्रथम सोपान है, मूलाधार है। इसीलिये कहा गया है 'योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्'। प्रेम की प्राप्ति योगमार्ग से ही हो सकती है।

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साधारण प्रेम मनोविकार मात्र है। योगी ही सच्चा प्रेमी है।' इस प्रकार सत्संग करते-करते संध्या हो गई। पूजा का समय आ गया। वे आसन से उठे। पूजा घर की ओर बढ़ते हुए कविराज जी को अकेले में ले जाकर पूछा—'अब तुम्हारा हृदय कैसा है ?' ये बोले 'पहले से अच्छा है।' इन्हें आश्चर्य हुआ कि 'इस बात को तो कभी हमने कहा नहीं, मेरी उक्त बीमारी से अभिज्ञ कोई ऐसा परिचित व्यक्ति भी नहीं है, जो इनके संपर्क में हो। फिर कैसे जान गये।' बाबा जी ने आश्वासन देते हुए कहा—'कोई चिंता न करो। दीक्षा लेने पर सब ठीक हो जायगा।'

परमयोगी के इन शब्दों को सुनकर कविराज जी को इनकी कृपा से अपने आधिदैविक के साथ भौतिक (जहां तक शरीर का संबंध है) कल्याण का विश्वास हो गया। चलते-चलते स्वामी जी ने पूछा 'कल तो आओगे ही'। 'अवश्य' कहकर ये सीढ़ियों से नीचे उतर आए। इस समय ये पिशाच-मोचन पर रहते थे। स्वामी जी के दर्शन हेतु वहाँ से पैदल ही नित्य हनुमान घाट पर जाते, उनकी विभूतियों का चमत्कार देखते और सत्संग लाभ करते थे।

एक दिन संध्या समय हरिश्चन्द्र घाट होते हुये गंगा के किनारे टहलते-टहलते बाबा जी के साथ ये अस्सी घाट तक गये। रास्ते में योग और विज्ञान के संबंध में बहुत बातें हुईं। स्वामी जी ने कहा 'योग की वस्तु प्राकृत नेत्रों से दिखाई नहीं देती। विज्ञान के प्रयोगों का फल प्रत्यक्ष दिखाई देता है। प्राचीन काल में अपने यहां योग विद्या का बहुत प्रचार था। उसी के प्रभाव से यह देश आध्यात्मिक के साथ ही भौतिक उन्नति की भी पराकाष्ठा तक पहुँच गया था। विज्ञान में आज जिस आकर्षण शक्ति को इतना महत्व दिया जा रहा है, उसका मूल सूर्य है। इस रहस्य को जान लेने पर चन्द्र, नक्षत्र, वायु, पृथ्वी, आदि के विज्ञान करतलगत हो जाते हैं।'

कविराज जी ने स्वामी जी के सूर्य-सिद्धान्त तथा उसके प्रतिपादन स्वरूप प्रदर्शित चमत्कारों की चर्चा क्वीन्स कालेज में भौतिकी के प्रोफेसर अभय सान्याल से की। उन्होंने कहा 'यह धारणा विवेकशून्य है। ऐसे चमत्कार, विज्ञान से अनभिज्ञ श्रद्धालुओं को दिखाकर बाबा जी मुग्ध कर सकते हैं। हम लोग उनके सूर्य-विज्ञान के भुलावे में नहीं आ सकते। सूर्य रश्मि से किसी भी स्थिति में ठोस वस्तु की उत्पत्ति नहीं हो सकती। बहुत कहने-सुनने पर कविराज जी के अनुरोध से वे इनके साथ एक दिन स्वामी जी के आश्रम पर गये। परिचय के बाद उन्होंने बाबा जी से कहा 'आप अपने पसंद की नहीं हमारे द्वारा निर्दिष्ट वस्तु यदि सूर्य रश्मि से उत्पन्न कर सकें तो हम आपके सिद्धान्त की वास्तविकता स्वीकार कर लेंगे।' बाबा जी ने कहा 'क्या देखना चाहते हो ?' सान्याल बोले 'रेड ग्रेनाइट स्टोन (लाल कणाश्म पत्थर)।' बाबा जी ने अंगूर के डिब्बे में रखी हुई रुई का एक टुकड़ा मँगाया और उसे कुछ दूर पर रखकर लेन्स से प्रकाश देने लगे। वह शनैः शनैः सफेद से लाल रंग में परिवर्तित होकर दो-ढाई मिनट में जमकर काठ की भांति कड़ा हो गया। इसके अनंतर लाल ग्रेनाइट पत्थर बन गया। प्रोफेसर सान्याल ने शंका की 'स्वामी जी आप विज्ञान तो जानते नहीं, अपने योग बल से इसे उत्पन्न कर दिया होगा। चमत्कार दिखाने के थोड़ी देर बाद ही यह अदृश्य हो जायगा।' स्वामी जी ने उनकी इस धारणा का खंडन करते हुये कहा, 'नहीं, यह सूर्य रश्मि के प्रभाव से बना है, ले जाकर अपने पास रखो। जीवन भर देखते रहना इसमें रंचमात्र भी परिवर्तन नहीं आयेगा।' इसके बाद बाबा जी ने प्रोफेसर सान्याल के सामने ही एक फूल उठाया और उसकी प्रत्येक पंखुड़ी से एक-एक फूल उत्पन्न कर दिया, फिर उन्हें संबोधित करते हुए बोले, आप भौतिक विज्ञान के बाहरी ढांचे को लेकर और बहुमूल्य उपकरणों की सहायता से कुछ तथ्यों को खोजकर अपनी सफलता से गर्वित होते हैं। किंतु यह प्रकृति-विज्ञान है। इसकी तथ्यान्वेषण-प्रक्रिया बाह्य उपादानों की अपेक्षा नहीं रखती। अधिकारी के समक्ष नियति अपने रहस्य स्वतः खोल देती है। पात्रता प्राप्त कीजिये।'

कुछ दिनों बाद प्रयाग में कुंभस्नान का पर्व (दिसम्बर, १९१७ ई०) लगा। बाबा जी के साथ कविराज जी भी गये। जार्ज टाउन में ठहरे। प्रोफेसर अन्नदा सरकार पास ही रहते थे। एक दिन उनसे सूर्य विज्ञान पर बातें हो रहीं थीं। सरकार का विश्वास बाबाजी की स्थापनाओं पर नहीं जम रहा था। बाबा जी ने सामने लगे हुए चीनी खजूर

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के पेड़ से एक पत्ता तोड़ा और सरकार से पूछा 'यह क्या है ?' सरकार ने कहा 'चीनी खजूर का पत्ता'। बाबा जी ने उनके देखते-देखते लेंस द्वारा सूर्य का प्रकाश देकर उसे पत्थर बना दिया। प्रोफेसर सरकार यह चमत्कार देखकर चकित हो गये। बाबा जी ने कहा 'आप लोग वैज्ञानिक पद्धति से वस्तुओं का संश्लेषण और विश्लेषण करते हैं; किंतु उसके पश्चात् परीक्षित वस्तु को उसकी पूर्व स्थिति में नहीं ला सकते। योग के द्वारा यह संभव है। योगी को संश्लेषण तथा विश्लेषण दोनों क्रियायें सिद्ध होती हैं। आज के विज्ञान और प्राचीन योगविज्ञान में यही अंतर है।' कुंभ मेले में एक महीने के लगभग ठहरे। बाबा जी के साथ कविराज जी भी नित्य त्रिवेणी स्नान को जाते थे। माघी पूर्णिमा के बाद सभी काशी लौट आये।

अब दीक्षा का समय आ गया था। स्वामी जी ने तिथि निश्चित की। उसी के अनुसार २१ जनवरी, १९१८ को हनुमान घाट पर यह कृत्य सम्पन्न हुआ। उस समय से कविराज जी नियमित रूप से गुरु सेवा में उपस्थित होकर साधना-पथ पर अग्रसर हुये। एक दिन बाबा जी से प्रश्न किया 'हम लोग साधारणतया चंचल मन से जो जप करते हैं, उससे अर्थानुसंधान नहीं हो पाता; फिर उसका उपयोग ही क्या ?' बाबाजी बोले 'ब्राह्मण शरीर है, गायत्री जप करते ही होंगे, किंतु उसका महत्व नहीं जानते। मेरे पूजा घर में जाओ। ताम्र कुंड को गंगाजल से धोकर ले आओ'। यह कहते हुए उन्होंने अफीम के रंग के किसी द्रव्य से गायत्री का एक उपादान बनाकर इनके हाथ में दिया और आदेश दिया कि इसे ताम्र कुंड पर रखकर गायत्री जप करो।' कविराज जी उसे लेकर पूजा घर में गये और बाबा जी के निर्देशानुसार उसे सामने ताम्र कुंड पर रखकर जप करने बैठे। इसी समय उनके मन में तर्क उठा 'देखें किसी अन्य मंत्र या ऐहिक कविता के पाठ से यह उपादान प्रभावित होता है या नहीं। इससे स्वामी जी के कथन की सत्यता की भी परीक्षा हो जायगी।' यह निश्चय करके पहले अंग्रेजी की एक कविता पढ़ी, फिर बँगला कविता, तदनंतर संस्कृत के कुछ श्लोकों (जिनमें एकाध वेद मंत्र भी थे) का पाठ किया किंतु कोई परिवर्तन लक्षित न हुआ। अंत में गायत्री मंत्र पढ़ा। यह देखकर उनके आश्चर्य का ठिकाना न रहा कि उक्त मंत्र को मन में गुनगुनाते ही वह उपादान प्रज्वलित हो उठा। बाद को कविराज जी ने बाबा जी के समक्ष यह सारी कथा ज्यों-की-त्यों कह सुनाई। बाबा जी ने कहा 'तुम्हारी आस्था को दृढ़ करने के लिये ही यह उपक्रम किया गया था। मन की एकाग्रता के अभाव में भी मंत्र की ग्रहणशीलता अत्यन्त प्रखर होती है। वह अपना प्रभाव अवश्य दिखाती है। इसलिये चंचल चित्त से भी किया गया भगवन्नाम अथवा मंत्र जप कल्याणकारी होता है।'

इसी प्रकार उपदिष्ट मंत्र की उपादेयता पर शंका प्रकट करते हुए एक दिन कविराज जी ने स्वामी जी से कहा कि 'आपके द्वारा प्रदत्त दीक्षा मंत्र मैंने श्रद्धापूर्वक ग्रहण तो कर लिया किन्तु विश्वास नहीं होता कि इस छोटे से मंत्र का जप करने से जीवन में कोई परिवर्तन आ जायगा ?' परमहंस जी बोले 'अभी समझाने से कुछ नहीं समझोगे। सात दिन तक इसका जप करो, फिर देखो क्या होता है ? इसका विवरण तुम स्वयं आकर बताओगे। विश्वास करने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। जिस प्रकार आग में हाथ डालने से उसका जलना निश्चित है, उसी प्रकार मंत्र जप का भी प्रभाव अवश्यंभावी है।' इसके बाद कविराज जी घर गये। सात दिन तक गुरु के निर्देशानुसार मंत्रराज का जप किया। अन्तिम दिन उन्हें ऐसा लगा जैसे सारा पूजागृह विद्युत् प्रवाह से भर गया हो। वे आश्चर्य चकित रह गये। दूसरे दिन प्रातःकाल जाकर बाबा जी से सारी बात बतला दी। उसे सुनकर बाबा जी ने कहा 'एक छोटे से मंत्र में जो शक्ति है, वह समस्त विश्व में उपलब्ध विद्युच्छक्ति के पुंजीभूत स्वरूप में भी संभव नहीं है।'

स्वामी जी सूर्य-विज्ञान की भांति क्षण-विज्ञान के भी प्रबल समर्थक थे। उनके आदेशानुसार कविराज जी जप करते समय घड़ी लेकर बैठते थे। इन्हें यह देखकर विस्मय होता कि कभी उतने ही समय में दो हजार मंत्र जप होता, कभी पांच हजार और कभी उसी अवधि में संख्या दस हजार तक पहुँच जाती। इसके रहस्य की व्याख्या करते हुए

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बाबा जी ने कहा 'शक्ति-गुण के विकास से समय का मान बदल जाता है। सतोगुणी वृत्ति के उद्दीप्त होने पर जप अधिक और तमोगुण वृत्ति की वृद्धि होने पर कम होता है। काल से संकर्षण करना चैतन्य का काम है। यही काल-संकर्षण शक्ति है।'

बाबा जी वर्ष में पांच-छः महीने काशीवास करते थे ; शेष समय कलकत्ता आदि में बिताते थे । ग्रीष्मावकाश में कविराज जी प्रायः उनके साथ इन स्थानों में जाकर रहा करते थे । धीरे-धीरे इनका सारा परिवार श्री चरणों में शरणागत हुआ और सबने मंत्रदीक्षा ले ली। यह भाव-संबंध शनैः शनैः दृढ़ होता गया। गुरुदेव सुदूर बंगाल में रहते हुए भी यदा-कदा पूजा-गृह में स्वप्न में तथा दुःख -सुख के अवसरों पर इनके कुटुम्बियों को दर्शन दिया करते थे । घर में उनकी निरंतर उपस्थिति का अनुभव होता था। उन्होंने चार बार इनकी धर्मपत्नी का मृत्युमुख से उद्धार किया था। कलकत्ते में भेंट होने पर कविराज जी ने बाबा जी से इन घटनाओं का रहस्य जानने की इच्छा व्यक्त की। बाबाजी बोले 'योगी सर्वव्यापक है। उसे शरीर से कहीं आना-जाना नहीं पड़ता। वह अवर्णनीय अनंत शक्ति से युक्त है। अष्ट-सिद्धियों से परे इच्छाशक्ति का भोक्ता है। इससे संपन्न होकर वह प्रयोजन के अनुसार समस्त ऐश्वरिक कार्य करता है या कर सकता है। इसके अनन्तर एक ऐसा समय आता है, जब उसे इस इच्छाशक्ति को महा इच्छा में अर्पण करना पड़ता है। तब उसकी अनन्त अपरिछिन्न आनन्द स्वरूप में स्थिति हो जाती है। उस दशा में योगी को किसी कार्य के लिये इच्छा नहीं करनी पड़ती। उसके सब काम महा इच्छा से स्वतः होते रहते हैं। आश्रितों के दुःखनाश के लिए कभी-कभी इस विज्ञान का प्रकाशन आवश्यक हो जाता है।'

आगे चलकर काशी में स्थापित अपने आश्रम (श्री विशुद्धानंद कानन) में परमहंस जी ने इस विद्या के अध्ययन के लिये एक विज्ञान-मंदिर का निर्माण कराया, जिसमें वैज्ञानिक पद्धति से सूर्य रश्मि के आकर्षण की व्यवस्था की गयी थी; किंतु ज्ञानगंज की सिद्ध-मंडली ने इस सिद्धान्त के लोक-प्रचार की अनुमति नहीं दी। इसलिये यह योजना स्थगित कर दी गयी। इसके अनन्तर उसी आश्रम में स्वामी जी ने नवमुंडी आसन की स्थापना की। इसके अंतर्गत देव-मंदिर, शिव-मंदिर तथा गुरु-मंदिर का निर्माण हुआ और साधक तथा साधिकाओं के आवास हेतु पृथक् भवन बनाये गये। हनुमान घाट वाले प्राचीन आश्रम का भी जीर्णोद्धार हुआ। इनके अतिरिक्त भावानीपुर, जगन्नाथपुरी, बंडुल (वर्द्धवान) और पुरुलिया में स्थित बाबा जी के आवासस्थलों को भी आश्रम का रूप दिया गया, जिनमें रहकर उनके शिष्य साधना-पूर्ण जीवन बिताते हैं। इनमें से काशी के 'श्री विशुद्धानंद कानन' तथा हनुमान घाटवाले आश्रम की व्यवस्था की देख-रेख कविराज जी ही करते हैं। अपना यह कर्तव्य ये अत्यन्त निष्ठापूर्वक अब तक संपादित कर रहे हैं।

स्वामी जी का लोकान्तरण ११ जुलाई, १९३७ को काशी में ही हुआ। जीवन को प्रकाशमय पथ पर अग्रसर करनेवाले इस परम शरण्य महापुरुष से वियुक्त होने के क्षण कविराज जी के लिए अत्यंत हृदयद्रावक थे । आंसू इस जन्मसिद्ध महापुरुष की आंखों से इस बार भी नहीं निकले। वियोग की भीषण अंतर्ज्वाला ने उनका स्रोत ही सुखा दिया था। इस प्रक्रिया में उन्हें जो आंतरिक वेदना सहनी पड़ी उसकी रेखायें इनकी मुख-मुद्रा को विकृत करती हुई स्पष्टतया देखी जा सकतीं थीं।

गुरु के दिवंगत होने पर भी इनकी साधना उनके द्वारा निर्दिष्ट पथ पर अव्यवहित गति से चल रही है। जब कभी किसी विषय में कोई शंका होती है तो उसका समाधान स्वामी जी की व्यापक आत्मा द्वारा इन्हें तत्काल प्राप्त हो जाता है। कमरे में स्थापित आचार्य का चित्रपट ही इनका शाश्वत पथ-निर्देशक है। श्रद्धालुओं द्वारा लायी गयी वस्तुएँ ये स्वयं न ग्रहण कर गुरु चरणों में ही अर्पित करा देते हैं।

कविराज जी के आध्यात्मिक जीवन के विकास में योग देनेवाले अन्य संत हैं राम ठाकुर, (श्री रामचन्द्र चक्रवर्ती) पागल बाबा, सिद्धिमाता, सतीशचन्द्र मुखर्जी तथा माता आनंदमयी। इन महात्माओं के संसर्ग से भक्ति, ज्ञान तथा योग

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के गूढ़ रहस्यों को हृदयंगम करने की इन्हें अद्‌भुत क्षमता प्राप्त हो गयी है। इनकी ज्ञानालोकपूर्ण वाणी में जो माधुर्य है और लेखनी में गूढ़तम दार्शनिक तत्त्वों के साधारणीकरण की जो अद्‌भुत क्षमता है वह बहुत अंशों में स्वाध्याय और सत्प्रसंग का ही प्रसाद है।

कविराज जी की अध्यात्म-चर्या विद्यार्थी जीवन की प्राथमिक स्थिति से प्रारंभ हुई। बीच में लौकिक आपदाओं के अनेक झोंके आये किन्तु उसकी शिखा क्षण-मात्र के लिए भी नहीं लटपटायी। उसका प्रकाश उत्तरोत्तर प्रखर ही होता गया।

प्रिंसिपल के पद से निवृत्त होने के बाद १९३५ से इनकी दिनचर्या प्रायः स्थिर हो गयी है। जाड़ों में ६ बजे और गर्मियों में ५ बजे प्रातः कमरा खुलता है। नित्यकर्म से निवृत्त होकर पूजा पर बैठ जाते हैं। इसमें एक घंटा लगता है। फिर मिलनेवाले आते हैं। उनके साथ दस-बारह बजे तक सत्संग और उपदेश चलता है। इसी बीच यदि अवसर मिल गया तो जलपान कर लेते हैं। एक बजे के लगभग भोजन करते हैं। इसके बाद तुरन्त ही आसन पर बैठ जाते हैं। दिन में विश्राम नहीं करते। जिज्ञासुओं के आने का क्रम पुनः चलता है, जिसकी समाप्ति संध्या को पांच बजे होती है। एक घंटे में नित्य-क्रिया समाप्त कर ८ बजे रात तक का समय पूजा में बिताते हैं। १० बजे के आसपास भोजन करते हैं। यदि कोई घनिष्ठ व्यक्ति आ गया तो उसे उपदेश कर देते हैं, अन्यथा लिखते हैं। इसके अनन्तर साधना में प्रवृत्त होते हैं। यह कब तक चलती है किसी को पता नहीं। कब सोते हैं, कब उठते हैं, आश्रमवासी भी नहीं जानते। मति की भांति इनकी गति भी अगम है।

सन्दर्भ-सूत्र

१. ये ढाका कालेज से कार्य निवृत्त होने पर कलकत्ता की इम्पीरियल लाइब्रेरी के पुस्तकाध्यक्ष नियुक्त हुए थे।

२. आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव के पिता बाबु बलदेव प्रसाद भी इनके भक्त थे। उन्होंने अयोध्या में गायत्री मंदिर की स्थापना इन्हीं की प्रेरणा से की थी। 'गायत्री तत्व भास्कर' नामक ग्रंथ जिसे आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव ने पिता की इच्छानुसार प्रकाशित कराया था, इन्हीं की प्रेरणा से लिखा गया था।

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MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT GOPINATH KAVIRAJ— A LIFE SKETCH

By

SHRI GOPAL CHANDRA SINHA

AND

SHRI ATUL CHANDRA PATRA, NEW DELHI

Pandit Gopinath Kavirāj is the sixteenth in the direct line of descent from one Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, who was one of the five learned and orthodox pandits, whom Ādiśūra, the then king of Bengal, had called from Kānyakubja or Kannauj towards the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. for the performance of a 'putreshṭhi yajña' for himself. After that ceremoney was over these Pandits permanently settled down in Bengal. Rama, who was the eigth in the direct line of descent from Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, got the hereditary title of 'Bāgchī' and later on when some of the descendants of Rama took to the profession of medicine they and their descendants came to be known as 'Kavirājas', a fact which accounts for Pandit Gopinathji's surname as 'Kavirāja'.

The name of Pandit Gopinathji's grandfather was Chandranath. At the time when the latter died, Gopinathji's father, Vaikuṇṭhanātha, was only six or seven years old. Though he was possessed of considerable landed property in his native village Dānyā, which was situated in Tahsil Tangail of the district of Mymensing in East Bengal, yet his maternal uncle, Pandit Kalachandra, took him to his own village Kanthaliā, which lay at a distance of 17 to 18 miles from Dānyā. As Pandit Kalachandra had no issue of his own, his only issue, a son, having died at a very young age, he brought up his nephew, Vaikuṇṭhanātha, as his own son.

According to the custom of the day, Vaikuṇṭhanātha was married while he was still a child. His newly married wife, Śrīmatī Sukhada Sundari Devi, was the daughter of Pandit Harish Chandra Moulik, who became a widower soon after the former was born. Śrīmati Sukhada Sundari was, therefore, brought up by an old lady of the village named Bāmā Sundari. The latter brought her up as her own child and later on arranged her marriage with Vaikuṇṭhanātha.

Vaikuṇṭhanātha was a brilliant student. He passed his Entrance, Intermediate and B.A. examinations in the first division, stood first in order of merit in B.A. and secured distinction in English, Sansrkrit and Philosophy. After passing B.A. he did B.A. Honours, in which too he was first class first in the University. He, thereafter, entered Sanskrit College as a student of the first year M.A. class. But, as ill-luck would have it, he fell ill just before his annual examination and passed away on the 30th of April, 1887.

It is remarkable that among the friends and class-mates of Pandit Vaikuṇṭhanāth

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were Narendra Nath (later known as Swami Vivekananda), Sri Brajendra Nath Seal and Sri Satish Chandra Mukherji, the guru of the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first Rashtrapati of our country. It is quite probable if Pandit Vaikuṇṭhanātha had not died an early death, he might have turned out to be an All-India figure like these illustrious persons.

Gopinathji was born of Shrīmatī Sukhada Sundari Devi on the 7th of September, 1887, about five months after his father's death in the house of Shrīmatī Bāmā Sundari.

Gopinathji had two shelters, one at Kanthalia in the house of his father's maternal uncle, Pandit Kalachandra Sanyal, and the other at Dhamrai in the house of Shrimati Bāmā Sundari Devi. The widow-mother, Śrīmatī Sukhada Sundari Devi, lived along with her son sometime at one place and sometime at the other.

Bāmā Sundari was a religious lady and had brought up Gopinathji's mother in the same fashion. Both these ladies exercised a very great influence over Gopinathji's early life and were to a very great extent responsible for the making up of Gopinathji into the Gopinathji of today. At the house of Bāmā Sundari, Bhajan-Kirtan used to take place as a sort of daily routine and the young Gopinath used to take part in the same with profound devotion. On ceremonial occasions Vaishṇava Gośwamis used to recite the Kathā of the Tenth Book of Śrimadbhāgawata along with vocal and instrumental music. On these occasions, they would play Kṛshṇa-līlā, chant the Rāmāyaṇa and sing devotional songs, which Gopinathji would see and hear with rapt attention. At Kanthalia Gopinathji had like opportunities of witnessing and taking part in similar religious and devotional performances. Gopinathji's mother, Sukhada Sundari, was always on the look out to see that her son developed a religious bent of mind and with that end in view she never allowed him to take his meals without performing the morning and evening 'Sandhyās'.

Gopinathji's Sacred Thread Ceremony, which marks the beginning of a twice-born's (dvija's) educational career, took place at Kanthalia on the 18th of February, 1898. Thereafter, he underwent his primary education in Bengali, Sanskrit and English in the Primary School of that place upto the year 1898, when he, along with his mother, shifted to Dhamrai and joined the newly-started English School of that place. In this school he was admitted into class III and remained there until he passed the 8th class. Here he got ideal teachers of Sanskrit in Pandit Haran Chandra Chakravatty and Pandit Prasanna Kumar Chakravarty. It is to these teachers that most of the credit for creating in the young Gopinath a burning desire for the study of Sanskrit language and literature goes.

In 1900, when he was less than 13 years of age, Gopinathji was married to Kusum Kamini Devi, the daughter of Pandit Brajaśankara, of the neighbouring village of Haladiha. Pandit Brajaśankara's younger brother, Pandit Kārtika Śankara Tarkālankara, who was a renowned scholar of the area, was so much impressed by the sharpness of Gopinath ji's intellect that he bestowed all his affection on him and also tried to help him in every way.

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In 1901 Gopinathji lost his de facto guardian and benefactor, Pandit Kalachand Sanyal and as soon as the latter died his pattidars locked the house and took possession of the landed estates, with the result that Gopiňathji and his mother lost the main source of their support and were left with practically no means of livelihood.

Having received the news of Pandit Kalachand Sanyal's death, Pandit Kārtika Śankara called Gopinathji's mother to Haladiha. Gopinathji, however, continued his studies in Dhamrai until he passed the 8th class.

After passing the 8th class from the school at Dhamrai, Gopinathji went to Dacca, joined the K. L. Jubilee High School and passed his Entrance Examination from there.

At Dacca Gopinathji found an acquaintance in Anathbandhu Moulik, a resident of Dhamrai, and through him came into contact with Shri Moulik's spiritual guru, Yogiraj Lokenath, who was said to be 160 years old. Shri Moulik secured for Gopinathji a free studentship in the school and one Avinash Chandra Sarkar, who was one of the persons who had successfully persuaded Gopinathji to go to Dacca, made arrangements for his meals in a mess. At the same time one Shah Bhairon Nath Roy agreed to grant him a stipend of Rs. 10/- per month. Later on, Sri Roy disclosed to Pandit Kārtik Śankara, the person at whose request he had agreed to do so, that Pandit Kalachand had left with him a sum of Rs. 6000/- for the boy without obtaining any formal document from him.

Pandit Gopinathji's early life was greatly influenced by two gentlemen belonging to the Dacca School, both of whom used to make regular efforts for the moral and spiritul uplift of the students. One of these was Shri Vishweshwar Banerji, the headmaster, and the other was Babu Mathuramohan Chakravarty, the Head Clerk, who subsequently established the Decca Shakti Aushadhālaya.

While living at Dacca Gopinathji was introduced by his Sanskrit teacher, Pandit Rajni Kant, who had an extraordinary grasp over Pāṇini's grammar, to the great political leader Babu Bipin Chandra Pal and by his classmate, Shri Subodh Chandra Guha, to the latter's uncle, Rai Bahadur Badbu Kali Prasanna Ghosh, who was the editor of the Bengali Magazine Bandhab. The latter gave considerable encouragement to Gopinathji by publishing in his magazine some of the poems that he wrote in those days.

In those days there was a great religious awakening in Bengal, especially in Dacca; but the followers of all the religions lived peacefully as members of one and the same community. This was due mainly to the preachings of Brahmo Samaj. Gopinathji used to attend the meetings of the Brahmo Samaj held at Decca every Sunday and to hear the discources that took place.

Another person who had a great impact on Gopinathji's life in those days was Sri Ramdayal Majumdar, a great religious thinker and philosopher, who had written a commentary on the Gītā. Gopinathji's whole view of life was completely changed on reading this commentary.

Anand Roy, who was in those days the leading lawyer of Dacca and the younger brother of Govind Roy, the originator of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, was another

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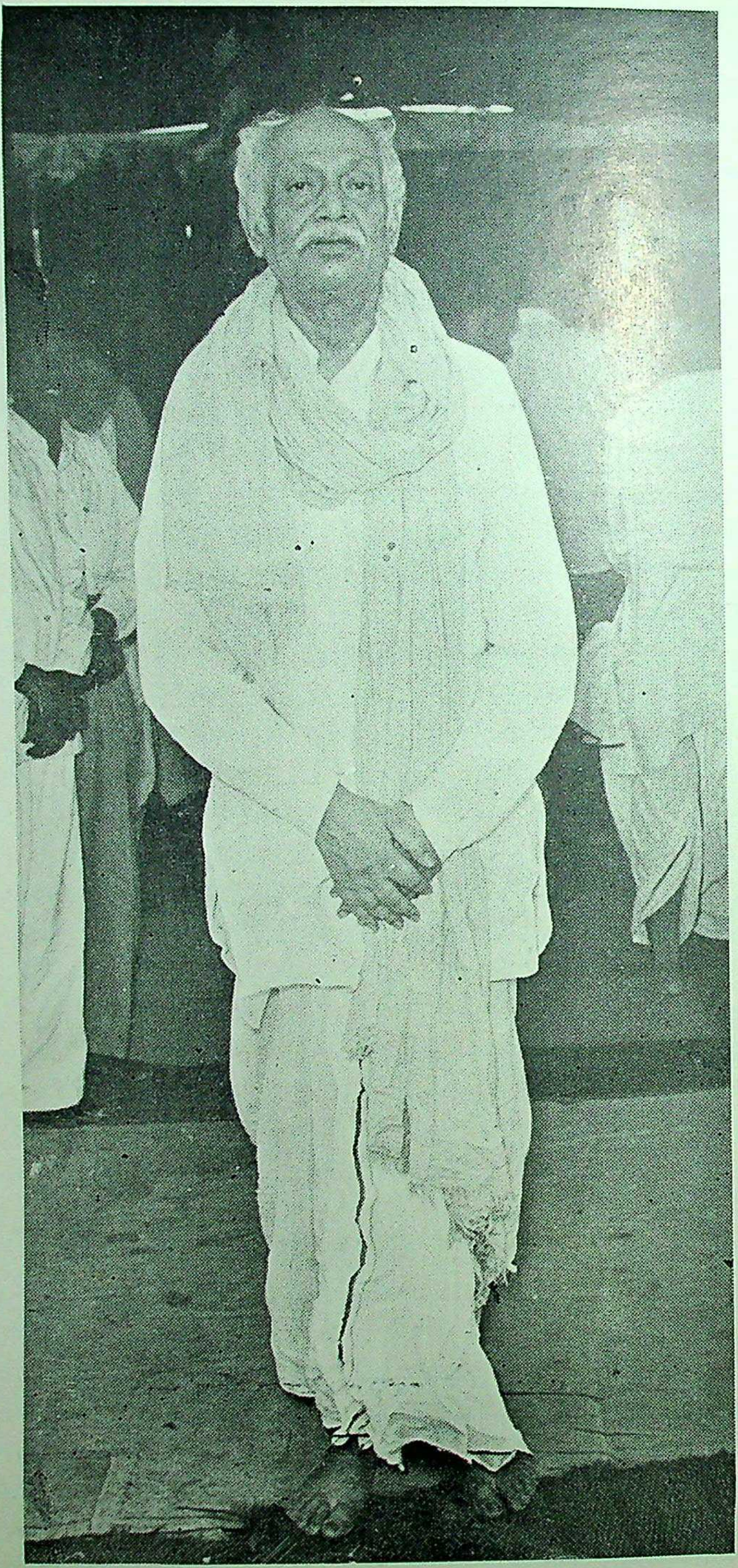

महामहोपाध्याय डाक्टर गोपीनाथ कविराज

(श्री श्री आनन्दमयी संघ, वाराणसी के सौजन्य से प्राप्त)

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person who contributed a great deal towards moulding Gopinathji's early life. Anand Roy was the maternal grandfather of Gopinathji's class-fellow, Jotindra Chaudhury, and it was on account of his connection with the latter that Gopinathji used to visit his house and to freely borrow books from his large personal library.

Gopinathji had a natural taste for Sanskrit. He had inherited a very big collection of books from his father at Kanthalia and had begun making use of the same even while he was having his primary education there. One of the books in his father's valuable collection was Taranath Tarkvachaspati's Ṭīkā on the Siddhānta Kaumudī and another was Ramnath Saraswati's Chhātrabodh Vyākaraṇa. The study of both these books went along with his primary education. He continued the study of Sanskrit grammar even at Dhamrai where he was instructed in the same by Pandit Kanailal Goswami. At Dhamrai Gopinathji drew inspiration in the matter of the study of Sanskrit grammar also from Pandit Akkhoy Kumar Dutta, who was one of the learned men of the locality. At Dacca Gopinathji got ample opportunity for a serious study of Pāṇini's Grammar with the help of Pandit Rajani Kant Amin and Bidhu Bhushan Goswami. Goswamiji, who had been a great friend of Vaikuṇṭhanātha, was the head of the Sanskrit Department in the college at Dacca and had on account of his past connection with Vaikuṇṭhanātha a great regard and affection for Gopinathji.

At Dacca Gopinathji developed a taste also in English literature. Shri Heramba Chandra Moitra, the principal of Jagannath College was in those days considered to be an authority on Emerson and Wordsworth. As inspired by him, Gopinathji even as a student of Entrance Class read all the works of Shakespear, Milton, Byron, Wordsworth and Emerson. Gopinathji was benefitted a great deal in the study of English also by his association with Harinath Dey, who succeeded Shri Moitra as the Principal of the College. Dey, later on, became the librarian of the Imperial Library at Calcutta (now the National Library). Associated with these intellectuals, Gopinathji passed his Entrance Examination in the first division in 1905.

After the examination was over, he went home and fell ill, on account of which he had to suspend his studies for a year. During this period of one year he was for some time at Deoghar where he came into contact with Sri Shishir Kumar Ghosh, the founder of the English Daily, Amrit Bazar Patrika, and the editor of the English Spiritual Magazine. Gopinathji used to have discussions with him on spiritual matters.

For his further studies Gopinathji at first thought of going to Calcutta and joining the Rippon College or the newly started National College; but later on he had to give up that idea. Ultimately, he decided to go to Jaipur, hoping that the City Architect, Shri Vidyadhar Chakravarty, and the Prime Minister, Sri Sansar Chandra Sen, about whom he had read in an article in the Bandhab, would help him. He consequently went to Jaipur and joined the Maharaja College there. For sometime he took his meals at the house of Meghnath Bhattacharji, the Vice-Principal of the college and the younger brother of Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Har Prasad Shastri; but this was only a temporary arrangement, as Meghnathji had told him to take his meals at his house only so long as a permanent arrangement was not

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made. For a permanent arrangement both about board and lodging Gopinathji saw the Prime Minister, Sri Sansar Chandra Sen, and at the latter's instance his son, Sri Avinash Chandra Sen, who was the personal Deputy Secretary to the Maharaja. The latter agreed to allow Gopinathji to stay at his residence but wanted him to produce a recommendatory letter from some reputed person, which Gopinathji ultimately got from Calcutta. Thus, Gopinathji began living and also taking his meals at Sansar Babu's place, where he used also to look after the studies of Avinash Babu's two younger brothers. Gopinathji had to pay no tuition fees in the college. The problem of board, lodging and tuition-fees was thus solved but that of books, stationary and other miscellaneous expenses still remained. It so happened that one day Gopinathji's English Professor, Sri Nava Krishna Roy, became so much pleased with him by an answer given to one of his questions in a class-test that he arranged for him a monthly stipend of Rs. 15/-, which solved all his difficulties. The expenses over clothes and other occasional necessaries were met by Sri Brajendra Mohan Sanyal, who was a nephew of Pandit Kalachand Sanyal and a friend of Gopinathji's late father, Pandit Vaikuṇṭhanātha. Sri Brajendra Mohan Sanyal also used to support Gopinath ji's mother and wife who were living at Danya, where at the request of Gopinathji's father-in-law Sri Brajaśankara, Sri Bhairab Nath Roy had built a small house for them out of the money left with him for Gopinathji by the latter's father's maternal uncle, Pandit Kalachand. Gopinathji's mother and wife lived in the newly built house at Danya uptil 1914 when they were called by Gopinathji to live with him at Varanasi.

Gopinathji remained at Jaipur from 1906 to 1910 as a student of the Maharaja College. In 1910 he passed his B.A. examination from the Allahabad University as in those days the jurisdiction of the Allahabad University extended upto Rajasthan. For his B. A. examination which was held in April 1910 he had to go to Allahabad from where he returned to Jaipur, stayed there for a month and then finally left for Bengal.

While living at Jaipur Gopinathji used regularly to read 'Bande Mataram', which used to be edited in those days by Sri Arovindo Ghosh from Calcutta, where he was the principal of the National College. He used also to have discussions with his friends on political problems facing the country. During the same period he also attended as a delegate from Rajasthan the Indian National Congress at its Calcutta session which was held in December 1906. There he saw and heard the speeches of the great political leaders Dadabhai Naoroji, Bipin Chandra Pal, Arvind Ghosh, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Desbandhu Chittranjan Das, Lal Mohan Ghosh, Surendra Nath Banerji and Lala Lajpat Rai.

At Jaipur Gopinathji became almost a family member of Meghnath Babu. Meghnath Babu's home was only a furlong away from the native village of the great novelist Sri Bankim Chandra Chatterji and he himself had at one time been very intimate with the latter. Meghnath Babu used to tell Gopinathji very many anecdotes about Bankim Babu as well as of the history of the spread of Vaishnavism in Rajasthan, with which he was fully acquainted. Meghnath Babu also told Gopinathji that the temple of Govindji at Jaipur belonged to the Chaitanya School of Vaishnavas, that the idol of Govindji had been brought there by

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Maharaja Man Singh and that the priest of the temple was a Bengali. There he also became friendly with Pandit Chandradhar Sharma Guleri, who was at first a student of the Jaipur College and later on became the professor of Sanskrit at Mayo College, Ajmer. Through Guleriji he also became acquainted with the latter's father, Sri Shivaram Sharma, who was a great saint, and also with Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha, who was a great historian and epigraphist.

Gopinathji was a voracious reader. During his stay at Jaipur he read in addition to his course-books a very large number of books on Indian Religion and Philosophy, Archaeology and Ancient and Medieval History. He also read English Literature from Chaucer upto the 19th Century poets, books dealing with criticisms of all those poets and English translations of almost all the principal literary works of French, Spanish, Italian, German and Russian authors. Among European poets, his favourite ones were Wordsworth, Byron, Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning, Goethe, Tolstoy, Moliere, Voltaire and Rousseau. He was greatly attracted by the scholarship of Dr. Arthur Venis, the then principal of the Banaras Sanskrit College, who translated Vedānta Siddhānta Muktāvalī and Vedānta Paribhāshā into English.

After leaving Jaipur Gopinathji first went to Calcutta as he wanted to meet Sri Brajendra Nath Seal whose articles he had read in the 'Calcutta Review' and had been greatly impressed by the same. At Calcutta he went to Sri Brajendra Nath Seal with a letter of introduction from his English Professor, Sri Nava Krishna Roy, who had mentioned in that letter that the bearer was the son of Sri Vaikuṇṭhanāha. There had existed a great intimacy between Sri Seal and Sri Vaikuṇṭhanātha while they were students; but as Gopinathji was a posthumous son of his father the former, like many other friends of Vaikuṇṭhanātha, did not know if the latter had any son. Therefore, when Sri Seal came to know that Gopinathji was Vaikuṇṭhanāth's son he was greatly moved. In an article published in one of the issues of a Journal edited by Srimati Kumudini Bose Shri Aurovindo Ghosh had, while detailing his experiences at the Alipur Central Jail, described how he saw Vasudeva for the first time. Gopinathji had, while reading that article, felt some doubt about this and so in the course of his interview with Sri Seal he wanted to get the same removed by him. Therefore, before taking leave of Sri Seal who was a Brahmo Samajist, Gopinathji asked him as to what he thought of Sri Aurovind Ghosh, as to whether he believed in the historicity of lord Śri Kṛshṇa and, lastly, if he believed in Sri Aurovind's claim to have seen and realised Vāsudeva. The second and the third questions Sri Seal replied in the affirmative and, as regards the first, he said that Sri Aurovindo was a poet, mystic and prophet. Regarding the third and the last question, Sri Seal expressed a certain amount of resentment and said that Lord Kṛshṇa's existence or non-existence on this earth had nothing to do with Aurovindo's realisation of Kṛshṇa. He said that just as people of many countries had had a vision of Christ although there were many who doubted the historical existence of the latter, so, no matter whether Kṛshṇa ever existed in history or not, it was quite possible for Sri Aurovindo to have his 'Darśana'. He further went on to say that it was quite possible that historical Kṛshṇa

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and spiritual Kṛshṇa may be two different entities and that spiritual Kṛshṇa may appear before people according to their thoughts and desires irrespectively of the existence or non-existence of the former. He further remarked that the Great Power appeared before different people according to their 'Sanskārs' and that this had nothing to do with historical facts. Thereafter, Gopinathji was tempted to put another question to Sri Seal regarding the existence of soul after death, to which Sri Seal replied thus : "Sages of different countries and different ages have made researches on the subject and established the fact of survival of the soul after the destruction of the physical body. They were not only convinced in theory of the existence of the soul after death but had also taken photographs of the deceased. In addition, I may tell you of a personal experience of mine. My wife used to take care of the documents pertaining to property. Once, in connection with a certain litigation I required a certain paper. I searched and searched for the same but in vain. I, thereafter, retired to bed and went to sleep. While asleep I saw a dream in which my wife on learning from me the cause of my depression told me the exact location of that paper, saying that it was at such and such a place in such an almirah. I at once got up and noted down the details lest I should forget the same. Subsequently, when I got up in the morning I looked for the paper at the place indicated by my deceased wife and found the same lying there. My faithful and loving wife was moved at the sad plight of her husband and her soul appeared before me and relieved me of my anxiety."

While Gopinathji was departing, Seal advised him to stay at Calcutta and join M. A. there in Pali; but in spite of this Gopinathji decided to go for further studies to Benares; because firstly, he was afraid of Calcutta's malarial climate and secondly, he had a great fascination for Dr. Venis, the principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, whose works he had read and admired. He stayed for a few days at Calcutta and then at Danya which he left for Benares towards the end of June 1910.

At Benares Gopinathji stayed with his great grandfather's nephew, Pandit Dinbandhu Kaviraj, who was living at Kedarghat in a house belonging to the Raja of Tahirpur and was getting from the latter a pension of Rs. 15/- per ponth.

On reaching Benares, Gopinathji decided to join the Queen's College. The Queen's College had two wings, one for the modern system of education through the medium of English and the other for the study of Sanskrit on traditional lines. The former prepared students for B. A. and M. A. degrees and latter, which was known as the Benares Sanskrit College, for Āchārya etc.

Gopinathji first went and saw the principal, Dr. Venis, for his admission. On being asked by the latter as to why he had come to join the Queen's College, Gopinathji replied that the only attraction for him was he himself and that he had come there to be his student. He told Dr. Venis that he had read his English translations of the Vedāntasiddhānta-Muktāvalī and Siddhāntaleśa, his article on 'An Inscription of Assam' as published in the Epigraphia Indica and Dr. Thebaut's Introduction to Brahmasūtrabhāshya as published in the Sacred Books of the East Series, wherein Dr. Thebaut had expressed his sense of gratitude

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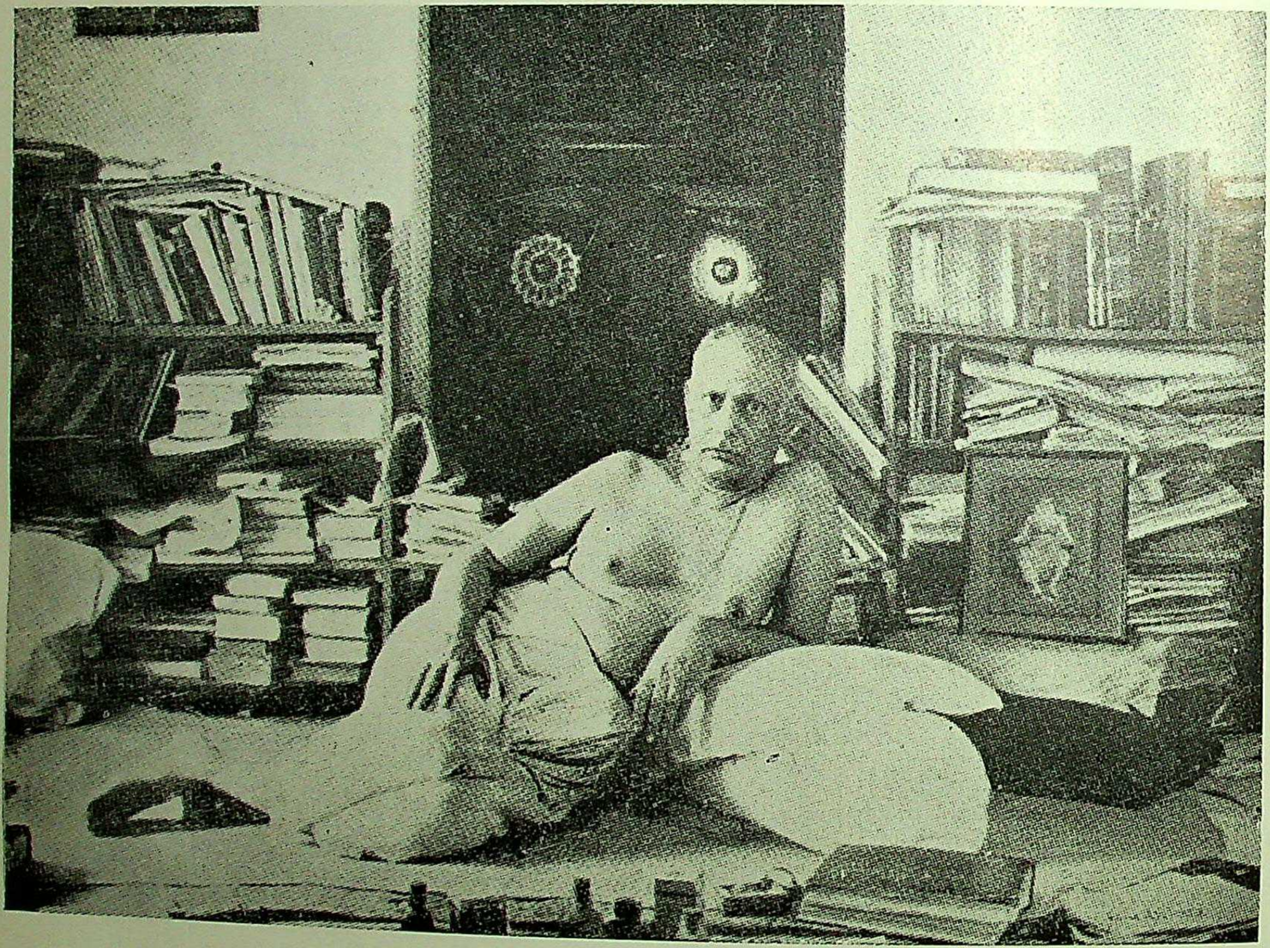

महामहोपाध्याय पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज : अध्ययन-कक्ष में

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and obligation to him. Dr. Venis was very much pleased with Gopinathji for his wide knowledge of Sanskrit and Archaeology and gladly permitted him to join the M. A. class. On the advice of Dr. Venis Gopinathji took up Group 'D' in his M. A. class. This group comprised of Indian History and Culture, Numismatics and Epigraphy. Dr. Venis also advised him to read Sanskrit in the traditional style along with his study for M. A. and calling Pandit Bamacharan Nyayacharya, who had been one of the worthiest students of the renowned scholar, Mahāmahopādhāya Pandit Kailash Chandra Śiromani, placed Gopinathji under his charge and asked him to teach him Nyāya. Pandit Bamacharan was teaching Tarkabhāshā in the class. He asked Gopinathji to read Bhāmatī privately at home. The classes for Āchārya, etc. used to be held in the morning and those for M. A. in the day-time. Gopinathji had, therefore, to go to the College twice and to walk 8 miles a day for this purpose. This exertion proved too much for him and greatly affected his health, with the result that when he went to Allahabad in March 1911 for taking his M. A. (Previous) Examination he got a severe attack of malaria while the examination was still on. At that time he was staying with Narendra Devaji (later on known as Acharya Narendra Deva) who too was at that time a student and to whom Gopinathji had been introduced by a previous acquaintance and friend named Sri Ganga Pratap Gupta. Narendra Devaji got him medically treated for a speedy relief and thus enabled him to finish his examination smoothly. The liberality and the spirit of service on the part of Narendra Devaji greatly moved Gopinathji and the two became two of the most intimate lifelong friends.

Gopinathji joined the M. A. final class in July 1911; but on account of his deteriorating health Dr. Venis advised him to suspend his studies for a year, which he did. Dr. Venis knew of the financial difficulties of Gopinathji and so granted him a stipend even for this duration. After suspending his studies Gopinathji first went to Calcutta and kept himself under the treatment of two of the wellknown heart-specialists of those days for three months and then went and stayed for two months at Puri and completely regained his health. He returned to Kashi in January 1912 and rejoined the College in the July following.

This year Narendra Deva and Hariram Diwekar became his class-fellows in the Archaeology class, Lakshman Sastri Tailang, the younger brother of Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Gangadhar Sastri Tailang, in the Pali and Prakrit class and Taracharan, the younger brother of Pandit Bamacharan Nyāyāchārya in the Nyāya class. In the Archaeology class Gopinathji used to study Brahmi, Kushan and Gupta inscriptions under the direction of Dr. Venis. He also studied French and German.

Gopinathji now stayed at the College hostel and Dr. Venis arranged Shakespeare and Sadholal Scholarships for him.

In April 1913 he appeared at the M. A. (Final) examination and stood first class first, securing the highest number of marks not secured by anyone till then.

After he had passed his M. A. he was offered professorship in Lahore College as well as in M[illegible]llege Ajmer; but on the advice of Dr. Venis he declined both. Dr. Venis was

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of the opinion that instead of doing service he should devote himself whole-heartedly to research; for learning was preferable to riches. Gopinathji agreed.

After his M. A. examination he went to Nainital. He returned from there in 1913 and carried on his studies privately. In 1914 on the establishment of the Saraswati Bhawan he was appointed its Superintendent on a salary of Rs. 125/- a month. He took over charge on the 4th of April, 1914, hired a house at Teliabagh and brought his family there.

He was subsequently offered the post of a professor in the Allahabad University on a pay of Rs. 200/- per month but he declined to accept the offer and stayed on in the Sanskrit College, where Dr. Venis got a temporary post of 'Director of Researches' created for Gopinathji for a period of three years with the same benefits and emoluments that appertained to the Allahabad University post.

The rare manuscripts collected at the Saraswati Bhawan had to be published, and with that end in view Dr. Venis initiated the publication of the 'Prince of Wales Series'. The publications in this series had two sections, one containing the original texts and the other a critical study of the same and comprised all the important subjects like Nyāya, Vedānta, Natural Science, Mīmānsa, Āgamas and Mathematics.

While Gopinathji was a student at the Queen's College he was introduced by his college-fellow and friend, the well known revolutionary, Sri Shachindra Nath Sanyal, to a great mystic and philosopher Sri Shashibhusana Sanyal who on account of his discipleship of Mahatma Shivaramanand used to call himself Shivarama-kinkar. Though a 'gṛhastha', he was a great 'jñānī' and 'yogī' and the people had given him the title of 'yogatrayānanda'. While living at Dacca, Gopinathji had read a portion of his book 'Ārya-śāstrapradīpa' and had been greatly attracted towards its author but at that time he could not come to know as to who the author was. Subsequently, when he went to Jaipur, one day he casually came to know from Sri Satyendra Nath Mukerji, the Accountant General of the Jaipur State, that the author of the book 'Aryaśāstrapradīpa' was a Gṛhastha Mahatma named Shasibhusana Sanyal alias Shivaramakinkar. Sri Mukerji did not know his whereabouts and so Gopinathji, in spite of his extreme keenness to meet him, could not do so at that time. Therefore, when he went and saw him at his Sonarpura residence at Banaras through the good offices of Sri Shachindra Nath Sanyal and Mahatma Shivaramakinkar's own son, Indubhushana Sanyal, who was a class-fellow of Sri Shachindra, Gopinathji was greatly pleased and felt that his life's desire was fulfilled. Gopinathji was in very intimate contact with Mahatma Shivaramakinkar for a long number of years. He also read many of his books including 'Paraloka', 'Manavatattva' and 'Bhūta aur Śakti'. Gopinathji was so much attracted by this Mahatma that at one stage he thought of taking 'dīkshā' from him. But before he could do so he came into contact with another Mahatma, named Swami Viśuddhānanda, who was a great yogi and could do miracles with the help of Yoga. Gopinathji took 'dīkshā' from him at Hanuman Ghat in Varanasi on the 21st of January, 1918.

Swami Viśuddhānandaji mostly stayed at Kashi and Gopinathji wanted to be near

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him most of the time. Therefore, when Sir Ashutosh Mukerji offered to take him to Calcutta on a higher salary or when Sri Jñanendra Nath Chakravarty, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, invited him to that University, Gopinathji refused both the offers.

On the retirement of Dr. Venis the principalship of the Queen's College had gone to Dr. Ganganath Jha and when the latter retired in the year 1924 a Selection Committee consisting of Prof. A. B. Dhruva and Dr. Ganganath Jha selected Gopinathji for that post as against Dr. Surendra Nath Das Gupta, the other candidate. Gopinathji held that post uptil March 1937, when on account of growing ill-health and an ever increasing religious and spiritual bent of mind he took a premature retirement. The Provincial Educational Department offered to give him a long leave provided he withdrew his letter of resignation but Kavirajji was adamant and refused the offer. The Government was consequently constrained to accept his resignation. Kavirajji made over charge of his office on the 13th of March, 1937 and thereafter devoted himself wholeheartedly to religious and spiritual studies and 'sadhanā'.

Kavirajji had lived in rented houses from the time he joined service in the Benares Sanskrit College in 1914 upto the time of his retirement in 1937. Much before his retirement he had made up his mind to settle down in Varanasi. He, therefore, purchased a plot of land in Sigra and built a house thereon soon after his retirement in 1937.

Kavirajji had only two children, a daughter named Sudharani and a son named Jitendranath. Both of them were born at Danya. Sudharani was married in the year 1925 to one Sushil Nath Roy, son of Kumudbandhu Roy, a resident of Manikganj in the district of Dacca. After the partition of the country Sushil Nath migrated to Dumdum in West Bengal. Sudharani, who is now a widow, has got two sons and two daughters. Both the daughters are married and the sons, of whom the elder one is in service and the younger one is a student, are living along with their mother in Dumdum. Jitendra Nath, who was B.Sc., LL.B., was married in the year 1933. At first he joined the Bharat Bank as Assistant Manager but when that Bank got merged into the Punjab National Bank he left the Bank service and joined as a Senior Marketing Inspector in the Rationing Department of the Uttar Pradesh Government. Within four years of his appointment as a Marketing Inspector, Jitendra Nath fell ill and ultimately breathed his last leaving both of his parents, the wife, one son and two daughters to mourn his loss. Every person in the house, excepting Kavirajji, wept and cried most bitterly; but Kavirajji shed not a drop of tear. The dead body was taken to the Ganga for cremation. Kavirajji silently watched the cremation for a while and then soon after took to spriritual discourses. Persons who went to offer condolenses were astonished to find him quite unperturbed.

Kavirajji generally maintained good health after his retirement from service, though he has always been indifferent to his meals and comforts on account of his pre-occupation with spiritual and mystic practices and discourses and discussions with researchers and seekers after truth, no matter whether they be worldly persons or Sadhus. Persons in saffron clothes

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as well as householders visited him for clarification of sacred texts as well as for verification of their spiritual experiences.

In 1961 Kavirajji had an attack of dysentry. He had some medical treatment but with no effect. Holy Mother Anandamayi went to see him and after seeing him found that a medical check up was necessary. She herself took him to New Delhi and got him examined at Sen's Nursing Home. Dr. Sen suspected him to be suffering from cancer and advised an immediate operation at the Tata Memorial Cancer Institute, Bombay. Anandamayi Ma herself took him to Bombay, where he was operated upon at the aforesaid Institute. Sri Sri Prakash, the then Governor of Bombay, and Maharani Vijaya Raje Scindhia proved to be of great help to him on that occasion. Anandamayi Ma arranged for a nonstop 'Hari-kirtana' in her Ashramas at Bombay and Poona and her favourite desciple, Kamal Brahma-chari undertook a 24 hours' fast. Sri Sri Prakash arranged for Kavirajji's stay at the Government House during his convalescence but Dilip Kumar Roy, the son of the late Dwijendra Nath Roy and a disciple of Yogiraj Sri Aurovindo, took him to his own residence, where he used to sing to him devotional songs every morning. After having completely regained his health Kavirajji went back to Varanasi.

Kavirajji's Honorific Distinctions

In recognition of Kavirajji's extraordinary talent, and life-long devotion to learning in all its branches, particularly in literature, history, archaeology, epigraphy and philosophy (in practice as well as in theory) the Government, a number of Universities of the country and certain learned societies of repute have at different times conferred honorific distinctions on him. In chronological order these distinctions are as follows :—

1. The title of Mahāmahopādhyāya conferred by the Government of India in the year 1934;
2. The degree of D.Litt. honoris causa conferred by the University of Allahabad in the year 1947;
3. The degree of D.Litt. honoris causa conferred by the Benares Hindu University in the year 1954;
4. Certificate of Honour granted by the President of India in the year 1956;
5. Made a 'Sammānya Parishada (Distinguished Member) by the Akhila Bhartiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow in the year 1962;
6. The degree of D.Litt. honoris causa conferred by the University of Calcutta in the year 1964;
7. Made a 'Padmavibhushana' by the President of India in the year 1964;
8. Bestowed Fellowhsip by the University of Burdwan in the year 1964;
9. Appointed to be the Director of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute in the year 1964; and
10. The Honorary degree of 'Sāhityavachaspati' conferred by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, in the year 1965.

For facsts connected with the life af Kaviraj ji the authors of this article are indebted to Dr. Bhagwati Prasad singh.

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कविराज जी : एक विद्वान् सन्त के रूप में

लेखक

डा० धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री

कविराज जी के चरणों में बैठकर मुझे अध्ययन करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त नहीं हुआ, फिर भी उनको मैंने गुरु के रूप में ही माना। मेरे जीवन की मुख्य साधना 'दिङ्नाग-दर्शन और न्याय-वैशेषिक का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन' रही है। उसका विशेष रूप से मनन और अध्ययन करने के लिए जब १९४४ में मैं बनारस गया, उस समय मुझे मार्गदर्शन कविराज जी के द्वारा ही प्राप्त हुआ। उनके द्वारा ही मुझे श्चेरबात्स्की के ग्रंथों को पढ़ने की प्रेरणा मिली जिससे मुझे उन दोनों दार्शनिक सम्प्रदायों के गहरे सिद्धान्त समझने में सहायता मिली। समय-समय पर जाकर उनसे बहुधा मैं दार्शनिक ग्रन्थियों को सुलझाता रहा। यदि मुझे कविराज जी का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त न हुआ होता तो शायद मैं अपने जीवन की उस मुख्य साधना को पूरा न कर पाता। एक और विशेष बात कविराज जी में पायी—वहाँ छोटे बड़े का कोई भेद नहीं। कोई प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् पहुँचे या कोई मामूली छात्र चला जाय, कविराज जी का द्वार दोनों के लिए समान रूप से खुला हुआ है। दोनों को ही उनसे मार्गदर्शन प्राप्त होगा।

संस्कृत के विविध क्षेत्रों में कविराज जी का विशाल ज्ञान एक विश्वकोष की समता रखता है। उन्होंने बहुत से ग्रन्थ नहीं लिखे। परन्तु अनेक ग्रन्थों पर उनकी भूमिकाएँ हैं। यह भूमिकाएँ संस्कृत-अध्ययन की विशाल सम्पत्ति हैं। अनेक अवसरों पर मैंने यह अनुभव किया है कि कविराज जी की लिखी भूमिकाएँ, उन ग्रन्थों से भी अधिक महत्वपूर्ण हैं जिनके लिए वह लिखी गयी हैं। उनके अनेक ऐसे लेखों का एक संग्रह प्रकाशित होना बहुत आवश्यक है। सरस्वती भवन से प्रकाशित होनेवाली पत्रिका ''सरस्वती भवन सीरीज़' में उनके कई महत्वपूर्ण लेख निकले हैं। न्यायवैशेषिक-साहित्य के विषय में उनकी महत्वपूर्ण लेखमाला को अभी हाल में पुस्तकाकार प्रकाशित किया जा चुका है। वस्तुतः यह प्रसार न्यायवैशेषिक के साहित्य के विषय में सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। कविराज जी का जीवन बनारस के संस्कृत कालेज में व्यतीत हुआ, जहाँ पहले वे सरस्वती भवन के संचालक और बाद में संस्कृत कालेज के प्रिंसिपल के रूप में रहे। वही संस्कृत कालेज अब संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय के रूप में है। संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय का यह आवश्यक कर्त्तव्य है कि कविराज जी की सारी कृतियों को संग्रहीत कराये।

विद्या के क्षेत्र में कविराज जी का महत्व सर्वविदित है, परन्तु उनके साधनापूर्ण सरल जीवन का महत्व विद्या के क्षेत्र के महत्व से कहीं ऊपर है। बौद्ध ग्रंथों में और वैदिक दार्शनिक ग्रंथों में, विशेषकर गीता में, जो साधना बतायी गयी है, उसके वे प्रतीक हैं। सारे शास्त्रों में जो कुछ साधना का रूप है, उसका एकमात्र सार यह है कि मानव अपने संकुचित व्यक्तिगत 'अहंभाव' को मिटाकर आत्मा के व्यापक रूप को अपने जीवन में चरितार्थ करे। मैंने अपने जीवन में जिन महापुरुषों का संपर्क प्राप्त किया, उनमें ऐसे बहुत कम हैं जिन्होंने कविराज जी के समान 'अहंभाव' का दमन करने में पूरी सफलता प्राप्त की हो। कविराज जी के व्यावहारिक जीवन में तो उसका कोई चिह्न भी नहीं है। घंटों उनके चरणों में बैठकर मुझे उनसे वार्तालाप करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है, परन्तु एक क्षण के लिए भी उनमें अहंभाव का चिह्न नहीं दीख पड़ा। उनको प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय ने सम्मानित डॉ० लिट्० की उपाधि प्रदान की। उनको शासन ने

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महामहोपाध्याय की उपाधि दी; और भी तरह तरह के सम्मान उनको दिये गये, पर ऐसा लगता कि वे सब सम्मान उनके व्यक्तित्व को स्पर्श भी न कर सके। वे उन सबसे बिल्कुल तटस्थ रहे। कमलपत्र पानी में रहता हुआ भी पानी के संपर्क से सर्वथा अलग रहता है, यह बात कविराज जी के विषय मे अक्षरशः सत्य है। 'अहंभाव' से अलग होना 'सन्त' की कसौटी है और कविराज जी उस कसौटी से पूरे सन्त सिद्ध होते हैं। ऐसे व्यक्ति मुझे मिले हैं जो प्रगाढ़ विद्वान् हैं और ऐसे भी कभी कभी मिले हैं जो सन्त हैं, परन्तु सन्त और विद्वान् दोनों का सामंजस्य कविराज जी के समान कम लोगों में पाया जाता है।

लखनऊ की अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद् ने जब कविराज जी के सम्मान में अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित करने की योजना की तो मेरी दृष्टि में परिषद् का गौरव बहुत बढ़ गया। परिषद् किसी ऐसे व्यक्ति के सम्मान में जो संसार की दृष्टि से बहुत गौरव रखता हो, यदि अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित करती तो परिषद् का बाहरी महत्व बहुत बढ़ जाता और इस प्रकार परिषद् जिस आर्थिक संकट का अनुभव कर रही है वह भी किसी अंश तक दूर हो सकता था, परन्तु परिषद् ने कविराज जी जैसे सन्त के लिए अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ की योजना की, यह सचमुच परिषद् के लिये गौरव की बात है। पिछली बार जब मैं कविराज जी से मिला तो भूल से इस अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ की चर्चा कर बैठा। कविराज जी ने उस विषय में अपनी उपेक्षा प्रकट की, पर वह उपेक्षा इतनी प्राकृतिक और सरल थी कि उससे मेरे हृदय में एक अपूर्व हर्ष का अनुभव हुआ।

कविराज जी से ज्ञान के क्षेत्र में मैंने बहुत कुछ पाया, परन्तु उससे भी बढ़कर उनके जीवन की सुन्दरता और सरलता ने मुझे प्रभावित किया है। एक बार मैंने देखा कि कविराज जी को बादाम पीसकर दिये गये। मुझे लगा कि बादाम शायद कविराज जी के लिये लाभदायक हों। मैंने सारे बनारस में घूमकर जो सबसे बढ़िया बादाम प्राप्त हो सके, उन्हें खरीदा और श्रद्धा के उपहार के रूप में उनके पास ले गया। कविराज जी ने देखते ही स्पष्ट रूप से उसे लेना अस्वीकार कर दिया। जब मैंने उन्हें बतलाया कि उन्हें ढूंढ़ने में मैंने बड़ी मिहनत की है और उनसे आग्रह किया कि कि कम से कम इस बार तो स्वीकार कर ही लें, तब उन्होने केवल दो बादाम उठा लिया और मुझे विवश होकर उन्हें वापस ले आना पड़ा। मेरे बहुत से छात्र अनेक बार सच्ची श्रद्धा और स्नेह से उपहार लाते रहे हैं। उस दिन के बाद मैंने भी कविराज जी से सीखी इस शिक्षा का पालन किया और अनुभव भी किया कि यह कितना आवश्यक है।

सन् १९४४-४५ में जब मैं बनारस में रहा, अधिकतर गवर्नमेंट संस्कृत कालेज के सरस्वती भवन में काम करता था, पास की एक दूकान पर कहवा, चाय, दूध आदि पीता था। एक दिन दूकानदार ने बतलाया कि इस कालेज में एक बंगाली प्रिंसिपल थे जो कुछ पागल से मालूम पड़ते थे ? न जाने कैसे सरकार ने उन्हें प्रिंसिपल बना दिया। मैंने पूछा कि तुमने कैसे जाना, तो उसने बतलाया कि वे छाता हमेशा हाथ में रखते थे, परन्तु जब धूप पड़ती थी तब भी उसे नहीं खोलते थे और कभी-कभी तो यहाँ तक देखा कि बारिश पड़ रही है और छाता हाथ में है, पर उन्हें उसे खोल लेने का ध्यान नहीं है। बिचारा दूकानदार क्योंकर समझता कि वह बात विचारों में मग्न रहने वाले मुनि की उच्च अवस्था की द्योतक थी।

मैं आध्यात्मिक साधना से दूर रहता हूँ। बहुत दिन तक अनेक गुरुओं के चक्कर में पड़कर उससे विरत हो चुका हूँ और इस प्रकार की साधनाओं को व्यर्थ ही मानता हूँ। यहाँ तक कि कई बार इस बात पर झुंझला सा जाता हूँ कि कविराज जी जिस साधना में लगे हुए हैं उसके कारण संस्कृत के विद्या-क्षेत्र को कितनी बड़ी हानि हो रही है। परन्तु जब कविराज जी के जीवन में अहंभाव-शून्यता, निस्पृहता का भाव, अनिवर्चनीयता, सरलता और अकृत्रिमता देखता हूँ तब मेरा अविश्वास का भाव हिल जाता है और विश्वास की प्रेरणा मिलती है। कविराज जी से विद्या के क्षेत्र में मैंने जो कुछ पाया है उससे अधिक उनके जीवन के दृष्टान्त से।

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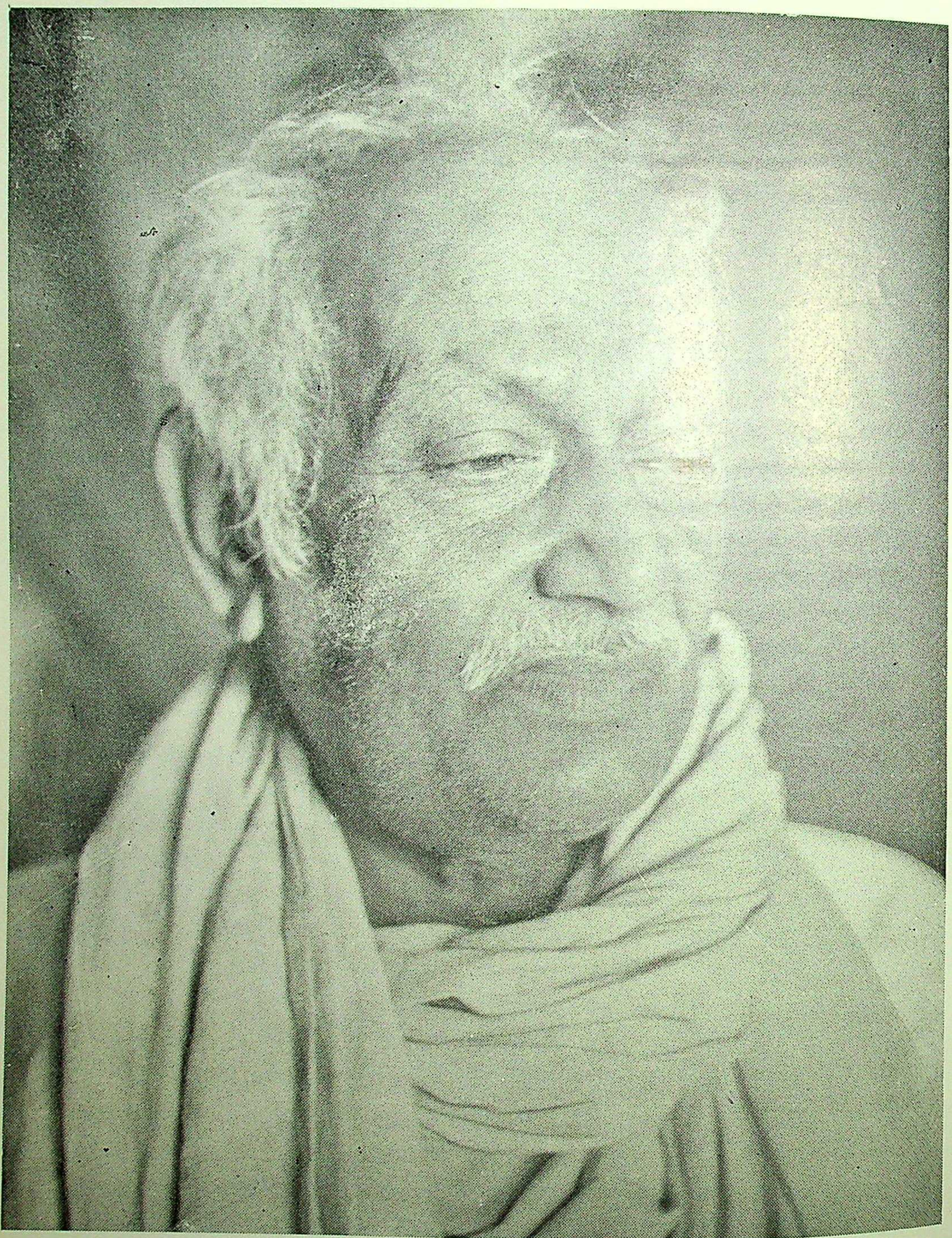

महामहोपाध्याय डा० गोपीनाथ कविराज
(श्री श्री आनन्दमयी संघ, वाराणसी के सौजन्य से प्राप्त)

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महामहोपाध्यायश्रीपण्डितगोपीनाथकविराजमहानुभावानाम्

अभिनन्दनम्

लेखकः

श्री रामकुबेर मालवीय, वाराणसेय संस्कृत वि० वि०, वाराणसी

कलिन्दकन्याकमनीयकूले यः कन्दुकं गोपगणैर्मनोज्ञैः।
उत्प्लुत्य चोत्प्लुत्य हसन्सलीलं क्रीडन्स पायाद् भगवान् मुकुन्दः॥१॥

मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां पुण्यस्य गेहः श्रिया-
माधारः सुगुणोत्करस्य जनिभूस्सत्यस्य धामौजसः।
धैर्य्यस्यापि परोऽवधिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्याद्भुतो
गोपीनाथसुयोगिराट् विजयतां जीवन्सहस्रं समाः॥२॥

मन्दारो विदुषां श्रुतिस्मृतिजुषां सर्वातिशायी गुणै—
र्विश्वाज्ञानहृतां यशोद्युतिभृतां संमानिनामग्रणीः।
सर्वं संपरिहृत्य लग्नहृदयो योगे च तन्त्रे सदा
गोपीनाथसुनामगीतमहिमा क्षेमाय नः कल्पताम्॥३॥

किं ते गुणानखिललोकविभासमानान्संवर्णयाम इह तान्कविराजराज।
कः स्यात्क्षमो गणयितुं जलवृष्टिविन्दून् तारागणानथ च धूलिकणान्समग्रान्॥४॥

यस्य प्रसादलवतोऽप्यनुसंदधाना धन्या भवन्ति कृतिनोऽनुदिनं बुधेन्द्राः।
तत्त्वप्रबोधदिनकृन्महितस्स गोपीनाथस्सदा विजयते कविराजराजः॥५॥

सूत्रेषु संग्रन्थितभास्वररत्नहारं कण्ठे विभूष्य सुधियां हृदयं हरन्त्यः।
लोकोत्तरच्छविमुपैति स पूज्यगोपीनाथस्सदा विजयतां कविराजराजः॥६॥

बुद्धिस्तु यस्य कुशसूचिसमास्ति तीक्ष्णा हैयङ्गवीनसदृशं हृदयं च यस्य।
आस्यं तु लास्यसदनं वचनाधिदेव्या द्राक्षासुधादिमधुरा हृदयङ्गमा वाक्॥७॥

यत्रात्मतत्त्वपरिशीलनसत्तरङ्गाम्भोधौ पवित्रमधुराम्भसि मज्जनेन।
विज्ञा जगज्जनितकश्मललेपनाशाद्दीव्यन्ति तस्य शरणं भवतान्मुदे नः॥८॥

मन्त्रादिशास्त्रनिगमागमसम्प्रदाय प्राचीनसंस्कृतिविधानकृतावतारः।
साध्नोति सिद्धिमतुलामिह मानवानां यस्सोऽयमस्तु जनताभवतारणाय॥९॥

औदार्यसत्यदमधैर्यपवित्रतादिसद्रत्नसद्गुणसमस्तसमुद्रमुद्रः।
विष्णुस्थितिप्रविलसद्धृदयो गभीरः कामादिदूषितजलक्षयवाडवोऽसि॥१०॥

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शिक्षेदृशी हितकरी भवता प्रदेया जायेत दुःखशमनं हि यया जनानाम्।
लोकोपकारकरणं ननु धर्म एव तेजस्विनां मतिमतां च तपस्विनां च॥११॥
यूयं क्व बोधविमलीकृतमानसानामग्रेसराः दिशि दिशि प्रथितानुभावाः।
क्वेमे वयं बहुविकारकषायितान्ताः संसारसागरतरङ्गविमुग्धचित्ताः॥१२॥
यूयं क्व तत्त्वपरिशीलनसंप्रणष्टसर्वेन्द्रियप्रसरकारि मनः प्रयासाः।
आपातरम्यविषयानिशचिन्तनादिव्यापारसक्तहृदयाः क्व वयं वराकाः॥१३॥
यूयं क्व सर्वहितकारिपवित्रकार्यसम्पादनव्यसनदीप्तनिजान्तरङ्गाः।
क्वेमे वयं विमतियातपरार्थचिन्तास्स्वार्थान्धघोरतरगर्ततमःप्रविष्टाः॥१४॥
यूयं क्व संसृतिपयोनिधिमग्नभग्नप्रज्ञाबलोद्धरणसुन्दरकार्यलग्नाः।
क्वेमे वयं भवसमुद्रविभिन्नधैर्यस्वोद्धारकप्रवरवीक्षणकातराक्षाः॥१५॥
अज्ञानगन्धगजराजनिवर्हणार्थं सिंहाधिराजसदृशा यतिनः क्व यूयम्।
क्वेमे वयं बहुतमोमदजालबद्धव्यर्थीकृतात्ममतितिक्ष्णमृगार्भकाभाः॥१६॥
क्वात्मावबोधलघुयापितरात्रियामास्तन्द्रादिदोषरहिता दृढसत्यसन्धाः।
संगीतवाद्यशुभनृत्यमहोत्सवेषु क्वोन्निद्रताव्यपगताखिलयामिनीकाः॥१७॥
अष्टाङ्गयोगकरणाप्तसमाधिलीला ब्रह्मैकतत्त्वपरिशीलनतत्पराः क्व।
स्वाभीष्टवस्तुरतियोगचित्ताः लोकप्रसादनरताः कुपथे वयं क्व॥१८॥
तत्त्वावबोधसरसीप्रभवा मनोज्ञसौरभ्यवासितसमस्तदिगङ्गनाङ्गा।
त्वत्कीर्तिरद्य कमनीयसरोजिनीव सद्यस्सतां श्रवणमण्डनतामुपैति॥१९॥
चन्द्रप्रभासितविचित्रसुवेषरम्या कर्पूरसुन्दरसुगन्धसुवासिताङ्गी।
विद्वज्जनस्य हृदयाङ्गणरङ्गमञ्चे शैलूषिकेव परिनृत्यति तेऽद्य कीर्तिः॥२०॥
चन्द्रार्कनेत्रयुगला शिवदानमत्ता नक्षत्ररत्नरशनागुणमुद्वहन्ती।
गौरीव शुक्लतुहिनाचलजातशोभा कीर्तिञ्च ते नवनवां सुषुमामुपैति॥२१॥
स्वदीर्घिकायां जलकेलिलग्नास्समुल्लसत्स्वर्णमृणालिनीषु।
हिन्दोलनाकौतुकमाप्नुवन्ती चलैस्तरङ्गैस्तवकीर्तिहंस्यः॥२२॥
अनश्वरं व्याप्तसमस्तविश्वं सर्वाभिरामैश्च गुणैर्निबद्धम्।
त्वत्कीर्तिवस्त्रं धवलं दधाना दिगङ्गना नाभिलषन्ति वासः॥२३॥
कीर्तिः शरच्चन्द्रमयूखरम्या प्रकाण्डविद्वत्सु चमत्कृतेषु।
तपस्विनं त्वां गुणशीलवृद्धमद्यापि नो मुञ्चति किं वदामः॥२४॥
लक्ष्मीं विलोक्य हृदये तव जृम्भमाणां वक्त्रारविन्दनिरतां च सरस्वतीञ्च।
कीर्तिर्विरागवशतस्तव संप्रयाता पारे समुद्रमिति विज्ञजना हसन्ति॥२५॥
कीर्त्या तवेन्दुसितया धवलं तथैवारक्तं प्रतापतपनस्य गभस्तिपुञ्जैः।
नीलं च होमजमलीमसधूमजालैश्चित्रं दुकूलमवहद्धरिदङ्गनानाम्॥२६॥
सर्वान्पुमर्थनिकरान्ध्रुवमर्पयन्ती दोषान्समांश्च हृदयादपसारयन्ती।
साम्ये स्थितिं विदधती ददती च शश्वत्कल्याणमुल्लसति कापि दया त्वदीया॥२७॥

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आपन्निवारणपुरस्सरसर्वसम्पत्सम्प्राप्तिसाधनमयी मुवि कामधेनुः।
पूर्णप्रमोदपरमामृतमास्रवन्ती वात्सल्यमूर्तिजननी भवदीयमूर्तिः॥२८॥
सूक्ष्मेक्षिकां विदधती सुधियामपारां प्रौढिप्रकर्षमपि साधु समेधयन्ती।
आभासते सुमधुरामृतमर्पयन्ती सद्बन्धुतैकजननी वचनावली ते॥२९॥
यत्रावमज्जनपरो मनुजोऽपि दैवीं प्राप्नोति सम्पदमरं च परं महत्त्वम्।
मृत्युञ्जयो भवति मृत्युवशंवदोऽपि सा ते चिरं विजयते नु कटाक्षमाला॥३०॥
तव प्रतापोष्मभिरद्य सम्यग्रुन्धद्भिराकाशमहो दिगन्तान्।
दिक्पालदन्तावलदाननद्यो लम्बालभावं दधिरे नितान्तम्॥३१॥
उत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तयस्ता लोके प्रसिद्धा ननु तिस्र एव।
चतुर्थशक्तिस्तव जागरूका दृढातिभक्तिर्जगदम्बिकायाम्॥३२॥
अगाधतायामपि सम्भवन्त्यां विस्तीर्णतादावपि विद्यमाने।
शून्यत्वदोषाद्धृदयेन यस्य न साम्यमाकाशमुपाजगाम॥३३॥
चेतः केतकपत्रगर्भविशदं वाचः सुधाबन्धवः
कीर्तिः शारदचन्द्रमांसलकरोद्दामावदातद्युतिः।
सम्बन्धस्तव यत्र तत्र सितता सर्वत्र संदृश्यते
ह्याश्चर्यं द्विजरक्षकैस्तव गुणैर्यत्स्वीकृता कृष्णता॥३४॥
तवान्तरस्थामृतया सुवाण्या माधुर्यगाम्भीर्यगुणान्वयेऽपि।
रिक्तान्तरङ्गत्वविरोधिधर्मात् सादृश्यमायाति कथं मृदङ्गः॥३५॥
त्वदीयवाणीसमवायिकारणं निर्धारितं विष्णुपदं विपश्चिता।
अतो मृदङ्गो मधुरोऽपि मृत्कृतो त्वदीय वाचा समतां न याचते॥३६॥
कलावती मानसरञ्जनी च सद्ब्रह्मनादस्य सुसाधिनी च।
नियन्त्रितत्वाद् बहुशृङ्खलाभिर्वीणा सुवाणीं तव नातिशेते॥३७॥
सर्वाङ्गरम्या सरलाप्यदोषा हृद्यस्वराप्युत्तमवंशजापि।
स्वच्छिद्रबाहुल्यविशेषदोषाद्वंशी न ते वाक्समतामुपैति॥३८॥
रत्नाकरत्वेऽपि रमालयत्वेऽप्यगाधगाम्भीर्यगुणाश्रयेऽपि।
लावण्ययोगेऽपि न तस्य साम्यं क्षारत्वदोषाद्विदधे समुद्रः॥३९॥
ते सन्ततं भुवि जयन्तु मनोज्ञगोपीनाथस्य चन्द्रकिरणा इव वन्द्यपादाः।
यैर्द्वादशार्ककिरणैरपि दुर्निवारः श्रीमालवीयकुमुदस्य कृतो विकासः॥४०॥

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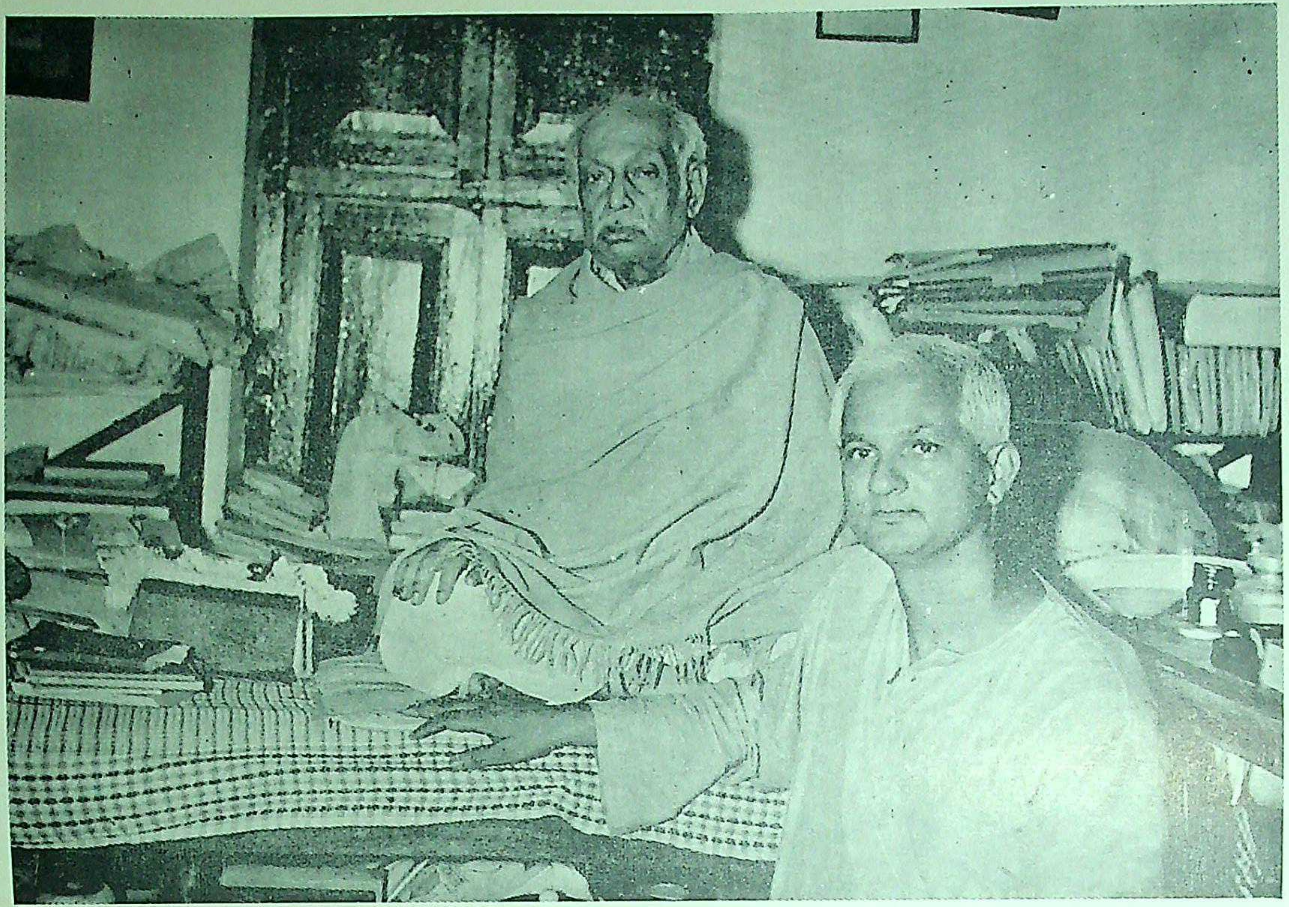

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(WORKS OF DR. GOPINATH KAVIRAJ)

संकलनकर्त्ता

नर्मदेश्वर चतुर्वेदी, स्वामी रामाश्रम, रामशंकर भट्टाचार्य

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(३०) देहसिद्धि और पूर्णतत्व का अभियान (२४:८, संवत् २००७ वि०)
(३१) दत्तात्रेय सम्प्रदाय का दर्शन और मतवाद (२४:९, संवत् २००७ वि०)
(३२) अद्वैत तत्व का मकारभेद--ब्रह्म, परमात्मा, भगवान, (२९:११, १२, सन् १९५५ ई०)
(३३) एक अलौकिक भक्त--श्री श्री सिद्धिमाता (३२:१, भक्तिअंक, संवत् २०१४ वि०)
(३४) मनुष्यत्व (३३:१, मानवता अंक, सन् १९५९ ई०)

आनन्दवार्ता--श्री श्री आनन्दमयी संघ, भदैनी, वाराणसी।

१. श्री मां की अमर वाणी (१:३, सन् १९५३ ई०)
२. ,, ,, ,, (१:४, सन् १९५३ ई०)
३. ,, ,, ,, (१:५, सन् १९५४ ई०)
४. ,, ,, ,, (२:१, सन् १९५४ ई०)
५. परम पथ का क्रम (१:५, सन् १९५४ ई०)
६. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (२:१, सन् १९५४ ई०)
७. ,, ,, ,, ,, (२:२, सन् १९५४ ई०)
८. आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय (२:२, ४, ३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)
९. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (२:३, सन् १९५४ ई०)
१०. आरोप साधना (२:३, सन् १९५४ ई०),
११. श्रीश्रीमां की अमरवाणी (२:४, सन् १९५५ ई०).
१२. अजपा रहस्य (२:४ और ३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)

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१३. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:१, सन् १९५५ ई०)
१४. मंत्र-विज्ञान की एक झलक (३:१, सन् १९५५ई०)
१५. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:२, सन् १९५५ई०)
१६. वर्ण विज्ञान और आत्मा की विचित्र अवस्थाएं (३:२, ३, सन्१९५५ ई०)
१७. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (३:३, सन् १९५५ई०)
१८. ,, ,, (३:४, सन् १९५६ ई०)
१९. ब्रह्म, परमात्मा और भगवान (३:४, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२०. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (४:१, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२१. ,, ,, ,, (४:२, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२२. दार्शनिक दृष्टि से श्री श्री मां की वाणी (४:२, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२३. सिद्ध पुरुष (४:२, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२४. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (४:३, सन् १९५६ ई०)
२५ ,, ,, ,, (४:४, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२६. ,, ,, ,, (५:१, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२७. मैं कौन हूं (५:१, सन्१९५७ ई०)
२८. भक्ति साधना की एक झलक (५:३, सन् १९५७ ई०)
२९. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (५:२, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३०. शक्ति का जागरण (५:२, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३१. श्री श्री मां की अमरवाणी (५:३, सन् १९५७ ई०)
३२. ,, ,, ,, (५:४, सन् १९५८ ई०)
३३. कृपा और उपाय का मिलन—एक दृष्टि (५:४, सन् १९५८ ई०)
३४. षट्चक्र भेद का रहस्य (६:३, सन् १९५८ ई०)
३५. अध्यात्म जीवन में गुरु का स्थान (६:३, सन् १९५८ ई०)
३६. अखण्ड भगवत् स्मृति (६:४, सन् १९५९ ई०)
३७. षट्चक्र भेद की परावस्था (७:३, सन् १९५९ ई०)
३८. जीवन का लक्ष्य (७:४, सन् १९५९ ई०)
३९. देह विज्ञान और अमरत्व साधन (८:१, सन् १९६० ई०)
४० श्री भगवान का स्वरूप और कार्य द्वैत शैवमत (८:२, सन् १९६० ई०)
४२ परम शिव की पृष्ठभूमि (८:३, सन् १९६० ई०)
४३ चक्षु का उन्मीलन (८:४, सन् १९६१ ई०)
४४ भावसाधना का वैशिष्ट्य (७:२ सन् १९५९ ई०)
४५ इच्छा शक्ति (९:१ सन् १९६१ ई०)
४६ मन से उन्मना (६:१ सन् १९५८ ई०)

गीताधर्म—मिसिर पोखरा, वाराणसी

१. वासना-निवृत्ति (१९३७-३८ ई०)

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२ परमपद (२३:४, ५, अप्रैल और १९५८ ई०)
३ मनुष्य देह और कर्म (२३:८, १९५८ ई०)
४ आदि गुरु दत्तात्रेय और अवधूत दर्शन (२५:१, २, रजतजयन्ती विशेषांक, १९६० ई०)
५ कृष्ण की मंत्रमूर्ति (पृ० ७२२ श्रावण संवत् १९९३ वि०)

त्रिपथगा——उत्तर प्रदेश शासन, लखनऊ
१ भारतीय संस्कृति में सेवा का आदर्श (दिसम्बर, १९५६ ई०)
२ तंत्र का स्वरूप, आविर्भाव और भेद (अक्टूबर, १९५७ ई०)

राष्ट्रधर्म——लखनऊ
१ भारतीय संस्कृति का स्वरूप (अग्रहायण संवत् २००६ वि०)

मानवधर्म——वाराणसी
१ जीवन में नियंत्रण (१:१ पृ०, १९४४ ई०)

मानव——वाराणसी
१ मनुष्य देह और कर्म (१:२, ४, ५, ६, ८, ९ सन् १९५२-५३ ई०)

विन्ध्य भूमि, रीवा (म० प्र०)
१ नाद, विन्दु और कला (१:१, १९४४ ई०)
२ मां आनन्दमयी (२:२, सन् १९४५ ई०)

आज, ज्ञानमण्डल, वाराणसी,
१ आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से काशी का आध्यात्मिक स्वरूप (वाराणसी, दर्शन अंक, १९५७)
२ तंत्र का स्वरूप, आविर्भाव और भेद (२३ अक्टूबर,, १९५७ ई०)
३. तिब्बत: सिद्धों की भूमि (१८ अप्रैल, १९५९ ई०)

विद्यापीठ, काशी विद्यापीठ, वाराणसी
१ संस्कृत साहित्य के इतिहास में काशी का भाग (१:२, संवत् १९८५ वि०)
२ शंकराचार्य और अवैदिक ईश्वरवाद (१:३, संवत् १९८५ वि०)
३ मधुसूदन सरस्वती का कालनिर्णय (२:१, संवत् १९८६ वि०)

सम्मेलन-पत्रिका, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, इलाहाबाद
१. भारतीय संस्कृति में लोकजीवन की अभिव्यक्ति (लोकसंस्कृति विशेषांक, सम्वत् २०१० वि०)

विदेह, दरभङ्गा,
१. कायसिद्धि (१:८, ९, सन् १९६२ ई०)

नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी
१. मध्यकालीन संस्कृत साहित्य में काशी की देन——न्याय, सांख्य, मीमांसा (चन्दबली पाण्डे स्मृति अंक, ६३:३, ४ संयुक्तांक, सन् १९५९ ई०)

परिषद् पत्रिका, बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, पटना
१ आसन से उत्थान और गमन (१:१, अप्रैल १९६१ ई०)
२ विहंगम योग और महापथ (२:१, अप्रैल १९६२ ई०)
३ काशी की सारस्वत साधना (२:२,३,४ और ३:१)

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४ आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव--एक संस्मरण (जनवरी १९६४ ई०)

नाम महात्म्य, वृन्दावन

१. नाम से लीला का सम्बन्ध (व्रज लीला अंक, १९४६ ई०)

भारती, भारतीय विद्या भवन, मुम्बई

१. भारत भंगुर देह का अमरत्व लाने की गुह्य विद्या जानता है (९:१, १९६४ ई०)

२. योग शक्ति द्वारा आसन का उत्थान और आकाश-गमन (१०:१, सन् १९६५ ई०)

वैराग्य ज्योति, वाराणसी

१. सहजीया मार्ग का संक्षिप्त विवरण (१:२, सन् १९६५ ई०)

चिन्तामणि, वाराणसी

१. सत्संग के कुछ क्षण (१९६६ ई०)

विश्वभारती, शान्तिनिकेतन, बोलपुर, पश्चिम बंगाल

(१) अमरत्व साधन : तांत्रिक और कौलिक प्रक्रियानुसार (७:१, सन् १९६६ ई०)

(२) महाज्ञान का अवतरण (७:२, १९६६ ई०)

हिन्दी विश्वकोश--प्रकाशक, काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी

(१) आत्मा (जिल्द १)

(२) ईश्वर (जिल्द २)

(३) ओंकार (जिल्द २)

महावीरप्रसाद द्विवेदी अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ--प्रकाशक, काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, वाराणसी

कुंडलिनी तत्व (पृ० १७१)

महादेव शास्त्री-संस्मरण-ग्रन्थ--शक्ति का जागरण

महामहोपाध्याय विद्याधर गौड़-स्मारक-ग्रन्थ--प्रकाशक, वैदिक पुस्तकालय, ७।१४, सकरकन्द गली, काशी

(१) विशिष्ट विभूति (भाग १)

(२) योग और परकाय प्रवेश (भाग ३)

धर्मेन्द्र-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ, प्रकाशक, पटना

१. सृष्टि का उन्मेश

ओंकार संवर्धना-ग्रन्थ, प्रकाशक--हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय वाराणसी

१. ओंकार साधन

बंगला

विशुद्धवाणी (सम्पादक, पं० गोपीनाथ कविराज), प्रकाशक, विशुद्धानन्द कानन आश्रम, मलदहिया, वाराणसी

१ सूचना (१:१९५४ ई०)

२. देह ओ कर्म (क) (१:१९५४ ई०), (ख) (२:१९५५ ई०), (ग) (४:१९५६ ई०) (घ) (५:१९५७ ई०)

३. आरोप साधन (१:१९५४ ई०)

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४ ज्ञानगंजेर पत्रावली (क) (१:१९५४ ई०), (ख) (२:१९५५ई०), (ग) (३:१९५५ई०) (घ) (४:१९५६ ई०), (ङ) (५:१९५७ई०), (च) (६:१९५७ ई०)
५. अजपा साधन रहस्य (२:१९५५ ई०)
६ श्री श्री नवमुण्डी महासन (३:१९५५ ई०)
७ विहंगम योग ओ महापथ (३:१९५५ ई०)
८ श्री श्री गुरुदेवेर कयेकटि उपदेश वाक्य (खण्ड ३:१९५५ ई०)
९ महाशक्ति श्री श्री मां (५:१९५७ ई०)
१० सूर्यविज्ञान-रहस्य प्रथम प्रस्ताव (६:१९५७ ई०)
११. श्री गुरु चरणे (६:१९५७ ई०)
१२. सनातन साधनार गुप्तधारा (६:१९५७ ई०)
१३. शुष्क ज्ञान ओ दिव्य ज्ञान (४:१९५६ ई०)
१४. सिद्ध पुरुष (४:१९५६ ई०)
१५. कयेकखाना छिन्नपत्र (४:१९५६ ई०)
१६. तीन जन्मेर विचार (४:१९५६ ई०)
१७. सामरस्य वा महामिलन (७:१९५८ ई०)
१८. विन्दुदर्शनेर रहस्य (८:१९५८ ई०)
१९. सिद्धभूमि (८:१९५८ ई०)
२०. मानस पूजा (८:१९५८ ई०)
२१. जीवेर आविर्भाव ओ पूर्णत्व लाभ--एकटि दृष्टि (८:१९५८ ई०)
२२. आत्मार पूर्ण जागरण ओ परिणति (९:१९६७ ई०)

भारतवर्ष, कलकत्ता

मृत्युविज्ञान ओ परमपद (माघ-फाल्गुन) १९४१ ई०)

उत्सव, कलकत्ता

(१) धर्मेन्द्र सनातन आदर्श (फाल्गुन १९३४ ई०)
(२) वसना निवृत्ति (अग्रहायण १९४० ई०)

देवयान, हुगली

(१) रामनामेर महिमा (श्रावण १९४९ ई०)
(२) देहसिद्धि ओ पूर्णत्वेर अभियान (१० : २ आश्विन १९५७ ई०)
(३) सिद्धिमाता (आश्विन १९४७ ई०, अग्रहायण १९५८ ई०)

बान्धव (New Series) सम्पा० श्री कालीप्रसन्न घोष, अर्मनी टोला, ढाका

१. सेखाने (कविता) १९०४ ई०

आरती, सम्पा० श्री विश्वेश्वर पंडित, मैमनसिंह, बंगाल

१. हृदय यमुना--एक व्याख्या

Students' Magazine कलकत्ता।

१. सुन्दर (कविता) १९०६ ई०

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प्रवासी, ७७।२।१, वर्मतल्ला स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता

(१) ब्राउनिंग (१) १९१० ई०

(२) ,, (२) १९११ ई०

प्रतिभा, ढाका

बाइरन—भाद्रपद १९११ ई०

प्रवासज्योति (मासिक), वाराणसी

१. त्रिवेणी संगम १. पौष १९२१ ई०

२. ,, ,, २. माघ १९२१ ई०

३. ,, ,, ३. फाल्गुन १९२१ ई०

४. ,, ,, ४. चैत्र १९२१ ई०

प्रवासज्योति (साप्ताहिक), वाराणसी

१. सूर्य विज्ञान, १९२२ ई०

२. वैष्णव कवितार् समालोचन ओ आध्यात्मिक व्याख्या, १९२२ ई०

अलका (१९२२ ई०), वाराणसी

१. सागर संगीत (क) (सन् १९२२ ई०)

२. ,, ,, (ख) (सन् १९२२ ई०)

३. भर्तृहरि ओ ईचिंग (सन् १९२२ ई०)

४. प्रत्यभिज्ञा दर्शनेर् भूमिका (१) (सन् १९२२ ई०)

५. ,, ,, ,, (२) (सन् १९२२ ई०)

६. प्रत्यभिज्ञा दर्शन (सन् १९२२ ई०)

७. एकटि प्रश्न (सन् १९२२ ई०)

८. सुरेन्द्रनाथ दासगुप्त रचित भारतीय दर्शनेर् इतिहास, खण्ड १ (समालोचन) (सन् १९२२ ई०)

९. प्रह्लादपुर शिलालेख (सन् १९२२ ई०)

बंग साहित्य, वाराणसी

१. रस ओ सौन्दर्य, (खण्ड १:१, सन् १९२३ ई०)

२. कुण्डलिनी तत्व (१:४ सन् १९२४ ई०)

उत्तरा, वाराणसी

१ गौड़ीय वैष्णव दर्शन १ आश्विन १९२५ ई०

२. ,, ,, २. कार्तिक १९२५ ई०

३. ,, ,, ३. अग्रहायण १९२५ ई०

४. ,, ,, ४. पौष १९२६ ई०

५. ,, ,, ५. माघ ,,

६. ,, ,, ६. फाल्गुन ,,

७. ,, ,, ७. चैत्र ,,

८. ,, ,, ८. वैशाख ,,

७६

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९. गौड़ीय वैष्णव दर्शन ९. ज्येष्ठ १९२६ ई०
१०. ,, ,, १०. आश्विन ,,
११. तान्त्रिक बौद्धधर्म १. कार्तिक १९२७ ई०
१२. ,, ,, २. ज्येष्ठ १९२८ ई०
१३. ,, ,, ३. आषाढ़ १९२८ ई०
१४. ,, ,, ४. श्रावण १९२८ ई०
१५. रवीन्द्र ओ बलाका १. पौष १९२७ ई०
१६. ,, ,, २. फाल्गुन १९२७ ई०
१७. तत्व ओ साधना (जीवनेर् उद्देश्य)—आश्विन १९२८ ई०
१८ महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्री (१) अग्रहायण १९३१ ई०
१९ महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्री (२) पौष १९३२ ई०
२०. बुद्धेर उपदेश—आश्विन १९३६ ई०
२१. तान्त्रिक साधनार् गौडार् कथा—भाद्रपद १९४२ ई०
२२. शक्तिपात रहस्य (१) कार्तिक १९४२ ई०
२३. ,, ,, (२) पौष १९४२ ई०
२४. गुरुतत्व ओ सद्गुरु रहस्य (१) वैशाख १९४३ ई०
२५. ,, ,, (२) ज्येष्ठ १९४३ ई०
२६. पूजार् परमादर्श—आषाढ़ १९४७ ई०
२७. भारतीय संस्कृति—भाद्रपद १९४७ ई०
२८. भागवते ईश्वर ओ जीवतत्व—१९४८ ई०
२९. नाद, विन्दु ओ कला—श्रावण १९४८ ई०
३०. देहसिद्धि ओ पूर्णत्वेर् अभियान, ज्येष्ठ १९४९ ई०
३१. दत्तात्रेय सम्प्रदायेर् दार्शनिक मतवाद, १९४९ ई०

आनन्द वार्ता (बंगला-इंग्लिश) श्री श्री आनन्दमयी संघ, भदैनी, वाराणसी

१. श्री मायेर् अमरवाणी व्याख्या १. १:३, १९५३ ई०
२. ,, ,, ,, २. १:४, अक्टूबर १९५३ ई०
३. ,, ,, ,, ३. १:५, फर्वरी, १९५४ ई०
४. ,, ,, ,, ४. २:१, मई, १९५४ ई०; २:२, अगस्त १९५४ ई०
५. ,, ,, ,, ५. २:३, नवम्बर, १९५४ ई०
६. ,, ,, ,, ६. २:४, फर्वरी, १९५५ ई०
७. ,, ,, ,, ७. ३:१, मई, १९५५ ई०
८. ,, ,, ,, ८. ३:२, अगस्त, १९५५ ई०
९. ,, ,, ,, ९. ३:३, नवम्बर, १९५५ ई०
१०. ,, ,, ,, १०. ३:४, फर्वरी, १९५६ ई०
११. ,, ,, ,, ११. ४:१, मई, १९५६ ई०

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१२. श्री मायेर् अमरवाणी व्याख्या १२. ४:२, अगस्त, १९५६ ई०
१३. ,, ,, ,, १३. ४:३, नवम्बर, १९५६ ई०
१४. ,, ,, ,, १४. ४:४, फर्वरी, १९५७ ई०
१५. ,, ,, ,, १५. ५:१, मई, १९५७ ई०
१६. ,, ,, ,, १६. ५:२, अगस्त, १९५७ ई०
१७. ,, ,, ,, १७. ५:३, नवम्बर, १९५७ ई०
१८. ,, ,, ,, १८. ५:४, फर्वरी, १९५८ ई०
१९. ,, ,, ,, १९. ६:१, मई, १९५८ ई०
२०. ,, ,, ,, २०. ६:२, अगस्त, १९५८ ई०
२१. परमपथेर् क्रम (१:५, १९५४ ई०)
२२. आरोप साधन (२:२, १९५४ ई०)
२३. आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय (१) २:२, १९५४ ई०
,, ,, ,, (२) २:३, १९५४ ई०
,, ,, ,, (३) २:४, १९५५ ई०
२४. अजपा रहस्य (१) (२:३, १९५४ ई०)
,, ,, (२) (२:४, १९५५ ई०)
२५. मंत्रविज्ञानेर् एकदिक् (२:४, १९५५ ई०)
२६. वर्ण विज्ञान ओ आतमार् अवस्थावैचित्र्य (१) (३:१, १९५५ ई०)
,, ,, ,, (२) (३:२, १९५५ ई०)
२७. ब्रह्म, परमात्मा ओ भगवान (३:४, १९५६ ई०)
२८. सिद्ध पुरुष (४:१, १९५६ ई०)
२९. श्री श्री मायेर् सम्बन्धे दुइचारटि कथा (४:१, १९५६ ई०)
३०. दार्शनिक दृष्टि ते श्री श्री मायेर् वाणी (४:२, १९५६ ई०)
३१. आध्यात्मिक जीवने गुरुर् स्थान (१) (४:३, १९५६ ई०)
,, ,, ,, (२) (४:४, १९५७ ई०)
,, ,, ,, (३) (६:२, १९५८ ई०)
३२. आमि के : मनुष्य जीवनेर् अभिव्यक्ति ओ परमादर्श (६:१, १९५७ ई०)
३३. शक्तिर् जागरण (५:२, १९५७ ई०)
३४. भक्ति साधनार् एकटा दिक् (५:३, १९५७ ई०)
३५. कृपा ओ उपायेर् मिलन : एकटि दृष्टि (५:४, १९५८ ई०)
३६. मन होइते उन्मना (६:१, १९५८ ई०)
३७. षट्चक्र भेदेर् रहस्य (६:३, १९५८ ई०)
३८. अखण्ड भगवत् स्मृति (६:४, १९५९ ई०)
३९. षट्चक्र भेदेर् परावस्था (७:१, १९५९ ई०)
४०. भावसाधनार् वैशिष्ट्य (७:२, १९५९ ई०)

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४१. जीवनेर् लक्ष्य (७:३, १९५९ ई०)
४२. देहविज्ञान ओ अमरत्व साधन (७:४, १९५९ ई०)
४३. परमशिवेर् पृष्ठभूमि (८:२, १९६० ई०)
४४. श्री भगवानेर् स्वरूप ओ कृत्य (द्वैतशैवमत) (८:२, १९६० ई०)
४५. चक्षुर् उन्मीलन (८:३, १९६० ई०)

हिमाद्रि (साप्ताहिक), कलकत्ता

१. देहेर् साधन (प्रथम माला) १५ मई, १९५३ से २२ मई, २९ मई, ५ जून, १२ जून, १९ जून, २६ जून, ३ जुलाई, १० जुलाई, १७ जुलाई, २४ जुलाई, ३१ जुलाई, ७ अगस्त, १४ अगस्त, २१ अगस्त, १९५३ तक

२. देहेर् साधन (द्वितीय माला) १८ नवम्बर, २५ नवम्बर, २ दिसम्बर, ९ दिसम्बर, १६ दिसम्बर, २३ दिसम्बर, ३० दिसम्बर, १९५५ से ५ जनवरी, १३ जनवरी, २० जनवरी १९५६ तक

३. साधुदर्शन ओ सत्प्रसंग——

१. ज्योतिजोर् कथा——२८ अगस्त १९५३ तथा १९ मार्च १९५४ तक
२. सत्संगी महात्मार् कथा——२६ मार्च १९५४ तथा १६ अप्रैल १९५४
३. सोहन सिद्ध बाबार् कथा——२३ अप्रैल से २ जुलाई १९५४ तक
४. राम ठाकुरेर् कथा——९ जुलाई से १३ अगस्त १९५४ तक
५. श्री श्री नागा बाबार् कथा——३ सितम्बर तथा १० सितम्बर १९५४
६. श्यामदास बाबाजीर् कथा——१९ नवम्बर १९५४
७. एकटि अद्‌भुत बालकेर् कथा——२६ नवम्बर १९५४ से २५ फर्वरी १९५५ तक
८. किशोरी भगवानेर् कथा——११ मार्च से ३ जून १९५५ तक
९. योगत्रयानन्दजीर् कथा——३ जून से २ सितम्बर १९५५ तक
१०. खेपा साधूर् कथा——१६ सितम्बर से ७ अक्टूबर १९५५ तक
११. सीताराम बाबाजीर् कथा——७ अक्टूबर १९५५
१२. परकाया प्रवेश——६ जुलाई १९५६ से १० अगस्त १९५६ तक
१३. आसन, उत्थान ओ आकाश गमन १० अगस्त से ७ सितम्बर १९५६ तक
१४. महाज्ञानेर् अवतरण——२३ नवम्बर से ७ दिसम्बर १९५६ तक
१५. पथेर् संधाने——२८ जून से २६ जुलाई १९५७ तक
१६. पूर्णत्वेर् पथे आरोह व अवरोह——२२ मई १९५९
१७. उद्धव सम्प्रदाय——१६ नवम्बर, २३ नवम्बर १९६२
१८. परमपद——१३ मार्च से २७ मार्च १९५९ तक
१९. भगवत् स्मृति——६ फर्वरी और ६ मार्च १९५९
२०. नरदेह——१९ दिसम्बर और २६ दिसम्बर १९५८ तथा ९ जनवरी १९५९

हिमाद्रि (वार्षिक) शारदीय अंक, कलकत्ता

१. मां (१९५३ ई०)
२. मायेर्स्वरूप ओ महिमा (१९५४ ई०)
३. महाकरुणामयी श्री श्री मां (१९५६ ई०)

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४. सामरस्य (१९५९ ई०)
५. महाशक्तिर् आराधना (१९६० ई०)
६. गुरु के (१९६२ ई०)
७. शाक्त साधनार् रहस्य (१९६३ ई०)
८. प्रबुद्धः सर्वदा तिष्ठेति (१९६४ ई०)
९. योगमार्गे इच्छा शक्ति ओ सृष्टि रहस्य (१९६५ ई०)
१०. तांत्रिक ओ कौलिक अमरत्व साधन (१९६६ ई०)

सुदर्शन, बागबाजार, कलकत्ता

१. दीक्षारहस्य (५:१, २, ३, ४; ६:१, २, ३; ७:१) सन् १९५७-५८
२. नाम-साधन ओ ताहार परिणति (सन् १९५४ ई०)
३. अक्लिष्ट अज्ञान (१२:३) सन् १९५५ ई०
४. आदिगुरु दत्तात्रेय (२०:१, २, १९६२ ई०; ३, ४, १९६३ ई०; २१:१,२, १९६३ ई०)
५. महामहोपाध्याय गोपीनाथ कविराज महाशयेर्पत्र (२२:१, सन् १९६४)

साधनपन्था, वाराणसी

१. अवतार विज्ञान (वैशाख, ज्येष्ठ, आषाढ़, श्रावण, भाद्रपद, सन् १९३४ ई०)
२. लिंग रहस्य (आश्विन, सन् १९३४ ई०)
३. शक्ति साधन (१:८, सन् १९३४ ई०)
४. ईश्वर प्राप्ति ओ ताहार साधन (अग्रहायण १९३४ ई०)
५. योग ओ योग विभूति (भाद्रपद-कार्तिक, १९३६ ई०)

विश्ववाणी, रामकृष्णवेदान्तमठ, १९ बी० राजाराजकृष्ण स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता-६

मंत्र ओ देवता रहस्य (जिल्द १३) पृ० १६७

उद्बोधन, श्री रामकृष्णमठ, उद्बोधन लेन, कलकत्ता-३

अनादि सुषुप्ति ओ ताहार भंग (माघ, सन् १९४८ ई०)

आर्यदर्पण, श्री श्री निगमानन्द सारस्वत आश्रम, डाकघर हलीसहर, जिला—२४ पर्गना

१. तान्त्रिक सिद्धान्त ओ साधनार् रहस्य (५६:१, वैशाख, सन् १९६३ ई०)
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Other Distinctions : Ex-Professor, Bengali Department, Presidency College, Calcutta.
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नाम : चक्रवर्ती, चिन्ताहरण
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, काव्यतीर्थ
वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त
प्रकाशन : १. तंत्रकथा (बंगला), २. जैन पद्मपुराण (बंगला) आदि।
अन्य विशेषताएँ : भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक, बंगला विभाग, प्रेसिडेंसी कालेज, कलकत्ता।
वर्तमान पता : २८।३ बी०, साहानगर रोड, कालीघाट, कलकत्ता-२६

Name : Devasthali, Govind Vinayak (G. V. Devasthali)
Academic Qualifications : M.A., B.T., Ph.D.
Present Position : Professor, Sanskrit Department, Poona University.
Publications : 1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Bombay University Library, 2. Bhānudatta's Alankāratilaka (Edited) 3. Several Research Articles.
Present Address : Kunj Villa, Agra Road, Nasik (Maharashtra).

नाम : देवस्थली, गोविन्द विनायक
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, बी० टी०, पी-एच० डी०
वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, पूना विश्वविद्यालय।
प्रकाशन : १. ए डिस्क्रिप्टिव कैटालाग आफ़ संस्कृत ऐण्ड प्राकृत मैनुस्क्रिप्ट्स इन दि बाम्बे युनिवर्सिटी लाइब्रेरी, २. भानुदत्तकृत अलंकारतिलक (सम्पादित), ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।
वर्तमान पता : कुंज विला, आगरा रोड, नासिक (महाराष्ट्र)

Name : Kashikar, Chintamani Ganesh (C. G. Kashikar)
Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Litt.
Present Position : Secretary, Vaidika Samśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona.
Publications : (1) Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary (in collaboration), (2) Cultural History of the Ṛgvedic Period (Marathi), (3) Āyurvedīya Padārthavijnānam (in collaboration),

नाम : काशीकर, चिन्तामणि गणेश
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० लिट्०
वर्तमान पद : मन्त्री, वैदिक संशोधनमण्डल, पूना,
प्रकाशन : १. ऋग्वेद सायण-भाष्य सहित, २. आयुर्वेदीय पदार्थविज्ञानम्, ३. इण्डियन मेडिसिन, ४. ४. श्रौतकोश, ५. कुछ अन्य ग्रन्थ तथा अनेक शोध-लेख।

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(4) Indian Medicine (English translation of J. Jolly's German work "Medizin" with bibliographical notes), (5) Śrautakośa—Vol. I—Sanskrit and English (in collaboration), (6) Śrauta, Paitramedhika and Pariśeṣa Sūtras of Bharadwāja, (7) Several Research papers.

Other Distinctions : Honorary Registrar, Tilak Vidyapitha, Poona; Honorary Secretary, Poona Vedapathashala, Ponna; Honorary Secretary, Vajapeya Performance Committee, Poona; Member of several other learned societies.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. आनरेरी रजिस्ट्रार, तिलक विद्यापीठ, पूना, २. कई शिक्षण और शोध-संस्थाओं से सम्बद्ध।

Present Address : Vaidika Samśodhana Manḍḍala, Poona-9.

वर्तमान पता : वैदिक संशोधन-मण्डल, पूना-९

Name : Mehendale, M. A. (M. A. Mehendale)

नाम : मेहेण्डले, एम० ए०

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

Present Position : Professor, Sanskrit Department, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

वर्तमान पद : संस्कृत प्राध्यापक, डेकन कालेज, रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, पूना

Publications : 1. A Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit, 2. Asokan Inscriptions in India, 3. Barhut Inscriptions (in collaboration), 4. Nirukta Notes.

प्रकाशन : १. हिस्टारिकल ग्रॉमर आफ़ इन्सक्रिप्शनल प्राकृत्स; २. अशोकन इन्सक्रिप्शन्स इन इण्डिया; ३. भरहुत इन्सक्रिप्शन्स, ४. निरुक्त नोट्स।

Other Distinctions : 1. Sometime Visiting Professor in Gottingen University, Gottingen (West Germany), 2. Sectional President, Linguistics Section, All India Oriental Conference, Annamalainagar Session (S. India), 1955, 3. Secretary, Linguistic Society of India (till December 1965), 4. Treasurer, Linguistic Society of India, 5. Wilson Philological Lecturer, University of Bombay.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. गाटिंजन विश्वविद्यालय जर्मनी के भूतपूर्व विज़िटिंग प्रोफेसर, २. आल इण्डिया ओरिएण्टल कान्फ़्रेंस, अन्नमालाई नगर अधिवेशन के भाषा विज्ञान अनुभाग के सभापति, ३. लिंग्विस्टिक सोसायटी ऑफ इण्डिया के बर्तमान कोषाध्यक्ष तथा भूतपूर्व सचिव।

Present Address : Deccan College Research Institute, Poona-6.

वर्तमान पता : डेकन कालेज रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, पूना-६

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Name : Misra, Vidya Nivas

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Sahitya-Shastri, Ph. D.

Present Position : Reader, Sanskrit Dprrtment, Gorakhpur University.

Publications.

1. The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini (Mouton & Co., 1966),
2. Modern Hindi Poetry. Anthology (Indiana University Press, 1965),
3. Amaruśatakam (Rajkamal, 1964),
4. Six Collections of Literary and Critical Essays,
5. More than a dozen papers.

Other distinctions.

1. Visiting Professor, Near Eastern Languages, University of California, Berkeley, U. S. A., (1960-61);
2. Invited to attend the IX International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, 1962:
3. Member of several Research Institutions.

Present Address : Surat Sadan, Allahadadpur, Gorakhpur. (U. P.)

नाम : मिश्र, विद्यानिवास

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, साहित्यशास्त्री, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, संस्कृत विभाग, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय, गोरखपुर

प्रकाशन : दि डिस्क्रिप्टिव टेन्कीक आफ़ पाणिनि,
२. मार्डन हिन्दी पोयट्री-ऐन एन्थोलोजी,
३. अमरुशतकम्,
४. निबन्धसंग्रह,
५. एक दर्जन से अधिक शोध निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. विजिटिंग प्रोफेसर, नियर ईस्टर्न लैंग्वेजेज़, कैलिफोर्निया विश्वविद्यालय, २. इण्टरनेशनल कांग्रेस आफ़ लिंग्विस्टिक्स के कैम्ब्रिज (१९६२) अधिवेशन में आमंत्रित
३. अनेक शोध-संस्थाओं के सदस्य

वर्तमान पता : सूरत सदन, अल्लादादपुर गोरखपुर

Name : Rahurkar, Vasant Gajanan

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, University of Poona.

Publications : 1. The Seers of the Ṛgveda, 2. Cultural History of Ancient India (in collaboration), 3. Uṣāniruddham (Edited), 4. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Editor of "Bhāratavāṇi" (Sanskrit) and "Ekatā" (Marathi), 2. Sub-editor, Sanskrit Dictionary Department, Deccan College, Poona.

Present Address : 1442-43, Sadashiv, Ravetkar Building, Poona-2.

नाम : राहुरकर, बसंत गजानन

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत-प्राकृत निभाग, पूना विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. दि सियर्स आफ दि ऋग्वेद, २. कल्चरल हिस्ट्री आफ़ ऐंशियण्ट इण्डिया, ३. उषानिरुद्धम्, आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. 'भारतवाणी' संस्कृत पत्रिका के संपादक, २. आप्टे संस्कृत-इंगलिश कोश के पुनरीक्षित और परिवर्द्धित संस्करण के सह-सम्पादक

वर्तमान पता : १४४२-४३ सदाशिव, रावेतकर बिल्डिंग, पूना-२

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Name : Sahasrabuddhe, Madhukar Tryambak (M. T. Sahasrabuddhe).
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.
Present Position : Lecturer in Sanskrit, Nagpur University.
Publications : Several Research Articles.
Other Distinctions : 1. President, Veda-Parishad, Nasik Session (1960), 2. Editor, Bhārata-Vāṇi, Poona.
Present Address : 257, New Ramdas Peth, P. R. Joshi Head Master's Bungalow, Nagpur-1 (Maharashtra).

नाम : सहस्रबुद्धे, मधुकर त्र्यम्बक
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी०-एच० डी०
वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय
प्रकाशन : अनेक शोध-निबन्ध
अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. वेद परिषद् के नासिक अधिवेशन के सभापति, २. "भारतवाणी", पूना के सम्पादक आदि
वर्तमान पता : २५७, न्यू रामदास पेठ, नागपुर-१

Name : Shastri, Amar Nath.
Academic Qualifications : Vyākaraṇashāstrī, Vyākaraṇāchārya, Vidyābhāskara.
Present Position : Research Scholar.
Publications : Vaidikasvarasamīkṣā.
Present Address : Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur.

नाम : शास्त्री, अमरनाथ
शिक्षा : व्याकरणशास्त्री, व्याकरणाचार्य, विद्याभास्कर
वर्तमान पद : शोध-छात्र
प्रकाशन : वैदिकस्वरसमीक्षा
वर्तमान पता : पो० साधु आश्रम, होशियारपुर।

Name : Subrahmanyaśāstri, P.S. (P.S.S. Śāstri)
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.
Present Position : Leading a retired life.
Publications : 1. Patañjali's Bhāṣya (English translation), 2. Dhvanyāloka (Tamil), 3. History of Sanskrit Literature (Tamil), etc.
Other Distinctions : 1. Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, 2. Ex-Professor, Sanskrit Department, Annamalai University.
Present Address : 12, North Madavilagam, P. O. Thiruvaiyaru, Madras.

नाम : शास्त्री. पी० एस० सुब्रह्मण्य
शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), पी-एच्० डी० (तमिल)
वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त
प्रकाशन : १. पतंजलि भाष्य का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद, २. ध्वन्यालोक का तमिल अनुवाद, ३. संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास (तमिल) आदि
अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. तमिल लेक्सिकन के सहायक सम्पादक, २. भूतपूर्व संस्कृत प्राध्यापक, अन्नमलाई विश्वविद्यालय, अन्नमलाई नगर
वर्तमान पता : १२, नार्थ मदविलगम्, पो० थिरुवैयारु, मद्रास।

Name : Singh, Satya Prakash (S. P. Singh)
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.
Present Position : Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, Muslim University, Aligarh.
Publications : Research-papers on philosophical topics.

नाम : सिंह, सत्यप्रकाश
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०
वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय
प्रकाशन : दर्शनविषयक शोध-निबन्ध

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Present Address : Sanskrit Department, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Name : Minoru Hara.

Present Position : Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, University of Tokyo, Japan.

Publications : 1. Nakulīśa - Pāśupata - Darśanam. 2. A note on the Sanskrit word 'Nitya'. 3. Note on two Sanskrit religious terms Bhakti and Śraddhā.

Other Distinctions : A scholar of Hindu religion and philosophy.

Present Address : 42, Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. (U.S.A.)

वर्तमान पता : संस्कृत विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय, अलीगढ़।

नाम : हारा, मिनोरु

वर्तमान पद : सहायक प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, तोकियो विश्वविद्यालय, जापान

प्रकाशन : १. नकुलीश-पाशुपत दर्शनम्, २. ए नोट ऑन दि संस्कृत वर्ड 'नित्य', ३. ए नोट ऑन टू संस्कृत रिलिजस टर्म्स "भक्ति" ऐण्ड "श्रद्धा"; आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : हिन्दू धर्म और दर्शन के पण्डित।

वर्तमान पता : ४२ फ़्रैंसिस एवेन्यू, कैम्ब्रिज, मैसेचुसेट्स, संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका।

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B—PHILOSOPHY AND DHARMA

Name : Agrawal, Vasudeva Sharan (V. S. Agrawal) (deceased).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Publications : 1. Kalā aur Sankriti (Hindi), 2. Harsha Charit (Hindi), 3. Pāṇinikālīna Bhārat, (Hindi), 4. India as Known to Pāṇini (English), 5. Padmāvat Sanjīvanī-ṭīkā (Hindi). 6. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

Other distinctions : A few other books and a large number of Research-papers.

1. Professor & Head of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University (till his death). 2. Sahitya Akadami Prize-holder. 3. Permanent member of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and an ex-member of its Executive Committee. 4. Connected with a number of other Research Organizations.

Last Address : Professor and Head of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

नाम : अग्रवाल, वासुदेवशरण (दिवंगत)

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (इतिहास), पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट्०

प्रकाशन : १. कला और संस्कृति, २. हर्षचरित, ३. पाणिनिकालीन भारत, ४. पद्मावत (संजीवनी टीका), ५. मार्कण्डेय पुराण, ६. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. अध्यक्ष, भारतीय विद्यामहाविद्यालय, हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, २. साहित्य अकादमी पुरस्कार-विजेता, ३. कई शोध-संस्थाओं से सम्बद्ध, ४. अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ के स्थायी पारिषद और कार्यकारिणी समिति के भूतपूर्व सदस्य

अन्तिम पता : अध्यक्ष, भारतीय विद्यामहाविद्यालय, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी।

Name : Bhatt, Govindlal Hargovind (G. H. Bhatt) (deceased).

Academic Qualifications : M.A.

Publications : Critical edition of the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and many other works.

Other Distinctions : A Specialist of Śuddhādvaita School of Vedānta and a recepient of a 'Certificate of Honour' from the Government of India.

नाम : भट्ट, गोविन्दलाल हरगोविन्द (दिवंगत)

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत)

प्रकाशन : बालकाण्डरामायण (सम्पादन) आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. शुद्धाद्वैत वेदान्त के विशेषज्ञ, २. सरकार द्वारा सम्मान-सूचक प्रमाण-पत्र प्राप्त

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Last Address : Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Oriental Institute, Baroda (Gujrat).

अन्तिम पता : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, ओरिएण्टल इन्स्टिट्यूट, बड़ौदा (गुजरात)।

Name : Bhattacharya, H. M.

नाम : भट्टाचार्य, एच० एम०

Present Position : Lecturer, Post Graduate Department, University of Calcutta.

वर्तमान पद : लेक्चरर, स्नातकोत्तर विभाग, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय

Other Distinctions : Retired Principal, Asutosh College, Calcutta.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : भूतपूर्व प्राचार्य, आशुतोष कालेज कलकत्ता

Present Address : Post Graduate Department, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

वर्तमान पता : पोस्ट ग्रैजुएट डिपार्टमेण्ट, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता।

Name : Bhattacharyya, Sivaprasad (S. P. Bhattacharya) (deceased).

नाम : भट्टाचार्य, शिवप्रसाद (दिवंगत)

Academic Qualifications : M.A., B.T., Sāhitya-śāstrī, Kāvyatīrtha.

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), बी० टी०, काव्यतीर्थ, साहित्यशास्त्री

Publications : 1. "Commentaries on Kāvya-Prakāśa", 2. A Study in Indian Poetics, 3. A few other works and several Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : १. ए स्टडी इन इण्डियन पोएटिक्स, २. कमेण्ट्रीज़ ऑन काव्यप्रकाश, आदि, ३. अनेक शोध निबन्ध

Other Distinctions : An Authority on Alankāra-Śāstra.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : अलंकारशास्त्र-विशेषज्ञ

Last Address : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta.

अन्तिम पता : प्रधान प्राध्यापक तथा अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, प्रेसिडेंसी कालेज, कलकत्ता।

Name : Chakravarti, Taponath (T. N. Chakravarti).

नाम : चक्रवर्ती, तपोनाथ

Academic Qualifications : M. A.

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (इतिहास), बी० टी०

Present Position : Lecturrer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन, भारतीय इतिहास और संस्कृति विभाग, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता

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Publications : 1. Some Aspects of Religious Life in Bengal. 2. Food and Drink in Ancient Bengal. 3. Several Research Articles.

Present Address : 7, Ram Chandra Maitra Lane, Off Sham Bazar Street, Calcutta-5.

प्रकाशन : १. सम आस्पेक्टस ऑफ रिलीजस लाइफ़ इन ऐंशियण्ट बेंगाल, २. फूड ऐण्ड ड्रिङ्क इन ऐंशियण्ट बेंगाल, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

वर्तमान पता : ७, रामचन्द्र मैत्र लेन, शाम बाजार स्ट्रीट, कलकत्ता-५

Name : Chatterjee, Chinmoy. (C. Chatterjee)

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Reporter-Incharge, the Press Trust of India, Lucknow.

Publications : 1. Vedantic Education, 2 Several Research Articles.

Present Address : Jyoti Kunj, Motinagar, Lucknow.

नाम : चटर्जी, चिन्मय

शिक्षा: एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्रधान संवाददाता, प्रेस ट्रस्ट आफ़ इण्डिया, लखनऊ

प्रकाशन : वेदान्तिक एजुकेशन तथा अन्यान्य शोध-निबन्ध

वर्तमान पता : ज्योतिकुंज, मोतीनगर, लखनऊ

Name : Chemparthy, George (G. Chemparthy).

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D. (Vienna).

Present Position : On the Staff of the Institute of Oriental Studies, University of Utrecht, Holland.

Publications : Research Articles.

Present Address : Instituut voor Oosterse Talen, Nobelstraat 2 B, Utrecht (Holland).

नाम : चेमपार्थी, जार्ज

शिक्षा : पी-एच० डी० (विएना)

वर्तमान पद : इन्स्टिट्यूट आफ ओरिएण्टल स्टडीज उटरेस्ट युनिवर्सिटी (हॉलैण्ड) में काम करते हैं

प्रकाशन : दि टेस्टिमनी आफ़ द युक्तिदीपिका कन्सर्निंग दि ईश्वर, डॉक्ट्रनि ऑफ दि पाशुपताज ऐण्ड वैशेषिकाज आदि निबन्ध

वर्तमान पता : उटरेक्ष्ट युनिवर्सिटी, हालैण्ड

Name : Joshi, Rasik Vihari (R. V. Joshi).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Paris), Vyākaraṇa-Shastri.

Present Position : Reader, Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi.

Publications : 1. Vaidika Sāhitya kī Rooprekhā, 2. Le rituel de la devotion Kṛsnaite, 3. Rāsa-pancādhyāyi—Sānskṛtika Adhyayana, 4. The Kalpalatā of Pandit Ram Pratap Shastri.

नाम : जोशी, रसिक विहारी

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट्० (पेरिस), व्याकरणशास्त्री

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत-विभाग, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, दिल्ली

प्रकाशन : १. वैदिक साहित्य की रूपरेखा, २. ला रिचुअल डी ला डिवोशन कृष्णाइट, ३. रास पंचाध्यायी—सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन; आदि

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Other Distinctions : 1. Visited France on Indo-French Government scholarship. 2. Visited several European Countries on a Lecture tour, 3. Awarded Commemorative Gold Medal by the Charles University of Prague, 4. Visited Combodia to organise Sanskrit Studies in South-East Asia.

Present Address : 23-E, Kamlanagar, Delhi.

Name : Marulasiddaiah, G. (G. Marulasiddaiah).

Academic Qualifications : Vidwān, M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Head of the Department of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit, Manasagangotri, Mysore and Director, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

Publications : 1. Nature and Scope of Vṛttis, 2. Śabdavṛttis. 3. Prabhuleelā, 4. Banakathāsāra (Kannada), 5. Research Articles.

Other distinctions : Formerly Principal, S. C. Sanskrit College, Fort, Bangalore, Secretary and President of Several Literary and Social Organisations.

Present Address : 156, "Dhatri" 11th Main Road, Saraswatipuram, Mysore-5.

Name : Mishra, Adya Prasad (A. P. Misra).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil., Shastri.

Present Position : Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, Allahabad University.

Publications : 1. Prabhā, a commentary on Sānkhyatattvakaumudī, 2. A number of Research Articles.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : अध्ययन-अध्यापन के लिए युरोपीय देशों की यात्रा

वर्तमान पता : २३ई, कमलानगर, दिल्ली

नाम : मरुलसिद्दैया, जी०

शिक्षा : विद्वान्, एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : स्नातकोत्तर शोध तथा अध्ययन विभाग तथा निदेशक, ओरिएण्टल रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट, मैसूर

प्रकाशन : १. नेचर ऐण्ड स्कोप ऑफ़ वृत्तीज़, २. शब्दवृत्तीज़, ३. प्रभुलीला, ४. वनकथासार, ५. शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व प्रधानाचार्य, एस० सी० संस्कृत कॉलेज, फोर्ट, बंगलोर, २. अनेक साहित्यिक तथा सार्वजनिक संस्थाओं से संबद्ध

वर्तमान पता : १५६ 'धातृ', ११ मेनरोड सरस्वतीपुरम्, मैसूर।

नाम : मिश्र, आद्याप्रसाद

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), डी० फिल०, शास्त्री

वर्तमान पद : सहायक प्राध्यापक संस्कृत-विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : सांख्यतत्वकौमुदी की प्रभा टीका, २. अनेक शोध-निन्वन्ध

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Present Address : Satya Sadan, 26, Balrampur House, Allahabad.

वर्तमान पता : सत्यसदन, २६ बलरामपुर हाउस, इलाहाबाद

Name : Mookerjee, Jatil Coomar (J. Mookerjee).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Litt.

Present Position : Head of the Department of Philosophy, Darjeeling Government College.

Publications : 1. Illusion and its correction, 2. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Griffith Prizeman.

Present Address : Darjeeling Government College, Darjeeling, (W. B.)

नाम : मुकर्जी, जटिल कुमार

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (दर्शन), डि० लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, दर्शन विभाग, दार्जिलिंग गवर्नमेण्ट कॉलेज

प्रकाशन : १. इल्यूज़न ऐण्ड इट्स करेक्शन; २. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : ग्रिफ़िथ पुरस्कार-विजेता

वर्तमान पता : दार्जिलिंग गवर्नमेण्ट कालेज, प० बंगाल

Name : Mukerji, Anukul Chandra (A. C. Mukerji).

Academic Qulifications : M.A.

Present Position : U. G. C. Professor of Philosophy, Department of Philosophy, University of. Allahabad.

Publications : 1 Self, Thought and Reality, 2. Nature of Self, 3. About 50 research articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Padma Bhushan. 2. Ex-Professor of the Department of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Allahabad University.

Present Address : 18, Tagore Town, Allahabad

नाम : मुकर्जी, अनुकूलचन्द्र

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (दर्शन)

वर्तमान पद : यू० जी० सी० प्रोफ़ेसर आफ़ फिलॉसफी, दर्शन विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. सेल्फ़ थॉट ऐण्ड रियालिटी, २. नेचर ऑफ़ सेल्फ, आदि तथा ३. पचास से ऊपर शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : पद्मभूषण, भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, दर्शन-विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय

वर्तमान पता : १८, टैगोर टाउन, इलाहाबाद

Name : Nakamura, Hajime (H. Nakamura).

Academic Qualifications : D.Litt. (Tokyo).

Present Position : Professor, Chairman of the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Tokyo.

Publications : 1. History of Early Vedānta, 4 Vols. (Japanese), 2. Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples (English).

नाम : नाकामुरा, हजीमे

शिक्षा : डी० लिट्० (तोकियो)

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक तथा अध्यक्ष, भारतीय दर्शन विभाग, तोकियो विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. हिस्ट्री ऑफ अर्ली वेंदान्त-चार खण्ड (जापानी) २. वेज़ आफ थिंकिंग आफ ईस्टर्न पीपुल्स (अंग्रेजी)

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Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Dean, University of Tokyo, 2. Honorary fellow, Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 3. Imperial Prize-winner, Academy of Japan. 4. Visiting Professor, Harvard University, Stanford University, University of Florida, University of Hawaii.

Present Address : Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Tokyo, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. ऑनरेरी फेलो, गवर्नमेण्ट संस्कृत कालेज, कलकत्ता, २. इम्पीरियल प्राइज-विजेता, (एकेडेमी ऑफ जापान), ३. विजिटिंग प्रोफेसर हार्वर्ड विश्वविद्यालय, स्टैनफोर्ड विश्वविद्यालय, फ्लोरिडा विश्वविद्यालय और हवाई विश्वविद्यालय

वर्तमान पता : भारतीय दर्शन विभाग, तोकियो विश्वविद्यालय, तोकियो, जापान

Name : Pande, Govind Chandra (G. C. Pande).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil.

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Department of History and Indian Culture, Rajasthan University.

Publications : 1. Studies in the Origin of Buddhism, 2. Bauddha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihāsa, (Hindi), 3. Agni. Beej (Hindi), 4. A large number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Tagore Professor of Indian Culture.

Present Address : P-6, University Campus, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

नाम : पाण्डेय, गोविन्दचन्द्र

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल्०

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, इतिहास और भारतीय संस्कृति विभाग, राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. स्टडीज़ इन दि ओरिजिन ऑफ बुद्धिज़्म, २. बौद्धधर्म के विकास का इतिहास, ३. अग्नि-बीज, ४. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : टैगोर प्राध्यापक, भारतीय संस्कृति

वर्तमान पता : पी ६, युनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस, राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय, जयपुर

Name : Raja, K. Kunjunni (K. K. Raja).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D. (Madras & London).

Present Position : Reader, Sanskrit Department, University of Madras.

Publications : 1. Indian Theories of Meaning, 2. The contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature.

Other Distionctions : 1. British Council Scholar, 2. Member of the Editorial Board of 'The Adyar Library Bulletin' and 'Foundations of Language'.

नाम : राजा, के० कुंजुन्नी

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी० (मद्रास, लंदन)

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, संस्कृत विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. इण्डियन थ्योरीज़ ऑफ मीनिंग, २. दी कण्ट्रीब्यूशन ऑफ केरल, टु संस्कृत लिट्रेचर

अन्य विशेषताएँ;

१. ब्रिटिश कौंसिल स्कॉलर, २. आड्यार लाइब्रेरी बुलेटिन के सम्पादक-मण्डल के सदस्य

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Present Address : University of Madras, Madras-5.

Name : Roy, S. S.

Present Position : Reader in History, University of Calcutta.

Present Address : Department of History, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

Name : Sen Sharma, Deba Brata (D. B. Sen Sharma).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, Institute of Indic Studies, University of Kurukshetra.

Publications : Resarch Articles.

Other Distinctions : An old student of Kaviraj Ji. Carried out his researches on the Tṛka Philosophy of Kaśmīra under his personal guidance.

Present Address : D/2, University Campus, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra,

Name : Shastri, Shri Nivas (S. N. Shastri).

Academic Qualifications : M. A., Ph.D., Prāchīna Nyāya Shastri, Sānkhya-yoga Vyākaraṇa Vedānta Tīrtha.

Present Position : Lecturer in Sanskrit, Kurukshetra University.

Publications : 1. Commentaries on Kāvyaprakāsha, Mṛchhakaṭika and Kādambarī, 2. Exposition of the Buddhist Philosophical Systems of Vacaspatimiśra, 3. Several Resarch Articles.

वर्तमान पता : मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय, मद्रास-५

नाम : राय, एस० एस०

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, इतिहास विभाग, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय

वर्तमान पता : इतिहास विभाग, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता

नाम : सेन शर्मा, देबव्रत

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र

प्रकाशन : अनेक शोध निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : दर्शन में विशेष रुचि

वर्तमान पता : डी/२, युनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र।

नाम : शास्त्री, श्रीनिवास

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, प्राचीन न्यायशास्त्री, सांख्य-योग-व्याकरण-वेदान्ततीर्थ

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. काव्यप्रकाश, मृच्छकटिक और कादम्बरी की टीकाएं, २. एक्सपोजिशन ऑफ दि बुद्धिस्ट फिलॉसाफिकल सिस्टेम्स बाई वाचस्पति मिश्र ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

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Present Address : Department of Sanskrit, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

वर्तमान पता : संस्कृत विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र।

Name : Shastri, Habib-ur-Rahman.

Academic Qualifications : Vyākaraṇa-Shastri, Sahitya-Shastri, Fazil-Ilahiyat.

Present Position : Leading a retired life.

Publications : 1. Ras ya Falsifai-imbisat, (Urdu), 2. Tattvaprakāśa (Hindi), 3. Aayinai-Haqiqat (Urdu).

Other Distinctions : Retired Professor of Sanskrit, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Present Address : Conference Compound, Muslim University, Aligharh.

नाम : शास्त्री, हबीबुर्रहमान

शिक्षा : व्याकरण और साहित्य-शास्त्री, फ़ाज़िले इलाहियात (ब्रह्मविद्या के स्नातक)

वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त

प्रकाशन : १. रस या फ़ल्सफ़ै इम्बिसात, २. तत्व-प्रकाश, ३. आईनै हक़ीक़त

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १९२३-५५ तक अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय में संस्कृत-प्राध्यापक

वर्तमान पता : कान्फ्रेंस कम्पाउण्ड, मुस्लिम युनिवर्सिटी अलीगढ़।

Name : Singh, Jai Deva (J. D. Singh).

Academic Qualifications. M. A., (Philosophy & Sanskrit).

Present Position : Leading a retired life.

Publications : 1. Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam (English translation) with Introduction and Notes;

2. Pāścātya Darśana Kī Rūpa-Rekhā (Hindi).

Other Distinctions :

1. Retired Principal, Yuvarajadatta Degree College, Lakhimpur-Kheri,
2. Retired Chief Producer, Music, All India Radio, New Delhi.
3. Fellow, Sangita Nataka Akadmi, New Delhi.

Present Address : "Vishram Kuti", D61/26F, Siddhagiri Bagh, Varanasi.

नाम : सिंह, जयदेव

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (दर्शन तथा संस्कृत)

वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त

प्रकाशन : १. प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदयम् का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद, भूमिका तथा टिप्पणी सहित

२. पाश्चात्य दर्शन की रूपरेखा (हिन्दी)

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. अवकाशप्राप्त प्राचार्य, युवराजदत्त कालेज, लखीमपुर

२. अवकाश प्राप्त मुख्य प्रस्तोता, संगीत, आकाशवाणी, नई दिल्ली

३. फेलो, संगीत नाटक अकादमी, नई दिल्ली

वर्तमान पता : "विश्राम कुटी", डी० ६१।२६ एफ०, सिद्धगिरि बाग़, वाराणसी–१।

Name : Sinha, A.K.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D. (Illinois).

Present Position : Head of the Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University.

नाम : सिनहा, ए० के०

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी० (अमेरिका)

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, दर्शन विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र

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Publications : 1. The Problem of Appearance and Reality in Śankara and Bradley, 2. A World-View Through a Reunion of Philosophy and Science, 3. Social Philosophy, 4. A Prolegomena to the Philosophical Foundations of Society, 5. Principles of Sociology, 6. Masters of Social Thought (in collaboration), 7. Social Structure of India, 8. A large number of Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : १. दि प्राब्लेम ऑफ़ अपियरेन्स ऐण्ड रियालिटी इन शंकर ऐण्ड ब्रेडले, २. ए वर्ल्ड व्यू थ्रू ए रियूनियन ऑफ़ फिलॉसफी ऐण्ड सायंस, ३. सोशल फिलॉस्फ़ी, आदि अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

Other Distinctions : Formerly a Teaching Assistant and Research Fellow in the University of Illinois, Urbana (U.S.A.).

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व रिसर्च फेलो, युनिवर्सिटी ऑफ इलीनॉय, अमेरिका, २. सम्पादक, जर्नल ऑफ एजुकेशन।

Present Address : Department of Philosophy, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

वर्तमान पता : दर्शन विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र।

Name : Sinha, J. N.

नाम : सिनहा, जदुनाथ

Academic Qualifications : M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी० आर० एस०, पी-एच्० डी०

Present Position : Leading a retired life.

वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त

Publications : 1. History of Indian Philosophy, 2 Vols., 2. Indian Psychology, 2 Vols, 3. Outlines of Indian Philosophy, 4. Indian Realism, 5. Foundation of Hinduism, 6. Shākta Monism, 7. Rama Prasada's Devotional Songs, 8. Introduction to Indian Philosophy, 9. Several Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : १. हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ इण्डियन फ़िऽॉसफ़ी—दो खण्ड, २. इण्डियन साइकालोजी—दो खण्ड, ३. इण्डिन रियलिज्म, ४. फाउण्डेशन ऑफ हिन्दुइज़्म, ५. शाक्त मोनिज़्म, आदि ६. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

Other Distinctions : 1. Griffith Memorial Prizeman, 2. President of the Psychology Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress (1936), 3. Connected with several academic bodies and learned Societies.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. ग्रिफ़िथ पुरस्कार-विजेता, २. इण्डियन फ़िलॉसाफ़िकल कांग्रेस (१९३६) के साइकालोजी अनुभाग के प्रेसिडेण्ट; आदि

Present Address : 39, S. R. Das Road, Calcutta-26.

वर्तमान पता : ३९, एस० आर० दास रोड, कलकत्ता-२६

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Name : Tripathi, Ram Narain.	नाम : त्रिपाठी, रामनारायण
Academic Qualifications : Āchārya (Vyākaraṇa, Vedānta & Dharmashāstra) M. A., Sāhityaratna.	शिक्षा : व्याकरण-वेदान्त धर्मशास्त्राचार्य, एम० ए०
Present Position : Lecturrer, Orienal Section of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.	वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राच्य संस्कृत-विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, लखनऊ
Publications : Literary Essays published in the "Sāraswatī Sushamā" of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi.	प्रकाशन : अनेक साहित्यिक निबन्ध
Present Address : Sanskrit Department, Lucknow University.	वर्तमान पता : संस्कृत-विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, लखनऊ
Name : Varadachari, Karumbur Chakravarti . (K. C. Varadachari)	नाम : वरदाचारी, करुम्बुर चक्रवर्ती
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., Divākara (Viśiṣṭādvaita Sabhā).	शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, दिवाकर
Present Position : Leading a retired life.	वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त
Publications : 1. Idea of God, 2. Theory of Knowledge in Ramanuja's Philosophy, 3. Aspects of Bhakti, 4. Rasayoga and other works.	प्रकाशन : १. आइडिया ऑफ़ गॉड, २. आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ़ भक्ति, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध आदि,
Other Distinctions : 1. President, Logic Section of the All India Philosophical Congress (1947), 2. President, Religion Section of the All India Oriental Conference (1965 Gauhati Session).	अन्य विशेषताएँ : १ आल इण्डिया फ़िलॉसाफ़िकल कांग्रेस (१९४७) के सभापति, २. आल इण्डिया ओरिएण्टल कान्फ्रेंस गौहाटी के धर्म अनुभाग के सभापति, आदि
Present Address : Sri Rajagṛha, 8, Govindarajasvami Car Street, Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh).	वर्तमान पता : श्री राजगृह, ८, गोविन्दराज स्वामी कार स्ट्रीट, तिरुपति (आन्ध्र)।
Name : Varma, Siddheshwar.	नाम : वर्मा, सिद्धेश्वर
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Shastri, D.Litt. (London).	शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० लिट०, शास्त्री
Present Position : Leading a retired life.	वर्तमान पद : अवकाश-प्राप्त
Publications : More than 70 publications, mostly on Linguistics.	प्रकाशन : भाषा विज्ञान-सम्बन्धी सत्तर से ऊपर ग्रन्थ तथा निबन्ध

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Other Distinctions : 1. General Editor, Hindi Dictionary of Scientific Terminologies, 2. Padmabhushana.

Present Address : 284, Sector 16A, Chandigarh.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. प्रधान सम्पादक, भारत सरकार का हिन्दी अवकाश प्राप्त वैज्ञानिक पारिभाषिक शब्दकोश २. पद्मभूषण

वर्तमान पता : २८४, सेक्टर १६ ए०, चण्डीगढ़

Name : Lokesh Chandra.
Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Litt. et Phil.
Present Position : Honorary Director, International Academy of Indian Culture.

Publications : 1. Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, Parts 1 to 12. 2. Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature, 3. Indo-Asian, Part II, 4. The Amarakośa in Tibet, 5. A number of other books and articles.
Present Address : J. 22, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-16.

नाम : लोकेश चन्द्र
शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), डी० लिट्०
वर्तमान पद : निदेशक, "सरस्वती विहार" (इण्टरनेशनल एकेडेमी आफ इण्डियन कल्चर), नई दिल्ली

प्रकाशन : १. टिबेटन-संस्कृत डिक्शनरी, २. मेटीरियल्स फ़ार ए हिस्ट्री आफ़ टिबेटन लिट्रेचर, ३. इण्डो-एशियन स्टडीज़, भाग २, ४. दि अमरकोश इन टिबेटन, ५. अनेक अन्य ग्रन्थ

अन्य विशेषताए : बृहत्तर भारत पर विशेष शोधकार्य
वर्तमान पता : जे० २२, हौज खास इन्क्लेव, नई दिल्ली-१६

Name : Sharada Rani..
Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Litt. (Holland), Sāhitya-Ratna.
Present Position : Researcher, Saraswati Vihar, New Delhi.
Publications : 1. Ślokāntara (An old Javanese Nīti work), 2. Vratiśāsana (An old Javanese work on Yoga), 3. Bali dwīpa meṅ Pitri-pūjā, 4. Numerous Research articles.
Other Distinctions : A special study of the languages and literatures of Greater India.
Present Address : J.22, Hauz Khas, Yusuf Sarai, New Delhi-16.

नाम : शारदा रानी
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० लिट्० (हॉलैण्ड), साहित्यरत्न

वर्तमान पद : शोधकर्त्री, "सरस्वती विहार", नई दिल्ली

प्रकाशन : १. श्लोकान्तर (जावा का नीति-ग्रन्थ) २. व्रतिशासन, (जावा का योग-विषयक ग्रन्थ) ३. बालिद्वीप में पितृपूजा, ४. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : बृहत्तर भारत की भाषाओं और साहित्य का विशेष अध्ययन

वर्तमान पता : जे० २२, हौज खास, युसूफ सराय, नई दिल्ली-१६

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C—LINGUISTICS AND GRAMMAR

Name : Abhyankar, K. V.

Academic Qualifications : M.A.

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Publications : 1. Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar, 2. Patañjali's Mahābhāshya (Marathi), Vol. VII Introduction. 3. Sanskrit Commentaries on the "Śākta Sūtra' of Agastya, the "Upadeśa Sutra" of Jaimini and "Jainendra-paribhāṣāvṛtti". 4. Paribhāṣā Sangraha, 5. Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya, Vols. I & II (Edited), 6. Paribhāṣendu-śekhara, Vols. I & II. (Edited), 7. Has edited many other Sanskrit texts and written a number of research papers.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Professor of Sanskrit, Gujrat College, 2. Won all the available prizes and scholarships for standing first in Sanskrit in all the examinations, 3. Was conferred the title of 'Mahāmahopādhyāya' by Sri Jagadguru Shankarāchārya of Jagannathpitha, 4. Adhyaksha, Sanskrit Vidyāparisaṁsthā, Poona.

Present Address : 981, Sadashiva Peth, Lakshmi Road, poona-2

नाम : अभ्यंकर, के० वी०

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत)

वर्तमान पद : संस्कृत-प्राध्यापक, भण्डारकर ओरिएण्टल रिसर्च इन्स्टिट्यूट

प्रकाशन : १. डिक्शनरी ऑफ संस्कृत-ग्रामर, २. खण्ड-७ पतंजलि महाभाष्य की मराठी भूमिका, ३. अगस्त्य के शाक्त सूत्र, जैमिनि के उपदेश-सूत्र का संस्कृत-भाष्य; जैनेन्द्र-परिभाषावृत्ति और परिभाषा-संग्रह, ४. पातंजल-महाभाष्य खण्ड १-२, परिभाषेन्दुशेखर १-२ और अन्यान्य संस्कृत-ग्रन्थों का सम्पादन, ५. अनेक निबन्धों के लेखक।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. मैट्रिक से लेकर एम० ए० तक प्रथम श्रेणी में उत्तीर्ण होने के उपलक्ष में सभी प्राप्य पुरस्कारों और छात्रवृत्तियों के विजेता, २. गोबर्द्धन पीठ के श्री जगद्गुरु शंकराचार्य द्वारा महामहोपाध्याय की पदवी से विभूषित, ३. संस्कृत-विद्यापरिसंस्था, पूना के अध्यक्ष

वर्तमान पता : ९८१, सदाशिव पेठ, लक्ष्मीरोड, पूना-२

Name : Gonda, J.

Academic Qualifications : Doctor Litt.

नाम : गोंडा, जे०

शिक्षा : डाक्टर ऑफ लिट्रेचर

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Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit, Utrecht University.

Publications : 1. Sanskrit in Indonasia, 2. Epithets in the Ṛgveda, 3. The Vision of the Vedic poets, 4. Change and Continutiy in Indian Religions, 5. The Sava Yajñas, 6 Stylistic Repeititions in the Veda, 7. The Aspectual function of the Ṛgvedic present and aorist, 8. Four Studies in the Language of the Veda, 9. Loka, World and Heaven in the Veda.

Other Distinctions : 1. Honorary Member, Royal Asiatic Society, 2. Member, Royal Dutch Academy, 3. Vice-President, Sanskrit Viśva Pariṣad.

Present Address : Van Hogendorpstraat, 13, Utrecht, Netherlands.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक तथा अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत-विभाग, उटरेख़्ट युनिवर्सिटी, हॉलैण्ड

प्रकाशन : १. संस्कृत इन इण्डोनेशिया, २. एपिथेट्स इन दी ऋग्वेद, ३. दि विज़न ऑफ दि वेदिक पोएट्स, ४. चेन्ज ऐण्ड कण्टिन्यूइटी इन इण्डियन रिलिजन्स, ५. स्टाइलिस्टिक रिपीटेशन्स इन दि वेद, ६. आस्पेक्टुअल फंक्शन ऑफ़ दि ऋग्वेदिक प्रेज़ेण्ट ऐण्ड एओरिस्ट, ७. फ़ोर स्टडीज़ इन दि लैंग्वेज आफ वेद आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : ऑनरेरी मेम्बर, रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटी, ग्रेट ब्रिटेन; मेम्बर रॉयल डच एकेडेमी; उपाध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विश्वपरिषद्

वर्तमान पता : उटरेख्ट युनिवर्सिटी, हॉलैण्ड

Name : Ghosal, Sibendra Nath (S. N. Ghosal).

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit), M. A. (Bengali), D. Phil.

Present Position : Lecturer, Calcutta University.

Publications : 1. Das Ramayana (Tr. from German), 2. Vājasneyī Prātiśākhya (Translation with Notes), 3. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Griffith Memorial Prizeman, 2. Winner of Sri Asutosh Mukerjee Gold Medal.

Present Address : 51/L, Garcha Road, Calcutta-19.

नाम : घोषाल, शिवेन्द्रनाथ

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत, बंगला), डी० फिल्०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता

प्रकाशन : १ डास रामायण (जर्मन से अंग्रेजी रूपान्तर)
२. वाजस्नेयी प्रातिशाख्य (सटिप्पण अनुवाद)
३. शोध-पत्रिकाओं में निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : ग्रिफिथ मेमोरियल पुरस्कार-विजेता, आदि

वर्तमान पता : ५१।एल, गर्चारोड, कलकत्ता-१९

Name : Hartman, Carl Gustav. (C. G. Hartman).

Academic Qualifications : Ph.D.

Present Position : Doctor of Philosophy.

नाम : हार्टमैन, कार्ल गुस्टव

शिक्षा : पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : डॉक्टर ऑफ़ फ़िलॉस्फ़ी

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Publications : Emphasizing and Connecting Particles in the Thirteen Principal Upanishads.

Present Address : Stora Robertsgatan 35699, Helsinki-12, Finland.

प्रकाशन : इम्फैसाइज़िंग ऐण्ड कनेक्टिंग पार्टिकिल्स इन दि थर्टीन प्रिंसिपल उपनिषद्स

वर्तमान पता : स्टोरा राबर्ट्सगैटन ३५६९९, हेलसिंकी-१२ (फिनलैण्ड)

Name : Jani, Arunoday Natvarlal (A N. Jani).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., Kāvyatīrtha.

Present Position : Reader and Head, Sanskrit Department, M.S. University of Baroda.

Publications : 1. A Critical Study of Śrī-Harṣa's Naiṣadhīyacaritam, 2. Rasakaumudī of Śrikaṇṭha, 3. Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Studied German Research methods from Dr. L. Alsdorf at the University of Hamburg, West Germany.

Present Address : Jamkhana's Pole, Sultanpura, Baroda.

नाम : जानी, अरुणोदय नटवरलाल

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), पी-एच० डी०, काव्यतीर्थ

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत-विभाग, महाराज सयाजी राव विश्वविद्यालय, बड़ौदा

प्रकाशन : १. ए क्रिटिकल स्टडी ऑफ़ श्री हर्षाज़ नैषधीय-चरितम्, २. रसकौमुदी ऑफ़ श्रीकण्ठ, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : जर्मन विद्वान् डा० एल० एल्सडार्फ से जर्मन शोध-पद्धति का विशेष अध्ययन

वर्तमान पता : जामखाना पोल, सुल्तानपुरा, बड़ौदा

Name : Kantawala, S. G.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, M. S. University, Baroda.

Publications : 1. Cultural History of the Matsya-Purāṇa, 2. Several Research Papers.

Other Distinctions : Winner of several scholarships and prizes.

Present Address : Kantareshwar Mahadeo's Pole, Baroda-1.

नाम : कान्तावाला, सुरेशचन्द्र गोविन्दलाल

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत-विभाग, एम० एस० युनिवर्सिटी, बड़ौदा

प्रकाशन : १. कल्चरल हिस्ट्री फ़ाम दी मत्स्यपुराण २. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताए : कई पुरस्कारादि के विजेता

वर्तमान पता : कान्तारेश्वर महादेव पोल, बड़ौदा-१

Name : Katre, S. M.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D. (London).

नाम : कत्रे, सुमित्र मंगेश

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच्० डी० (लंदन)

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Present Position : Director, Deccan College, Poona.

वर्तमान पद : निदेशक, डेकन कालेज, पूना।

Publications : 1. Formation of Konkani, 2. Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan, 3. Prakrit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture, 4. Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism, 5. Over 300 research papers.

प्रकाशन : १. फॉर्मेशन ऑफ़ कोंकणी, २. सम प्राब्लेम्स ऑफ़ हिस्टॉरिकल लिंग्विस्टिक्स इन इण्डो आर्यन, ३. प्राकृत लैंग्वेजेज़ ऐण्ड देयर कण्ट्रिब्यूशन टु इण्डियन कल्चर, ४. इण्ट्रोडक्शन टु इण्डियन टेक्सचुअल क्रिटिसिज़्म, ५. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

Other Distinctions : 1. Founder-Editor of (a) New Indian Antiquary and (b) Oriental Literary Digest, 2. Treasurer, Linguistic Society of India, 3. Director, Language Project, Deccan College, Poona, 4. General Editor, Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles, 5. Visiting Professor in Linguistics, University of Texas, U.S.A.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. न्यू इण्डियन ऐंटिक्वेरी और ओरिएण्टल लिट्रेरी डाइजेस्ट के संस्थापक-संपादक, २. लिंग्विस्टिक सोसायटी आफ़ इण्डिया के ट्रेजरर, ३. निदेशक, लैंग्वेज़ प्रोजेक्ट, डेकन कालेज, पूना, ४. प्रधान सम्पादक, डिक्शनरी ऑफ संस्कृत ऑन हिस्टारिकल प्रिंसिपल्स, ५. विज़िटिंग प्रोफ़ेसर इन लिंग्विस्टिक्स, युनिवर्सिटी ऑफ टेक्सास, यू० एस० ए०

Present Address : Deccan College, Poona.

वर्तमान पता : डेकन कालेज, पूना-६

Name : Limaye, Vishnu Prabhakar. (V. P. Limaye).

नाम : लिमये, विष्णु प्रभाकर

Academic Qualifications : Vāṅmaya-vishārad (Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith, Poona)

शिक्षा : वाङ्मय विशारद, तिलक महाराष्ट्र विद्यापीठ, पूना

Present Position : Leading a retired life.

वर्तमान पद : अवकाशप्राप्त

Publications : 1. Alberunichi Gītā va Itar Nibandha (Essays in Marathi), 2. Prāntik Swarāj (Marathi), 3. Ashṭā-dashopanishad (in Collaboration), 4. Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari (in collaboration).

प्रकाशन : अलबेरुनी की गीता व इतर निबन्ध और वाक्यपदीय का सह-सम्पादन

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Principal, Tilak Mahavidyalaya, Poona, 2. Ex-Member, Bombay Legislative Council.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व प्रधानाचार्य, तिलक महाविद्यालय, पूना, २. भूतपूर्व सदस्य, बम्बई विधान-परिषद्

Present Address : Opposite Gokhale Hall, Lakshmi Road, Poona-2.

वर्तमान पता : गोखले हाल के सामने, लक्ष्मीरोड, पूना-२

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Name : Phadke, Hari Anant Shastri.

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (History and Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology); Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Departments of History and Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Kurukshetra. University,

Publications : Research Articles.

Present Address : Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

नाम : फडके, हरि अनन्त शास्त्री

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी० (इतिहास-पुरातत्व)

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास और पुरातत्व, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

वर्तमान पता : ७, एम० टी० एच०, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र

Name : Saksena, Babu Ram (B. R. Saksena).

Academic Qualifications : MA., D.Litt.

Present Position : Vice-Chancellor, Ravishankar University, Raipur.

Publications : 1. Evolution of Awadhi, 2. Sāmānya Bhāshā Vijñāna, 3. Artha Vijñāna, 4 Dakkhini Hindi, 5. Kīrtilatā, 5. Numerous Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Retired Professor, Sanskrit Department, University of Allahabad, 2. Founder-Member, Linguistic Society of India, 3. Life-Member, Linguistic Society of Paris, 4. Convener, Editorial Board of the present Abhinandana Grantha.

Present Address : Vice-Chancellor, Ravishankar University ,Raipur, M.P.

नाम : सक्सेना, बाबूराम

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), डी० लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : उपकुलपति, रविशंकर विश्वविद्यालय, रायपुर

प्रकाशन : १. इवोल्यूशन ऑफ अवधी, २. सामान्य भाषा-विज्ञान, २. अर्थ-विज्ञान, ४. दक्खिनी हिन्दी, आदि ५. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, २. संस्थापक-सदस्य, लिंग्विस्टिक सोसायटी ऑफ इण्डिया, ३. आजीवन सदस्य, लिंग्विस्टिक सोसायटी ऑफ पेरिस, ४. संयोजक, सम्पादक-मण्डल, गोपीनाथ कविराज-अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ

वर्तमान पता : उपकुलपति, रवि शंकर विश्वविद्यालय, रायपुर

Name : Tiwari, Bhola Nath (B. N. Tiwari).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil.

Present Position : Senior Lecturer, Kirori Mal College, Delhi University.

Publications : 1. Bhāṣā Vijñana, 2. Hindi Bhāṣā, 3. Bhāṣā Vijnānakośa, 4. Hindi Muhāwarā, 5. Hindi Nītikāvya, 6. Śabdon kā Jīwan.

नाम : तिवारी, भोलानाथ

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, किरोडीमल कालेज, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. भाषा-विज्ञान, २. हिन्दी भाषा, ३. भाषा-विज्ञान-कोश, ४. हिन्दी नीति-काव्य, ५. शब्दों का जीवन, आदि

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Other Distinctions : Served as a Visiting Professor of Hindi at the University of Tashkent, U.S.S.R. for two years.

Present Address : E 4/23, Model Town, Delhi-9.

Name : Shastri, Dharmendra Nath (D. N. Shastri).

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit & Hindi), M.O.L., D.Litt.

Present Position : Director, Institute of Indology, Delhi.

Publications : 1. Critique of Indian Realism, 2. Exhaustive Hindi Commentary on Nyāya-Siddhānta-Muktāvalī, 3. Bhāratīya Darshan.

Other Distinctions : 1. Founder-Editor of the Digest of Indological Studies, 2. Formerly Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Agra University, 3. Formerly, Head of the Sanskrit Department, Kurukshetra University.

Present Address : 301, Urmila Shastri Marg, Meerut Cantt., Meerut.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : ताशकन्द विश्वविद्यालय (रूस) के दो वर्ष तक विजिटिंग प्रोफेसर (हिन्दी)

वर्तमान पता : ई ४।२३, मॉडल टाउन, दिल्ली-९

नाम : शास्त्री, धर्मेन्द्र नाथ

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत-हिन्दी), एम० ओ० एल०, डी० लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : निदेशक, भारतीय विद्यासंस्थान, दिल्ली

प्रकाशन : १. क्रिटीक आफ इण्डियन रियलिज्म, २. न्याय-सिद्धान्त-मुक्तावली की हिन्दी टीका ३. भारतीय दर्शन

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व डीन, फैकल्टी ऑफ आर्ट्स, आगरा विश्वविद्यालय, २. भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, ३. डाइजेस्ट ऑफ इण्डालोजिक स्टडीज़ के संस्थापक-सम्पादक

वर्तमान पता : ३०१, उर्मिला शास्त्री मार्ग, मेरठ छावनी, मेरठ

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D—LITERATURE

Name : Bhargava, Purushottam Lal (P. L. Bhargava).

नाम : भार्गव, पुरुषोत्तमलाल

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit & Hindi), Ph.D., Shastri.

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत-हिन्दी), पी-एच० डी०, शास्त्री

Present Position : Professor & Head, Department of Sanskrit, University of Rajasthan,

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत-विभाग, राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय

Publications : 1. Chandragupta Maurya and His Times. 2. India in the Vedic Age, 3. Prāchīna Bhārata Kā Itihāsa.

प्रकाशन : १. चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य ऐण्ड हिज़ टाइम्स, २. इण्डिया इन दि वेदिक एज, ३. प्राचीन भारत का इतिहास

Other Distinctions : 1. Was twice member of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, 2. President of the Oriental Studies (Sanskrit) Section of the All India Educational Conference, (39th Indore Session).

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. इण्डियन कौन्सिल फ़ॉर कल्चरल रिलेशन्स, नई दिल्ली के भूतपूर्व सदस्य, २. आल इण्डिया एजुकेशनल कान्फ्रेंस के इन्दौर अधिवेशन में संस्कृत-अनुभाग के सभापति

Present Address : S.B.95, Bapunagar, Jaipur.

वर्तमान पता : एस० बी० ९५, बापूनगर, जयपुर

Name : Iyer, K. A. Subramania (K. A. S. Iyer).

नाम : अय्यर, को० अ० सुब्रह्मण्य

Academic Qualifications : M. A. (London), Diplome d'eludes Universitaires (Paris).

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत) (लंदन), पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय से डिप्लोमा प्राप्त

Present Position : Visiting Professor, Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Deccan College, Poona.

वर्तमान पद : डेकन कालेज पूना में भाषाशास्त्रीय उच्चतर अध्ययन-केन्द्र के विज़िटिंग प्रोफ़ेसर

Publications : 1. Vākyapadīya (Critical Edition with Paddhati), 2. Sphoṭasiddhi of Mandana Misra (English Translation), 3. Bhāskarī, Vols. I and II (In collaboration), 4. A large number of Research Papers.

प्रकाशन : १. वाक्यपदीय, २. स्फोटसिद्धि (अंग्रेजी अनुवाद), ३. भास्करी, ४. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

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Other Distinctions : 1. (Formerly) Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Lucknow University, 2. (Formerly) Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow, University and Sanskrit University of Varanasi), 3. Member of many University Academic Bodies and of other Institutions of Research, 4. (Formerly) Preseident of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, 5. Now, a member of the Executive Committee of the aforesaid Parishad and of the Editorial Board of the present Commemoration Volume.

Present Address : 'Hindska', 38, Major Banks Road, Lucknow.

Name : Pande, Trilochan (T. Pande).

Academic Qualifications : M.A. Ph.D.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Hindi, University of Gorakhpur.

Publications : 1. Kumaon kā Lok Sāhitya, 2. Gupta Ji ki Kāvyakalā, 3. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Member, American Folklore Society, 2. Twice invited by the Asian Folklore Conference, Indiana University, U.S.A. to read Research-Papers, 3. Invited by the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna to read a research-paper on the 'Language and Literature of Kumaoni.

Present Address : Chamre Wali Kothi, Civil Lines, Gorakhpur.

Name : Sadhu Ram.

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit).

Present Positon : Research Fellow, Kurukshetra University.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत-विभाग, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, २. भूतपूर्व उपकुलपति, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, ३. भूतपूर्व उपकुलपति, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, ४. अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों की विद्वत्सभाओं और शोध-संस्थाओं के सदस्य, ५. भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ, ६. परिषद् की कार्यकारिणी समिति के सदस्य, ७. कविराज अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थ के सम्पादक-मण्डल के सदस्य

वर्तमान पता : ३८, मेजरबैंक्स रोड, लखनऊ

नाम : पाण्डेय, त्रिलोचन

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच्० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, हिन्दी विभाग, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. कुमाऊँ का लोक-साहित्य, २. गुप्तजी की काव्यकला, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. एशियन फ़ोकलोर कान्फ़्रेंस इण्डियाना युनिवर्सिटी अमेरिका द्वारा दो बार शोध-निबन्ध पढ़ने के लिए आमंत्रित, २. बिहार राष्ट्र-भाषा परिषद्, पटना द्वारा कुमाऊँनी भाषा और साहित्य पर निबन्ध पढ़ने के लिए आमंत्रित, ३. अमेरिकन फ़ोकलोर सोसायटी के सदस्य

वर्तमान पता : चमड़ेवाली कोठी, सिविल लाइन्स, गोरखपुर, उ० प्र०

नाम : साधुराम

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत)

वर्तमान पद : रिसर्च-फ़ेलो, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय

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Publications : 1 Essays on Sanskrit Literature, 2 A large number of Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : एसेज़ ऑन संस्कृत लिट्रेचर नामक ग्रन्थ तथा साहित्य और पुरातत्व संबंधी अनेक निबन्ध

Present Address : 986, Shivaji Street, Karol Bagh, New Delh-5.

वर्तमान पता : ९८६, शिवाजी स्ट्रीट, करोल बाग, नई दिल्ली-५

Name : Sternbach, Ludwik (Dr. L. Sternbach).

नाम : स्टर्नबाख, एल०

Academic Qualifications : LL. D.

शिक्षा : एल-एल० डी०

Present Position : Honorary Professor of Ancient Indian Culture and Dharmaśāstra; and Senior Social Affairs Officer, Department of Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, United Nations.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति और धर्मशास्त्र तथा सीनियर सोशल अफेयर आफीसर, डिपार्टमेण्ट ऑफ ट्रस्टीशिप ऐण्ड नॉन सेल्फ-गवर्निंग टेरीटरीज़, युनाइटेड नेशंस

Publications : 1. Cāṇakya Nīti-Text Tradition; 2. Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti; 3. Supplement to O. Bohtlingk's Indische Spruche; 4. Hitopadeśa and its Sources, 5. Gaṇikā-vṛtta-saṁgraha; 6. Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law; 7. A number of Studies and Articles on Ancient Indian Culture.

प्रकाशन : १. चाणक्य-नीति—टेक्स्ट ट्रेडिशन ,२. चाणक्य-राजनीति, ३. सप्लीमेण्ट टु ओ बाटलिंक्स इण्डिसे स्प्रुशे, ४. हितोपदेश ऐण्ड इट्स सोर्सेज, ५. गणिकावृत्तसंग्रह, ६. जुरीडिकल स्टडीज़ इन ऐंशियण्ट इण्डियन लॉ, ७. प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति से सम्बद्ध विविध विषयों पर लेख

Other Distinctions : Previously Reader of Ancient Indian Polity at the Universities of Cracow and Lwow.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : क्रकाऊ और लवाऊ विश्वविद्यालयों में प्राचीन भारतीय राजनय के भूतपूर्व रीडर

Present Address : United Nations, Grand Central P. O. Box 20, New York-17, N.Y.

वर्तमान पता : युनाइटेड नेशंस, ग्रैण्ड सेण्ट्रल पो० आ० बाक्स २०, न्यूयार्क-१७, एन० वाई०

Name : Singh, Lal Rama Yadupal.

नाम : सिंह, लाल रमायदुपाल

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B., D. Phil., Sahityāchārya, Sāhityaratna.

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल्-एल० बी०, डी० फिल्०

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, University of Allahabad.

वर्तमान पद प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत-विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय. इलाहाबाद

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Publications : 1. Svarṇamuktāsamvāda-ṭippaṇī (Sanskrit), 2. Rasamimānsā-viveka (Sanskrit), 3. The Comic Element in Sanskrit Drama (English), 4. A Critique of Aesthetic Pleasure (English), 5. Uttararāmacaritam (Hindi), 6. Meghadūtam (Hindi), 7. A number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Formerly a member of the U.P. Civil (Executive) Service. 2. The following books are in the Press :—

(i) A Critical History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I (Vedic Literature), (ii) Laukika Sanskrit Sāhitya Kā Itihās, Vol. I (Nāṭya Sāhitya), (iii) Abhijñānaśākuntalam.

Present Address : Village & Post Office : Karahia Ki Bazar, District : Rai Bareli.

प्रकाशन : १. रस-मीमांसा-विवेक, २. स्वर्ण-मुक्ता संवाद टिप्पणी ३. दि कामिक एलिमेण्ट इन संस्कृत ड्रामा ४. ए क्रिटिक आफ एस्थेटिक प्लेज़र, ५. उत्तररामचरितम् की टीका, ६. मेघदूतम् की टीका, ७. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।

वर्तमान पता : पो० करहिया की बाजार, जिला—रायबरेली, उ० प्र०

Name : Singh, Satya Vrat (S. V. Singh).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Professor & Head, Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages, and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Lucknow University.

Publications : 1. Sanskrit and Hindi Commentaries on Viśākhadatta's Mudrārakṣasa, 2. Mammaṭa's Kāvya-Prakāśa—Hindi Exposition with Critical Introduction, 3. Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa—Hindi Exposition with Critical Introduction, 4. Vedāntadeśika—A Study of His Life, Works and Philosophy.

नाम : सिंह, सत्यव्रत

शिक्षा एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, डी०, लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग तथा डीन फ़ैकल्टी आफ आर्ट्स, लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय, लखनऊ

प्रकाशन १. मुद्राराक्षस की हिन्दी और संस्कृत टीकाएं, २. काव्य-प्रकाश की हिन्दी टीका, ३. साहित्य-दर्पण की हिन्दी टीका, ४. वेदान्त-देशिक—ए स्टडी ऑफ हिज लाइफ, वर्क्स एण्ड फिलॉसफी, ५. कण्ट्रीब्यूशन आफ कश्मीर टु संस्कृत पोएट्री (प्रकाशनाधीन)

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Other Distinctions : 1. President, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and a member of the editorial Board of the Present Commemoration Volume, 2. Member, Executive Council, Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 3. Recepient of Baneraji Research Prize on the D.Litt. thesis entitled 'Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Poetry'.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय की कार्यकारिणी समिति के सदस्य, २. अध्यक्ष, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ

Present Address : Bhavani Vihar, Model Houses, Lucknow—1.

वर्तमान पता : भवानी विहार, मॉडल हाउसेज, लखनऊ-१

Name : Choudhary, Satya Dev.

नाम : चौधरी, सत्यदेव

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit & Hindi), Ph.D., Shastri.

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत-हिन्दी), पी-एच० डी०, शास्त्री

Present Position : Lecturer, Hindi Department, Institute of Post-Graduate Studies, Delhi University.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, हिन्दी विभाग, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, दिल्ली

Publications : 1. Rīti Paramparā Ke Pramukha Āchārya, 2. Essays on Indian Poetics, 3. Kāvyashāstrīya Nibandh.

प्रकाशन : १. हिन्दी रीति-परम्परा के प्रमुख आचार्य, २. भारतीय काव्यांग, ३. काव्यशास्त्रीय निबन्ध

Other Distinctions : Winner of "Dalmia Puraskar" and "Language Department Punjab Puraskar."

अन्य विशेषताएँ : डालमिया पुरस्कार-विजेता

Present Address : F. 11/12, Model Town, Delhi-9.

वर्तमान पता : एफ ११।१२, माडल टाउन, दिल्ली-९

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E—ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

Name : Bajpai, Krishna Datta (K. D. Bajpai).

Academic Qualifications : M.A.

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugr,

Publications : 1. Bhāratīya Vyāpār Kā Itihāsa, (Hindi), 2. Braj Kā Itihāsa, Vols. 2 (Hindi), 3. Ahichchhattra (Hindi), 4. Development of Buddhism in U.P., 5. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. (Formerly) Archaeological Officer, Government of U.P., 2. Member, Central Board of Archaeology, Government of India.

Present Address : B-1, University Campus, University of Saugar, Saugar (M.P.)

नाम : वाजपेयी, कृष्णदत्त

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (इतिहास)

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति और पुरातत्व-विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय, म० प्र०

प्रकाशन : १. भारतीय व्यापार का इतिहास, २. ब्रज का इतिहास——दो खण्ड, ३. अहिच्छत्र, ४. डेवलपमेण्ट ऑफ बुद्धिज्म इन यू० पी० आदि, ५. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व पुरातत्व-अधिकारी, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार, २. सदस्य, केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व परिषद्, भारत सरकार।

वर्तमान पता : बी१, युनिवर्सिटी कैम्पस, सागर विश्वविद्यालय (म० प्र०)

Name : Buddha Prakash.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Kurukshetra.

Publications : 1. Aspects of Indian History and Civilization, 2. Studies in Indian History and Civilization, 3. India and the World, 4. Modern Approach to History, 5. Ṛgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization, 6. Philosophy of History and other books, 7. Research Articles.

नाम : बुद्ध प्रकाश

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी०, पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, इतिहास विभाग तथा प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास तथा निदेशक, संस्कृति और पुरातत्व, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ इण्डियन हिस्ट्री ऐण्ड सिविलिज़ेशन २. ऋग्वेद ऐण्ड दि इण्डस वैली सिविलिज़ेशन ३. फिलॉसफी ऑफ हिस्ट्री, ४. पोलिटिकल ऐण्ड सोशल मूवमेण्ट्स इन ऐंशियण्ट पंजाब, ५. माडर्न एप्रोच टु हिस्ट्री

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Other Distinctions : 1. Director of the Institute of Indic Studies and Dean of the Faculties of Indic Studies and Social Sciences, Kurukshetra University, 2. Editor of the Digest of Indological Studies, Kurukshetra University.

Present Address : Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Name : Chaturvedi, Parashu Ram.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B.

Present Position : Legal Practitioner.

Publications : 1. Uttarī Bhārat Kī Sant-Paramparā, 2. Bhāratīya Premākhyāna, kī Paramparā, 3. Hindi Kāvyadhārā Men Prem-Pravāha, 4. Madhyakālina Prem-Sadhanā, 5. Madhyakālina Śṛngārik Pravṛttiyān, 6. Dadu Dayal-Granthavali, 7. Vaishṇava Dharma, 8. Rahasya-vāda, 9. Bhakti Sāhitya men Madhuropasanā, 10. Bauddha Sāhitya Men Sānskritik Jhalak, etc. 12. Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. President, Bharatiya Hindi Parishad (Raigarh Session), 2. Sāhityavāchaspati (Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan). 3. Editor, Hindī Sāhitya kā Itihāsa, Volume 4 (Sabha Edition).

Present Address : Vakil, Ballia (U.P.).

Name : Chaudhury, P. D.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., B.L.

Present Position : Curator, Assam State Museum and President, State Department of Archaeology, Assam.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : निदेशक, इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑफ इण्डिक स्टडीज, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, आदि

वर्तमान पता : कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र

नाम चतुर्वेदी, परशुराम

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (दर्शन), एल्-एल्० बी०

वर्तमान पद : वकील

प्रकाशन : १. उत्तरी भारत की संत-परम्परा, २. भारतीय प्रेमाख्यान की परम्परा, ३. हिन्दी काव्यधारा में प्रेम-प्रवाह, ४. मध्यकालीन प्रेम-साधना, ५. मध्यकालीन श्रृंगारिक प्रवृत्तियाँ, ६. दादूदयाल ग्रन्थावली, ७. वैष्णवधर्म, ८. रहस्यवाद, ९. भक्तिसाहित्य में मधुरोपासना, १०. बौद्ध साहित्य की सांस्कृतिक झलक आदि।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. अध्यक्ष, भारतीय हिन्दी परिषद्, रायगढ़ अधिवेशन, २. साहित्य-वाचस्पति (हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग) ३. मंगला प्रसाद पुरस्कार आदि अनेकानेक विशिष्ट पुरस्कारों के विजेता, ४. संपादक चतुर्थखण्ड, हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास (सभा-संस्करण)।

वर्तमान पता : वकील, बलिया (उ० प्र०)

नाम : चौधरी, पी० डी०

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, बी० एल०

वर्तमान पद : संग्रहाध्यक्ष, असम राज्य संग्रहालय तथा अधीक्षक, राजकीय पुरातत्व विभाग और अध्यक्ष, कामरूप अनुसन्धान-समिति

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Publications : 1. Archaeology in Assam, 2. Ancient Treasures of Assam. 3. Research Articles.

Others Distinctions : 1. President, Kāmarūpa Anusandhāna Samiti (Assam Research Society), 2. Connected with several learned Societies.

Present Address : Assam State Museum, Gauhati-1, Dist. Kamrup, Assam.

प्रकाशन : आर्कियालोजी इन असम और ऐंशियण्ट ट्रेजर्स ऑफ असम तथा अनेक शोध-निन्बन्ध

अन्य विशेताएँ : अनेक सार्वजनिक संस्थाओं से संबद्ध

वर्तमान पता : असम राज्य संग्रहालय, गौहाटी

Name : Ensink, J.

Academic Qualifications : Doctor.

Present Position : Professor of Sanskrit and Director, Institute of Sanskrit Studies, Groningen, Netherlands.

Publications : The Question of Rāṣṭrapāla, thesis Utrecht, 1952. Over de verlossende kennis in het Indische denken, inaugural Lecture Groningen 1954, De Grote Weg naar het Licht, Amsterdam 1965. Together with Dr. J.A. Buitenen : Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia. Vak Nr. 6.

Other Distinctions : 1. Made a study tour to Java, Bali and India in 1964 and lectured in several Universities and the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow. 2 Member of the Board of Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, The Hague.

Present Address : Institute of Sanskrit Studies, Turftorenstraat 13 Groningen, Netherlands.

नाम : एनसिंक, जे०

शिक्षा : डाक्टर

वर्तमान पद : प्रधानाचार्य, संस्कृत-विभाग एवं निदेशक, इंस्टीट्यूट ऑफ संस्कृत-स्टडीज, ग्रोनिंजन, हालैण्ड

प्रकाशन : १. दी क्वेश्चन ऑफ राष्ट्रपाल, २. ग्लॉसरी आफ संस्कृत फ्रॉम इण्डोनेशिया, आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. बृहत्तर भारत की यात्रा करके वहां की भाषा, साहित्य और संस्कृति का अध्ययन, २. बोर्ड ऑफ दि रॉयल इंस्टीट्यूट आफ लिंग्विस्टिक्स ऐण्ड ऐन्थ्रपॉलोजी हेग, हालैण्ड के सदस्य

वर्तमान पता : इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑफ संस्कृत स्टडीज, टर्फटोरेन्सस्ट्राट-१३, ग्रोनिंजन, हालैण्ड

Name : Lallanji Gopal.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil, Ph.D. (London).

नाम : लल्लन जी गोपाल

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (इतिहास), डी० फिल०, पी-एच० डी० (लंदन)

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Present Position : Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University.

Publications : 1. Economic Life of Northern India (C.700-1200 A.D.), 2. Bhāratīya Sanskriti (in collaboration), 3. Sanskriti aur Sanskritiyān, 4. A few other books and Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2. Recepient of several scholarships and Medals.

Present Address : College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5.

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, ऐंशियण्ट इण्डियन हिस्ट्री, कल्चर ऐण्ड आर्कियालोजी, कालेज ऑफ इण्डालोजी, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन १. इकोनामिक लाइफ ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया (७००-१२०० ई०), २. भारतीय संस्कृति, ३. संस्कृति और संस्कृतियां, आदि

अन्य विषताएँ : रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसायटी, ग्रेट ब्रिटेन के फेलो आदि

वर्तमान पता : कालेज आफ इण्डालोजी, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी।

Name : Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu (V. V. Mirashi).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Litt. (Bom.), Hon. D.Litt. (Saugar and Nagpur).

Present Position : Hon. Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Nagpur University.

Publications : 1. Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV), 2. Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas (C.I.I., Vol. V), 3. Studies in Indology, Vols. I to IV., 4. Kalidas (Marathi), 5. Samshodhana-muktāvalī, Vol. I to IV (Marathi), 6. Vākāṭaka Nripati āṇi Tyānchā Kāla (Marathi), 7. Kalachuri Nripati ani Tyānchā Kāla (Marathi), 8. Meghadūtantil Rāmgiri Arthāt Ramṭek (Marathi), 9. Kalidas (Hindi), 10. Meghadūta men Rāmgiri arthāt Rāmṭek (Hindi), 11. Kalachuri Naresh aur unkā Kāla (Hindi), 12. Vākāṭaka Rāja-vamśa kā Itihāsa Tathā Abhilekha (Hindi), 13. Hundreds of Research Articles.

नाम : मिराशी, वासुदेव विष्णु

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० लिट्० मुम्बई, सागर तथा नागपुर

वर्तमान पद : उपकुलपति, नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय, नागपुर

प्रकाशन : १. इन्सक्रिप्शन्स ऑफ दि कलचुरि चेदि इरा, २. इन्सक्रिप्शन्स ऑफ दि वाकाटक, ३. स्टडीज़ इन इण्डॉलोजी, ४. कालिदास, ५. संशोधन मुक्तावलि—चार खण्डों में, ६. वाकाटक नृपति आणि त्यांचा काल, ७. कलचुरि नृपति आणि त्यांचा काल, ८. मेघदूतानतील रामगिरि अर्थात् रामटेक, ९. वाकाटक राजवंश का इतिहास तथा अभिलेख, १०. सैकड़ों शोध-निबन्ध।

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Other Distinctions : Honorary Fellow, New-Mystic Society of India, 2. Ex-Chairman, New-mystic Society of India, All India Oriental Conference, Indian History Congress & Vidharbha-Reseacrh Mandal.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. आनरेरी फेलो, न्यूमिस्टिक सोसायटी ऑफ इण्डिया, २. भूतपूर्व सभापति, न्यूमिस्टिक सोसायटी आफ इण्डिया, आल इण्डिया ओरिएण्टल कान्फ्रेंस, इण्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस तथा विदर्भ-संशोधन-मण्डल।

Present Address : "Kamalasadan", Dharampeth, Nagpur.

वर्तमान पता : कमला सदन, धर्मपेठ, नागपुर

Name : Ojha, Kailash Chandra (K. C. Ojha).

नाम : ओझा, कैलाशचन्द्र

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B., D.Phil.

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी०, डी० फिल०

Present Position : Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Allahabad University.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, इलाहाबाद

Publications : Some twenty Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : प्रायः बीस शोध-निबन्ध

Present Address : 103, Talab Naval Rai, New Bairana, Allahabad.

वर्तमान पता : १०३, तालाब नवलराय, नया बैराना, इलाहाबाद

Name : Panchmukhi, Raghavendracharya Svamirayacharya (R. S. Panchamukhi).

नाम : पंचमुखी, राघवेन्द्राचार्य स्वामिरामाचार्य

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit & Kannada).

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत-कन्नड़)

Present Position : Chairman & Chief Editor, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, Mysore State.

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, कर्नाटक हिस्टॉरिकल रिसर्च सोसायटी, धारवार, मैसूर राज्य

Publications : 1. Gandharvas and Kinnaras in Indian Iconography, 2. Archaeology of Karnatak, 3. History of Karnatak, 4. Virūpāksha Vasantotsava Champu, 5. Karnatak Historical Documents, 6. Tantra-Dīpikā, 7. Folk Songs of Karnatak, 8. A number of other works and Research Articles.

प्रकाशन : १. गन्धर्वाज़ ऐण्ड किन्नराज़ इन इण्डियन आइक्नोग्रैफी, २. विरूपाक्षवसन्तोत्सवचम्पू, ३. कर्नाटक हिस्टारिकल डाकूमेण्ट्स, ४. तन्त्र-दीपिका, ५. फोक सांग्स ऑफ कर्नाटक आदि।

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Other Distinctions : 1. Formerly Director, Kannada Research Isntitute, Dharwar, 2. Vidyaratna, Vidyabhushana, 3. Connected with a number of Research Institutes of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History.

Present Address : Pavamana Sadana, Malmaddi, Dharwar.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व निदेशक, कन्नड़ रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट धारवार, मैसूर राज्य, ३. कई पुरातत्व सम्बंधी संस्थाओं से संबद्ध, ३. विद्यारत्न, विद्याभूषण।

वर्तमान पता : अध्यक्ष, कर्नाटक हिस्टॉरिकल रिसर्च सोसायटी, धारवार, मैसूर राज्य

Name : Reu, Bisheswar Nath. (B. N. Reu) (Deceased).

Academic Qualifications : Sāhityāchārya.

Publications : 1. Bhārat Ke Prāchin Rajvamsha, Three Vols, 2. Raja Bhoja, 3. Marvād Kā Itihās, Vols. I & II, 4. Vishveshwar Smriti, Vols. I to III, 5. History of Rāshṭrakūṭas, 6. Coins of Marwar, 7. A few other books and a number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Retired Professor of Sanskrit, 2. Retired Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.

Last Address : Chandpole Gate, Jodhpur, Rajasthan.

नाम : रेउ, विश्वेश्वरनाथ (दिवंगत)

शिक्षा : साहित्याचार्य

प्रकाशन : १. भारत के प्राचीन राजवंश—तीन खण्ड, २. राजा भोज, ३. मारवाड़ का इतिहास, ४. विश्वेश्वर-स्मृति, ५. हिस्ट्री आफ राष्ट्रकूटाज़, ६. क्वाइन्स ऑफ मारवाड आदि, ७. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व संस्कृत प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत कालेज, जयपुर, २. भूतपूर्व अधीक्षक, पुरातत्व विभाग, राजस्थान, जयपुर।

अन्तिम पता : चांदपोल, जोधपुर (राजस्थान)

Name : Roy, Udai Narain (U. N. Roy).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil.

Present Position : Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad.

Publications : 1. Prāchīn Bhārat Men Nagar Tathā Nāgara Jīwan, 2. Vishva Sabhyatā Kā Itihās, 3. Several Research Articles.

Present Address : 32, Dilkusha, Allahabad.

नाम : राय, उदयनारायण

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, पुरातत्व विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, इलाहाबाद

प्रकाशन : १. प्राचीन भारत में नगर तथा नागर जीवन, २. विश्वसभ्यता का इतिहास, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।

वर्तमान पता : ३२, दिलकुशा, इलाहाबाद

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Name : Sarkar, Sasanka Sekhar. (S. S. Sarkar).

Academic Qualifications : D.Sc.

Present Position : Reader in Anthropology, Calcutta University.

Publications : 1. The Aboriginal Races of India, 2. Ancient Races of Baluchistan, Punjab and Sindh, 3. Several Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. President, Anthropology and Archaeology Section, Indian Science Congress (1951 Session), 2. Fellow, National Institute of Sciences of India.

Present Address : 16/2B, Jamir Lane, Calcutta-19.

नाम : सरकार, शशांक शेखर

शिक्षा : डी० एस-सी०

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, नृतत्व विभाग, कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय, कलकत्ता

प्रकाशन : १. दि एबार्जिनिल रेसेज ऑफ इण्डिया, २. ऐंशियण्ट रेसेज आफ बलुचिस्तान, पंजाब ऐण्ड सिन्ध, ३. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. इण्डियन साइंस कांग्रेस १९५१ के अधिवेशन में नृतत्व और पुरातत्व अनुभाग के सभापति, २. फेलो, नेशनल इंस्स्टीट्यूट ऑफ इण्डिया

वर्तमान पता : १६।२बी, जमीर लेन, कलकत्ता-१९

Name : Shastri, Surya Kanta.

Academic Qualifications : Shastri, M. A. (Punjab), D. Litt., (Punjab), D. Phil., (Oxon).

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Kurukshetra University.

Publications : 1. The Flood Legend in Sanskrit. 2. Prātiśākhya A and B in the Light of the Sāma-Pariśiṣṭa. 3. A large number of other books and Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Officier D' Academie (France) 2. Ex-Principal, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, 3. Ex-Mayurbhanj Professor and Head, Departments of Sanskrit and Pali, Banaras Hindu University, 4. Ex-Professor and Head, Sanskrit, Department Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh.

नाम : शास्त्री, सूर्यकान्त

शिक्षा : शास्त्री, एम० ए०, डी० फिल०, डी० लिट०

वर्तमान पद : आचार्य एवं अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत, पाली और प्राकृत विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. दि फ़्लड लीज़ेण्ड इन संस्कृत, २. प्रातिशाख्य 'ए' ऐंड 'बी' इन दि लाइट आफ़ दि साम परिशिष्ट, ३. अनेक अन्य पुस्तकें और लेख

अन्य विशेषताएं : १. आफ़िसिये डी अकेडेमिक (फ्रांस), २. भूतपूर्व प्राचार्य, भारतीय शिक्षा महाविद्यालय, बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, ३. भूतपूर्व मयूरभंज प्रोफ़ेसर, संस्कृत एवं पाली विभाग, बनारस हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, ४. भूतपूर्व प्राचार्य एवं अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय, अलीगढ़

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Present Address : Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Name : Shukla, Dvijendra Nath
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt, Sāhityāchārya, Sāhityaratna, Kāvyatīrtha.
Present Position : Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Punjab University.

Publications : 1. Bhāratīya Vāstu Shāstra (Hindi), 2. Pratimā Vijñāna (Hindi), 3. Pratimā Lakshaṇa (Hindi), 4. Chitra-Lakshaṇa (Hindi), 5. Hindu Prāsād Ki Chaturmukhī Prishṭhabhūmi (Hindi), 6. Hindu Canons of Iconography (English), 7. Hindu Canons of Painting, 8. Research Articles.
Present Address : Sanskrit Department, University of Punjab, Chandigarh.

Name : Sirkar, Dinesh Chandra (D. C. Sirkar).
Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.
Present Position : Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Director, Centre of Advanced Study in History, Calcutta University.
Publications : 1. The Success of the Śāta-Vāhanas in the Lower Deccan, 2. A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, 3. Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, 4. The Śākta Pīṭhas, 5. Inscriptions of Asoka, 6. Maski Inscription of Asoka, 7. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, 9. Indian Epigraphy, 9. A few other books and over 800 Research Articles.

वर्तमान पता : कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र

नाम : शुक्ल, द्विजेन्द्रनाथ
शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट०, साहित्याचार्य, साहित्यरत्न, काव्यतीर्थ
वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय, चण्डीगढ़

प्रकाशन : १. वास्तुशास्त्र, २. प्रतिमा विज्ञान, ३. प्रतिमा लक्षण, ४. चित्र लक्षण, ५. हिन्दू प्रासाद की चतुर्मुखी पृष्ठभूमि, आदि, ६. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।

वर्तमान पता : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, पंजाब विश्वविद्यालय, चण्डीगढ़

नाम : सरकार, डी० सी०

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०
वर्तमान पद : कारमाइकेल प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन इतिहास और संस्कृति विभाग, और कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के सेण्टर आँफ ऐडवान्स्ड स्टडी इन हिस्ट्री के निदेशक

प्रकाशन : १. दी सक्सेसर्स ऑफ दी सातवाहनाज़ इन दि लोअर डेकन, २. ए ग्रामर ऑफ दि प्राकृत लैंग्वेज़, ३. दि शाक्तपीठाज़, आदि ४. आठ सौ से ऊपर शोध-निबन्ध।

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Other Distinctions : 1. Premchand Roychand Scholar, 2. President of Section II, Indian History Congress (1948 Delhi Session), 3. President of the Numismatic Society of India (1955 Calcutta Session and 1956 Agra Session), 4. President of the History Section, All India Oriental Conference, 1957 (Delhi Session), 5. Invitee to the Conference on the History of South-East Asia, School of African and Oriental Studies, London University, 1956, 6. Lecturer to the Tashkent, Leningrad and Moscow Universites 1961, 7. R. P. Nopany Lecturer, Calcutta Univeristy, 1964, 8. William Meyer Lecturer, Madras University, 1966.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. प्रेमचन्द रायचन्द स्कॉलर, २. इण्डियन हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस के दिल्ली अधिवेशन के सभापति, ३. दि न्यूमिस्मेटिक सोसायटी ऑफ इण्डिया के कलकत्ता अधिवेशन के सभापति, ४. आल इण्डिया ओरिएण्टल कान्फ्रेंस, दिल्ली अधिवेशन के हिस्ट्री अनुभाग के सभापति, आदि।

Present Address : 645, New Alipore, Calcutta-53.

वर्तमान पता : ६४५, न्यू अलीपुर, कलकत्ता-५३

Name : Thakur, Upendra (U. Thakur).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil.

Present Position : Reader in Ancient Indian And Asian Studies, Magadh University.

Publications : 1. History of Mithila, 2. History of Suicide in India, 3. Studies in Jainism and Buddhism in Mithila, 4. The Hunas in India, 5. A large number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Lecturer, Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, 2. Ex-Assistant Professor, Indian Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Gorakhpur University.

Present Address : Reader in Ancient Indian and Asian Stuies, Magadh University, Gaya, Bihar.

नाम : ठाकुर, उपेन्द्र

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल०

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, ऐंशियण्ट इण्डियन ऐण्ड एशियन स्टडीज, मगध विश्वविद्यालय, गया

प्रकाशन : १. हिस्ट्री ऑफ मिथिला, २. हिस्ट्री ऑफ सुइसाइड इन इण्डिया, ३. स्टडीज इन जैनिज़्म ऐण्ड बुद्धिज़्म इन मिथिला; आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक, प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति और पुरातत्व विभाग, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय, गोरखपुर

वर्तमान पता : रीडर, इतिहास विभाग, मगध विश्वविद्यालय, गया

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Name : Lal, Braj Basi, B. B. Lal.

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Sanskrit), Received advanced training at the Institute of Archaeology, London.

Present Position : Joint Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.

Publications : 1. The Indus Civilization (English Verse), 2. Indian Archaeology Since Independence. 3. Over 50 Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Led an Indian Archaeological Mission to Egypt for salvaging Nubia's past threatened by the Aswan Dam, 2. Has excavated Sisupalgarh, Hastinapura, Birbhanpur, Gilund, Kalibangan and many other important sites. 3. Member of UNESCO's Expert Committee on Monuments, 4. Presided over a section of the Second International Congress on Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments held at Venice.

Present Address : Joint Director General of Archaeology in India, Janapath, New Delhi.

नाम : लाल, ब्रजबासी

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत)

वर्तमान पद : संयुक्त महानिदेशक, भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण, भारत सरकार, नई दिल्ली

प्रकाशन : १. दि इण्डस सिविलिजेशन (अंग्रेजी पद्यबद्ध), २. इण्डियन आर्कियालोजी सिन्स इनडिपेण्डेन्स ३. भारतीय और विदेशी शोध-पत्रिकाओं में पचास से ऊपर निबन्ध।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. शिशुपाल गढ़, हस्तिनापुर, वीरभानपुर तथा कालीबंगन आदि ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व के स्थानों का उत्खनन, २. न्यूबिया के प्राचीन गौरव की रक्षा के लिए, आस्वानडैम के कारण जिसके नष्ट हो जाने का भय था, युक्ति निकालने के प्रयोजन से मिस्र जाने वाले भारतीय पुरातत्वविद-मण्डल का नेतृत्व किया था, ३. युनेस्को विशेषज्ञ स्मारक समिति, ४. वेनिस में सम्पन्न अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महासभा, आर्चिटेक्ट्स ऐण्ड टेक्नीशियन्स ऑन हिस्टॉरिकल मोनुमेण्ट्स के एक अनुभाग के सभापति।

वर्तमान पता : डी ११।२७, सत्यमार्ग, नई दिल्ली-११

Name : Gupta, Jagdish.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Hindi, Allahabad University.

Publications : 1. Bhāratīya Kalā Ke Padachinha (Hindi), 2. Rīti Kāvya-Sangraha, 3 A few other books and a number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Editor, 'Nai Kavitā'.

Present Address : Moti Mahal, Daraganj, Allahabad.

नाम : गुप्त; जगदीश

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (हिन्दी), पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, हिन्दी विभाग, प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय, इलाहाबाद

प्रकाशन : १. भारतीय कला के पद चिह्न, २. रीतिकाव्य-संग्रह आदि

अन्य विशेषताएँ : सम्पादक, नई कविता

वर्तमान पता : मोतीमहल, दारागंज, इलाहाबाद

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F—BIOGRAPHICAL

Name : Bhattacharya, Siddheshwar (S. Bhattacharya).

Academic Qualifications : M.A. (Hons.), Ph.D., (London) D.Litt. (Little) Bar-at-Law, Kāvyatīrtha, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika-Āchārya.

Present Position : Mayurbhanj Professor of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University.

Publications : 1. The Philosophy of Śrimad-Bhāgavata, Vols. I & II. 2. A large number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Lecturer, University of London, 2. Ex-Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Viśvabhāratī University, 3. Formerly, a member of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London and of the Executive Council of the East India Association, 4. Formerly, a member of the Central Sanskrit Board, 5. Associated with Boards of Studies and Faculties of many Universities.

Present Address : Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5.

नाम : भट्टाचार्य, सिद्धेश्वर

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत), आनर्स, पी-एच० डी० (लंदन), डी० लिट०, बार-ऐट-लॉ, काव्यतीर्थ, न्यायवैशेषिकाचार्य

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : दि फिलास्फी आफ दि श्रीमद्भागवत खण्ड १-२, तथा अनेक शोधपूर्ण निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक, लंदन विश्वविद्यालय, २. भूतपूर्व अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, विश्वभारती, ३. भूतपूर्व सदस्य, रॉयल कामनवेल्थ सोसायटी, लंदन, केन्द्रीय संस्कृत-परिषद, भारत सरकार के सदस्य।

वर्तमान पता : काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी-५

Name : Dravid, Rajeshwar Shastri.

Academic Qualifications : Nyāyāchārya.

Present Position : Adhyaksha, Vallabharam Shaligram Sāngaveda Vidyalaya, and Head of the Political Science Department, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

नाम : द्रविड़, राजेश्वर शास्त्री

शिक्षा : न्यायाचार्य

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, श्री वल्लभराम शालिग्राम सांगवेद विद्यालय तथा राजनीति विभागाध्यक्ष, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय

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Publications : 1. Nyāyamuktāvalī Rāmarudrīṭikā, 2. Sānkhyatattvakaumudī-tippaṇī, 3. Shānti Kā Agradoota, 4. Several Essays.

Other Distinctions : 1. Padmabhusana, 2. Śāstra-ratnākara, 3. Panditraj, 4. Sammānya Parishad of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

Present Address : K20/154, Rajmandir, Varanasi-1.

Name : Rastogi, Navjivan.

Academic Qualifications : M.A.

Publications : a few Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : Special study of Kashmir Shaivism.

Present Address : Raja Bazar, Lucknow.

Name : Shukla, Govardhan Nath (G. N. Shukla).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D.

Present Position : Reader, Hindi Department, Aligarh Muslim University.

Publications : 1. Parmanand Sagar (Edited), 2. Kavivar Parmanand Das Aur Vallabh Sampradāya.

Other Distinctions : 1. Sahitya Mantri, Bharatiya Hindi Parishad, Prayag, 2. Pradhan Mantri, Akhila Bharatiya Pushṭimārgiya Parishad.

Present Address : Hindi Department, Muslim University, Aligarh.

Name : Sampurnanand.

Academic Qualifications : B.Sc., L.T., D.Litt.

Present Position : Governor of Rajasthan.

प्रकाशन : १. न्यायमुक्तावली-रामरुद्री टीका, २. सांख्यतत्वकौमुदी-टिप्पणी, ३. शान्ति का अग्रदूत आदि ४. कई शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. पद्मभूषण, २. शास्त्ररत्नाकर, ३. पंडितराज ४. सम्मान्य पारिषद, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ।

वर्तमान पता : के २०।१५४, राजमन्दिर, वाराणसी

नाम : रस्तोगी, नवजीवन

शिक्षा : एम० ए०

प्रकाशन : अनेक शोध-निबन्ध

अन्य विशेषताएँ : कश्मीर शैवमत का विशेष अध्ययन

वर्तमान पता : राजाबाजार, लखनऊ।

नाम : शुक्ल, गोवर्द्धननाथ

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (संस्कृत-हिन्दी), पी-एच० डी०

वर्तमान पद : रीडर, हिन्दी विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय

प्रकाशन : १. परमानन्दसागर (सम्पादित), २. कविवर परमानन्द दास और वल्लभ-सम्प्रदाय

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. साहित्य-मंत्री, भारतीय हिन्दी-परिषद्, प्रयाग, २. प्रधान मंत्री, अखिल भारतीय पुष्टिमार्गीय परिषद्।

वर्तमान पता : हिन्दी विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय, अलीगढ़।

नाम : सम्पूर्णानन्द

शिक्षा : बी० एस-सी०, एल० टी०, डी० लिट्०

वर्तमान पद : राज्यपाल, राजस्थान

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Publications : About 30 books in Hindi, English and Sanskrit including :—1. Antārāshṭrīya Vidhān, 2. Cidvilāsa, 3. Hindu Deva Parivār Kā Vikāsa, 4. Samājvāda, 5. Yogadarśana, 6. Āryon Kā Ādidesh. 7. Vrātya-Kāṇḍa.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Professor, Kashi Vidyapith, 2. Ex-Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh, 3. Founder and Sammānya Pārishada of the Akhila Bharatiya, Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow and a member of its Excutive Committee.

Present Address : Raj Bhavan, Jaipur (Rajasthan).

प्रकाशन : १. अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय विधान, २. चिद्विलास, ३. हिन्दू देव-परिवार का विकास, ४. समाजवाद, ५. योगदर्शन, ६. आर्यों का आदि देश, ७. व्रात्य-काण्ड आदि तीस पुस्तकें

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. भूतपूर्व प्राध्यापक, काशी विद्यापीठ, २. भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री, उत्तर प्रदेश, ३. संस्थापक तथा सम्मान्य पारिषद और कार्यकारिणी समिति के सदस्य, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद्, लखनऊ

वर्तमान पता : राज्य भवन, जयपुर

Name : Mishra, Baldeva.

Academic Qualifications : Jyotishāchārya, Jyotishtīrtha.

Present Position : Decipherment Pandit, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna,

Publications : 1. Saral Trikoṇamiti, 2. Notes on Bhaskarāchārya's Bījagaṇita, 3. A Commentary on Āryabhaṭīya.

Other Distinctions : 1. President of the Jyotish Section, All India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga Session. 2.An old friend of Kaviraj ji.

Present Address : Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

नाम : मिश्र, बलदेव

शिक्षा : ज्योतिषाचार्य तथा ज्योतिषतीर्थ

वर्तमान पद : पाठशोधक, काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, पटना

प्रकाशन : १. भास्कराचार्य के बीजगणित पर टिप्पणी, २. आर्यभटीय पर टीका, ३. सरल त्रिकोणमिति

अन्य विशेषताएं : १. आल इण्डिया ओरिएण्टल कान्फ्रेंस, दरभंगा अधिवेशन में ज्योतिष अनुभाग के सभापति, २. कविराज जी के पुराने साथी

वर्तमान पता : काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, पटना

Name : Upadhyaya, Baldeva.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Sahityāchārya.

Present Position : Director, Research Institute, Sanakrit University, Varanasi.

नाम : उपाध्याय, बलदेव

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, साहित्याचार्य

वर्तमान पद : निदेशक, अनुसंधान-संस्थान, वारणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय

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Publications : 1. Author of 13 works, including :—
1. Bhāratīya Darshan, 2. Sanskrit Sāhitya Kā Itihās, 3. Bhāgawata Sampradāya, 4. Bauddha Darshan-Mīmāmsā, 5. Bhāratīya Sāhitya Shāstra, 2 Vols.
2. Editor of five original works, including :—
1. Prākṛta-Prakāśa with Sanjivanī Ṭikā and 2. Śankara Dig-vijaya (with Hindi translation).

प्रकाशन : १. भारतीय दर्शन, २. संस्कृत साहित्य का इतिहास, ३. भागवत सम्प्रदाय, ४. बौद्ध दर्शन-मीमांसा, ५. भारतीय साहित्य शास्त्र, दो खण्ड ६. शंकर दिगविजय, ७. प्राकृत प्रकाश, संजीवनी टीका सहित, आदि

Other Distinctions : 1. President, Akhila Bharatiya Devabhasha Parishad, Patna. 2. Recepient of Mangala Prasad Puraskar (Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad) and a number of other prizes; 3. Some of his works have been translated into Burmese, Kannad and Singhali. 4. Has been in close contact with Kavirj ji from 1921.

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. सभापति, अखिल भारतीय देवभाषा परिषद्, पटना, २. मंगला प्रसाद पुरस्कार आदि के विजेता, ३. बर्मी, सिंघली और कन्नड़ भाषाओं में कई पुस्तकें अनूदित, ४. १९२१ से कविराज जी के निकट सम्पर्क में रहे।

Present Address : New Colony, Durga Kund, Varanasi.

वर्तमान पता : न्यू कॉलोनी, दुर्गाकुण्ड, वाराणसी

Name : Varma, Vishwanath Prasad.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., (History—Patna), M.A. (Political Science-Columbia), Ph.D. (Chicago).

नाम : वर्मा, विश्वनाथ प्रसाद

शिक्षा : एम० ए० (इतिहास-पटना) एम० ए० (राजनीति-कोलम्बिया) पी-एच० डी० (शिकागो),

Present Position : Professor of Political Science, Patna University and Director, Institute of Public Administration, Patna.

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, राजनीति विभाग, पटना विश्वविद्यालय

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Publications : 1. Political Philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, 2. Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations, 3. Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Sarvodaya, 4. Modern Indian Political Thought, 5. Studies in Philosophy of Education, 6. Rājnīti Aur Darshan (Hindi), 7. Viśvarājnīti (Hindi), 8. Pāschātya Rājnītika Vichārdhārā Kā Itihās (Hindi).

Other Disinctions : Recepient of several prizes and awards.

Present Address : Patna University, Patna.

प्रकाशन : १. पोलिटिकल फिलॉसफी ऑफ श्री अरविन्द, २. हिन्दू पोलिटिकल थॉट ऐण्ड इट्स फाउण्डेशन्स, ३. पोलिटिकल फिलॉसफी ऑफ महात्मा गांधी, ४. स्टडीज़ इन फिलॉसफी ऑफ एजुकेशन, ५. राजनीति और दर्शन, आदि।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : कई पुरस्कार विजेता

वर्तमान पता : अध्यक्ष, राजनीति विभाग, पटना विश्वविद्यालय, पटना

Name : Tripathi, Ram Murti (R. M. Tripathi).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., Sāhityāchārya, Sāhityaratna.

Present Position : Assistant Professor, Hindi Department, University of Saugar.

Publications : 1. Vyanjanā Aur Navīn Kavitā, 2. Nṛsinhacampū, 3. Bhāratīya Sāhitya Darshan, 4. Auchitya Vimarsh, 5. Raṣa Vimarsh, 6. Lakshaṇā Aur Uskā Ādhunik Hindi Kāvya Men Prasār, 7. Sāhitya Shāstra Ke Pramukha Paksh. 8. Kāvyā ankāra-Sāra-Sangraha , etc.

Other Distinctions : 1. Has made a special study of Tantra literature under the guidance of Pandit Gopinath ji Kaviraj; 2. Has contributed an article on "Siddha Sāhitya Kī Dārshanik Prishṭhabhūmi" to 'Hindi Kā Vṛhad Itihās'.

Present Address : Hindi Department, University of Saugar, Saugar.

नाम : त्रिपाठी, राममूर्त्ति

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, साहित्याचार्य तथा साहित्यरत्न

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, हिन्दी विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय, सागर

प्रकाशन : १. नृसिंह चम्पू, २. भारतीय साहित्य-दर्शन ३. औचित्यविमर्श, ४. रसविमर्श, ५. साहित्य शास्त्र के प्रमुख पक्ष आदि।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : तंत्र साहित्य में विशेष रुचि

वर्तमान पता : हिन्दी विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय सागर

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Name : Singh, Bhagwati Prasad.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Present Position : Lecturer, Hindi Department, Gorakhpur University.

Publications : 1. Rām Bhakti Men Rasik Sampradāya, 2. Digvijaya Bhūshan, 33. Vismaraṇa-Sanhār, 4. Bhuśuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa (Edited), 5. Gorakshā Sanhitā (Edited), 6. Padmāvat (Edited). 7. Mahatma Bana Das Aur Unkā Kāvya (Edited).

Other Distinctions : Has been in very close touch with Kaviraj Ji.

Present Address : Betia Hata, Civil Lines, Gorakhpur.

Name : Pandey, Yogesh.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil., Vedāchārya, Vedāntāchārya.

Present Position : Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, University of Saugar.

Other Distinctions : Has been in close contact with Kaviraj Ji for the last 20 years or so.

Present Address : 13, Pathuria Hills, University of Saugar, Saugar (M.P.).

Name : Jha, Aditya Nath (A. N. Jha).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B., Vāchaspati.

Present Position : Lieutenant Governor, Delhi State.

Other Distinctions : 1. Ex-Chief Secretary to the U.P. Government, 2. Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Varanasi, 3. Ex-Director, National Aca demy of Administration, Mussoorie.

नाम : सिंह, भगवती प्रसाद

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, पी-एच० डी०, डी० लिट०

वर्तमान पता : प्राध्यापक, हिन्दी विभाग, गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय, गोरखपुर

प्रकाशन : १. रामभक्ति में रसिक-सम्प्रदाय, २. दिग्विजय-भूषण, ३. विस्मरण-संहार आदि।

अन्य विशेषताएं : कविराज जी के घनिष्ट सम्पर्क में रहे

वर्तमान पता : वेतिया हाता, सिविल लाइंस, गोरखपुर

नाम : पाण्डेय, योगेश

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल०, वेदाचार्य, वेदान्ताचार्य,

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक, संस्कृत विभाग, सागर विश्वविद्यालय

अन्य विशेषताएँ : गत बीस वर्षों से कविराज गोपीनाथ जी से निकट सम्पर्क

वर्तमान पता : १३, पथुरिया हिल्स, सागर विश्वविद्यालय, सागर

नाम : झा, आदित्यनाथ

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी०, वाचस्पति

वर्तमान पद : उप-राज्यपाल, दिल्ली राज्य

अन्य विशेषताएँ : भूतपूर्व मुख्य सचिव, उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार, भतपूर्व उपकुलपति, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी

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Present Address : Lieutenant Governor's Residence, Ludlow Castle Road, Delhi-6

Name : Mukhopadhyaya, Govind Gopal (G. Mukhopadhyaya).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., D.Phil., Sānkhyatīrtha.

Present Position : Professor & Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Burdwan.

Other Distinctions : Took lessons from Kaviraj ji in Pātañjala Yogadarśana.

Present Address : University of Burdwan, Burdwan (W. B.).

Name : Sinha, Gopal Chandra.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., L L. B.

Present Position : Member, Official Language (Legislative) Commission, Ministry of Law, Government of India.

Publications : 1. Ārakshik Shabdāvalī; 2. Sthānik Parishad Shabdāvalī, 3. Prashāsana Shabdāvalī. 4. A number of Research Articles.

Other Distinctions : 1. Retired District & Sessions Judge, 2. Ex-Secretary of the U.P. Government's Hindi Shabda-Kosha Samiti; 3. Ex-Secretary of the First Governing Body of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad, 4. Founder and Secretary of the Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, 5 A member of the Editorial Board of the present Commemoration Volume.

Present Address : C-1/14, Pandara Park, New Delhi-11.

वर्तमान पता : उप-राज्यपाल भवन, लुडलो कॅसिल रोड, दिल्ली-६

नाम : मुखोपाध्याय, गोविन्द गोपाल

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, डी० फिल०, सांख्यतीर्थ

वर्तमान पद : प्राध्यापक और अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत विभाग, बर्दवान, विश्वविद्यालय

अन्य विशेषताएँ : कविराज जी से पातंजल योगदर्शन का अध्ययन

वर्तमान पता : वर्दवान विश्वविद्यालय, वर्दवान (पश्चिम बंगाल)

नाम : सिंह, गोपाल चन्द्र

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी०

वर्तमान पद : सदस्य, राजभाषा विधायी आयोग, केन्द्रीय सरकार

प्रकाशन : १. आरक्षिक शब्दावली, २. स्थानिक परिषद् शब्दावली, ३. प्रशासन शब्दावली, ४. अनेक शोध-निबन्ध।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : १. अवकाशप्राप्त डिस्ट्रिक्ट जज, २. भूतपूर्व सचिव, उत्तर प्रदेशीय सरकार की हिन्दी शब्दकोश-समिति, ३. भूतपूर्व सचिव, प्रथम शासन निकाय, हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, प्रयाग, ४. संस्थापक तथा मंत्री, अखिल भारतीय संस्कृत-परिषद, लखनऊ, ५. प्रस्तुत अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ के सम्पादक-मण्डल के सदस्य।

वर्तमान पता : सी-१।१४, पंडारा पार्क, नई दिल्ली-११

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Name : Patra, Atul Chandra (A. C. Patra).

Academic Qualifications : M.A., LL.B., Kāvyatīrtha, Purāṇa-Ratna, Artha-Vyavahāra-Shāstrī.

Present Position : Deputy Legislative Counsel, Ministry of Law, Government of India.

Publications : 1. The Administration of Justice under the East India Company in Bengal, 2. The Laws Governing Craftsmen and their Crafts from Ancient Days till today in India, Census Reports 1961, 3. Five or six other books.

Present Address : M-47/D-II, Netaji Nagar, New Delhi-3.

नाम : पात्र, अतुलचन्द्र

शिक्षा : एम० ए०, एल-एल० बी० काव्यतीर्थ, पुराण-रत्न, अर्थ-व्यवहार-शास्त्री

वर्तमान पद : उप-विधायी कौंसेल, राजभाषा विधायी आयोग, विधि मंत्रालय

प्रकाशन : १. दि एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ऑफ जस्टिस अण्डर ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी इन बेंगाल, बिहार ऐण्ड उड़ीसा, २. दि लॉज़ गवर्निंग क्रैफ्ट्समेन ऐण्ड देयर क्रैफ्ट्स फ़ाम देयर ऐंशियण्ट डेज़ टिल टुडे इन इण्डिया

वर्तमान पता : एम-४७। डी, २ नेताजी नगर, नई दिल्ली-३

Name : Swami Ram Asrama (Before Sanyasa-Sinha, Ram Chandra).

Academic Qualifications : M.Sc., LL.B.

Present Position : A Sanyāsin.

Other Distinctions : A master of many languages and of a large number of subjects.

Present Address : Ramtirtha Pratishthan, Sarnath, Varanasi.

नाम : स्वामी रामाश्रम (संन्यास-पूर्व-सिंह, रामचन्द्र)

शिक्षा : एम ० एस० सी०, एल० एल० बी०

वर्तमान पद : संन्यासी

अन्य विशेताएँ : अनेकानेक भाषाओं तथा विषयों के ज्ञाता

वर्तमान पता : रामतीर्थ प्रतिष्ठान, सारनाथ, वाराणसी

Name : Malaviya, Ram Kuver.

Academic Qualifications : M.A., Vyākaraṇa-Sāhitya-Shāstrāchārya.

Present Position : Professor and Head of the Departmet of Literature, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

Publications : 1. A Sanskrit Commentary on Bilhaṇa's Vikramānkadevacaritam; 2. A commentary on Dhvanyāloka; 3. Mālavīyamahākāvyam.

Present Address : Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

नाम : मालवीय, रामकुवेर

शिक्षा : एम० ए० व्याकरण–साहित्य–शास्त्र–आचार्य

वर्तमान पद : अध्यक्ष, साहित्य विभाग, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी।

प्रकाशन : १. बिल्हणकृत विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरितम् की संस्कृत व्याख्या, २. ध्वन्यालोक की व्याख्या, ३. मालवीय महाकाव्यम्।

वर्तमान पता : संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी।

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Name : Chaturvedi, Narmadeshwar.

Publications: :

1. Sangitajña Kaviyon Ki Hindi Rachnayen,
2. Kavi Tansen Aur Unka Kavya,
3. Islām Ke Sufi Sädhak,
4. Hindi Gatha Saptaśati,
5. Newaj Kavi Krit Shakuntalā,
6. Kuttinimatam Kavyam (Introduction)
7. Damo Rachit Lakhan Sen Padmawati.
8. Bhaktimargi Baudhadharma,
9. A number of research articles.

Present Address : C-1/14, Pandara Park, New Delhi-11.

नाम चतुर्वेदी, नर्मदेश्वर।

प्रकाशन :

१. संगीतज्ञ कवियों की हिन्दी रचनाएँ
२. कवि तानसेन और उनका काव्य
३. इस्लाम के सूफी साधक,
४. हिन्दी गाथासप्तशती,
५. नेवाज कवि कृत शकुन्तला
६. कुट्टिनीमतम् (भूमिका)
७. दामोरचित लखन सेन पद्मावती
८. भक्तिमार्गी बौद्धधर्म
९. अनेक शोधनिबन्ध।

वर्तमानपता : सी० १।१४ पंडारा पार्क, नयीदिल्ली-११।

Name : Bhattacharya, Ram Shankar.

Academic Qualifications : Pracina Vyakaranacarya, M.A.' Ph.D.

Present Position : Research Assistant, Varanaseya Sanskrit Visva Vidyalaya.

Publications :

1. Pātanjala Yoga Darśana with Tattvavaiśāradi Commentary and Vyāsa Bhāśya,
2. Pātanjala Yoga Sūtram with Bhoja's Rājamartanda-Vṛtti,
3. Sānkhya Sūtra with Sānkhya-pravacanābhaṣya, Sānkhyasāra, Tattvasamāsa, Hindi explanation and Index,
4. Agni-Purāṇa-Viṣayanukramaṇi,
5. Purānagata Vedaviśayaka Sāmagri kā Samikṣatmaka Adhyayana.

Other Distinctions : Has made a special study of the Puranas. Was for some time a Research Assistant in the Purana Section of the All India Kashiraj Trust.

Present Address : 13/103, Sonarpura, Varanasi.

नाम : भट्टाचार्य, रामशंकर।

शिक्षा : प्राचीनव्याकरणाचार्य, एम० ए०, पी० एच-डी०।

वर्तमान पद : शोध-सहायक, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय।

प्रकाशन :

१. पातंजलयोगदर्शन तत्ववैशारदी टीका तथा व्यासभाष्य सहित।
२. पातंजल योग सूत्रम भोजकृत राजमार्तण्डवृत्ति सहित।
३. सांख्य सूत्र सांख्यप्रवचन भाष्य, सांख्यकार, तत्वसमास, हिन्दी व्याख्या तथा विषयानुक्रमणी सहित।
४. अग्निपुराण विषयानुक्रमणी।
५. पुराणगत वेदविषयक सामग्री का समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन।

अन्य विशेषताएँ : पुराणों का विशेष अध्ययन किया है। कुछ दिनों अखिल भारतीय काशीराज ट्रस्ट के पुराण विभाग में शोध-सहायक रहे हैं।

वर्तमान पता १३।१०३ सोनारपुरा, वाराणसी।

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गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

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